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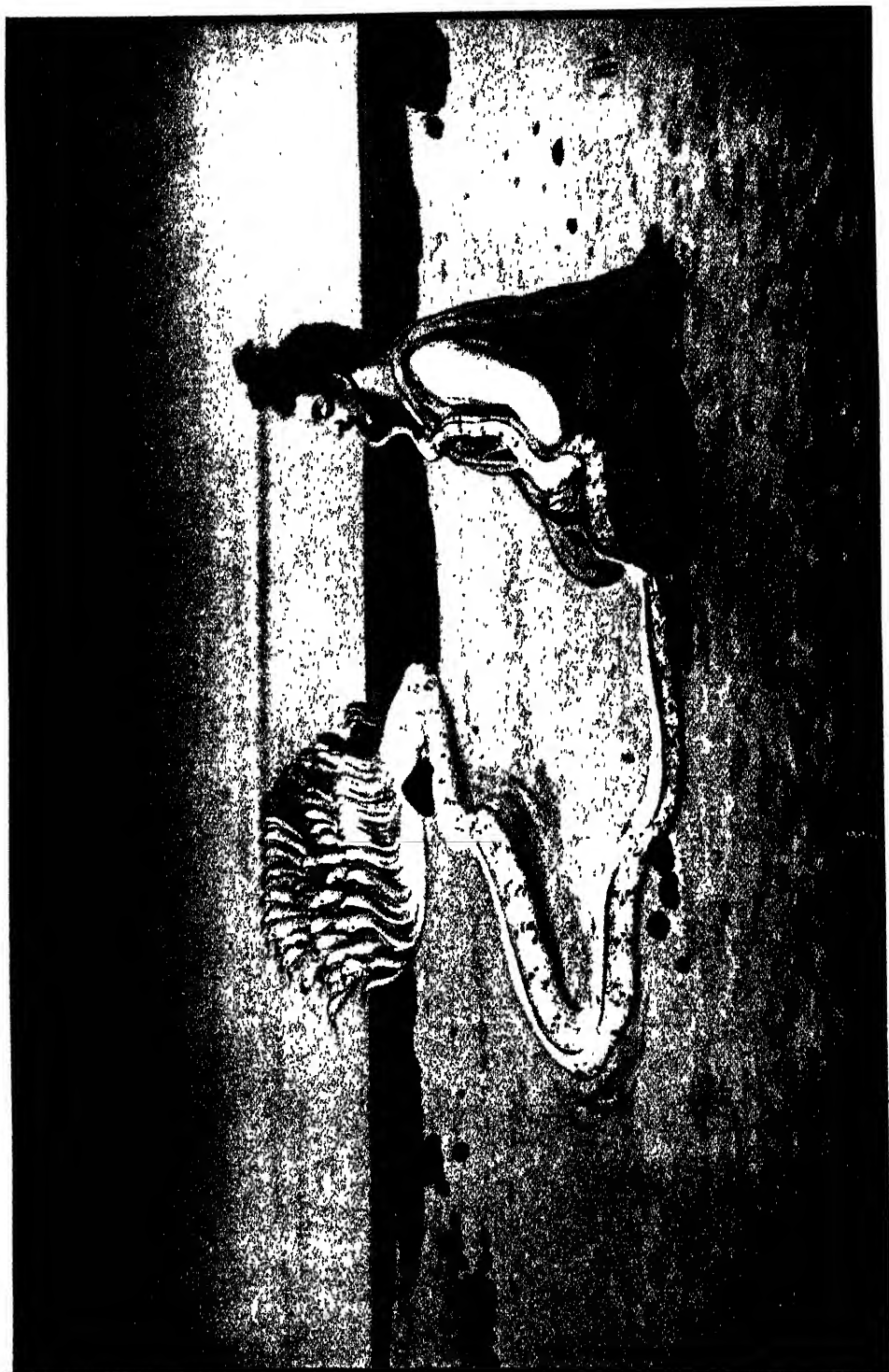
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BALARAMA BREATHING HIS LAST.

By the courtesy of the Artist Babu U'pendrakisor Ray Chaudhuri.

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THE DEATH-RATE OF INDIA

I ventured to call attention in the public press during the month of August last to the serious harm that was being done to the wealth productive capacities of the country by the alarmingly heavy death-rate which showed no signs of diminution. The series of articles I then wrote fell somewhat flat, owing probably to the unsuitableness of the time when they were published. I am anxious to return to the subject before the Congress meetings take place, for I firmly believe that on the clear understanding of this problem depends very largely the programme adopted for national advance. I am therefore taking advantage of the unfailing kindness of the Editor of the *Modern Review* to state the case once more in a new form.

My conclusions, in the original series of articles, were two-fold.

First of all, the high death-rate of India is having the most baneful effect upon wealth production. Until it is remedied the country must of necessity remain excessively poor.

Secondly, the high death-rate is preventable only in proportion to the spread of primary education. The two things hang together, as cause and effect. Now that India has definitely launched out on the modernisation of her life, the death-rate must rise higher and higher, unless the spread of primary education keep pace with that modernisation.

With regard to the first point, the baneful effect upon wealth production, I will condense briefly the economic argument

which is well known to every student of political economy.

Wealth production depends upon the efficiency and organisation of any given country. A nation that is physically weak and socially disorganised cannot expect to compete on equal terms with a nation that is physically strong and socially well organised. Now, there are few things that are so physically debilitating and so socially disruptive as a continuously high death-rate. This invariably implies a heavy mortality among children. The bearing of a child and its rearing during the helpless years of infancy means a cessation from other occupations of the mother of the child. Her time becomes absorbed in the one function of maternity. If the child grows to be a man this time and suffering is repaid, economically, by the addition of another worker to the world. But if the child die in infancy the time and suffering of maternity is all an economic drain with no return. Further more, in the birth and nurture of a child, there are expenses and anxieties, which take away from productive labour for the time being not only the mother of the child, but others as well who have to help the mother in her helplessness. This also is a dead loss to the energy of the community if the child die in infancy.

An even greater economic drain that accompanies a high death-rate is the very large number of short illnesses among adults; for it is only the last attack of illness that is actually fatal. Each of these illnesses

may be of little importance in itself, but the sum of them means a very large economic drain indeed. In India the most prevalent disease is malaria. The death-rate from malaria is calculated at nearly 60 per cent. of the whole. There is no disease in the world more economically harmful; for the malaria germ devitalises the blood and undermines the whole constitution, both physical and mental.

Again, the high death-rate means not only a cutting off from the bottom,—the childhood of the nation; it means also a cutting off from the top—the old age of the nation. In Europe men of fifty, and even sixty or seventy years, are active and energetic, and in almost every home old men are to be seen guiding and directing affairs. In India, however, a ripe old age is somewhat rare. The vast majority of the population dies before the age of sixty. This may not be physically a serious loss, but the moral and spiritual loss which takes place, when the most brilliant and intellectual die young, is very serious indeed. The best fruits of human life ripen slowest and a nation is intellectually and morally the poorer when it has only a feeble proportion of older men. Modern Political Economy, in contrast to the 'dismal science' of Carlyle's time, lays the greatest stress upon this moral factor, and finds in its presence one of the greatest aids to national well-being. Its absence, on the other hand, is regarded as one of the greatest injuries which may happen to any people.

Lastly, every death means a certain amount of dislocation to the social organism. Re-adjustment of work, business, family matters, becomes necessary; and where this is constantly happening, on account of frequent deaths, the accumulated loss of time and energy becomes very great indeed. It is so much power taken away from production.

In India these evils, resulting from a heavy death-rate, are still further intensified by the custom of child marriage, which makes for a permanent low level of vitality. Life, even among those who are comparatively healthy, goes on only, as it were, at half-speed; there is not sufficient vital energy among large masses of the population for hard and persistent work carried on over a long series of years. The excessive mortality, which Mr. Wacha has pointed

out, among young Indian girls is only equalled by the debility which takes place in Indian youths. The problem, therefore, of a heavy death-rate is in India more serious even than in other countries.

Such, in a condensed form, is the economic argument which connects the high death-rate of India with the diminution of wealth productive power. How disproportionate compared with other countries this Indian death-rate is may be seen by the one simple calculation, that for every 15 persons who die per thousand in the British Isles 38 persons die in India.

At first sight the most obvious remedy for this evil condition is an immense increase of expenditure on sanitation. We can see, all over the civilised world, what wonderful changes have been wrought by the enforcement of sanitary regulations. In comparatively recent times Europe was as much at the mercy of plague and pestilence as India is to-day. Within the present generation various areas of the world's surface, which were hot-beds of fever, have been rendered habitable. One by one, slowly but surely, the greater diseases of humanity are being stamped out in the most progressive countries. The whole population takes part in a general campaign against disease. The Japanese, in this matter, are rapidly coming up to the highest modern standard, and their improved sanitary system is one of the chief causes of their recent prosperity. They won their victories against Russia as much by fighting against disease in their own ranks as in facing the Russian guns.

But there is one condition which must be complied with before sanitary regulations can be effectively applied, or sanitary expenditure rendered serviceable. That condition is *primary education*. For it is a well known axiom of modern experience, that only educated countries can make proper use of sanitary laws, and that the effectiveness of sanitation is in direct proportion to the educational advance of a district. If any one in India is inclined to question this, it is only necessary to read the reports of those of their own countrymen engaged on plague duty. I was travelling a short time ago with an Indian Medical Officer, who told me that the greatest disease he had to combat with was

not plague, but ignorance. He said the superstitions about sickness were almost incredible, and that the only hope for the future lay in the teaching of the children.

The plain and simple fact is this, that all modern sanitary measures demand willing co-operation from the people and can be brought about in no other way. Willing co-operation cannot be obtained without intelligent understanding: intelligent understanding cannot be expected without primary education. The circle is a complete one, and any break in it only spells failure, disappointment and vexation of spirit.

The same conclusion may be reached by another path. Modern standards of civilisation cannot merely be adopted one by one according to the whim of the moment; they must be taken up together, or not at all. The progress of a modern state is like the movement forward of a great army. There must be lines of advance, not from one side only, but from all sides, towards the same goal. If a gap in the ranks is left open at one point, the whole formation is thrown out of gear, and the enemy may rush in like a flood. To take a familiar example, the pushing forward of railways may result in bringing disease to new districts, unless a corresponding advance is made in protective sanitation. But, as we have already seen, protective sanitation breaks down, unless an advance is made at the same time in primary education.

At the last Medical Congress, held in Bombay, one eminent scientist after another gave warning on this very point. Dr. Donald Ross declared that unless preventive measures were taken, we must not only expect the introduction of malaria into new districts as railway traffic increased, but we must also be prepared to meet the spread of sleeping sickness and other tropical diseases. He warned us also how utterly we were unprepared at the present time to combat new diseases. His words were borne out by the history of the advance of plague in recent years. Under the slow conditions of travel, before railways came, plague might never have crossed the Rajputana desert and reached the Panjab. People infected in Bombay would either have died, or been cured, long before they reached North India. But a train, which

covers the whole distance in 32 hours, may bring infection immediately from one place to the other. It has often been remarked that a map of the spread of plague in India would show a continuous advance along the lines of railway communication. The plague has followed the railway.

While therefore it is abundantly necessary to increase largely expenditure on far-reaching sanitary measures, it is also still more imperative to increase the expenditure on primary education. First things must come first. We have now a highly efficient army: we have an elaborate railway system: we have the cheapest postal and telegraph service in the world. We can afford to cry 'Halt' for a time to fresh expenditure in these and other directions, in order to deal effectively with still more vital interests. For on these other interests depends more and more, under modern conditions, the health of the whole community, and the health of the people means in the long run the wealth of the people.

In India we have been pushing forward certain very necessary lines of advance, but other lines have remained far behind, and herein lies our present danger. To 'modernize' India, as is now being done, with railways, manufactures, commerce, telegraphs, armaments, and to neglect the one fundamental necessity of life under modern conditions, namely, education, is to court disaster. Yet a glance at the comparative expenditure, both imperial and provincial, during the last few years will show convincingly that such neglect has taken place. While the whole country has experienced such an awakening as has not been seen in India for centuries, the expenditure on education in certain leading provinces has either remained stationary, or shown only the slightest tendency to advance. The education grants for the whole of India are still pitifully below any decent modern standard. Director after Director has complained bitterly that his department was being starved.

The desire for education has increased in recent years. That desire is in itself a welcome sign of hope and encouragement for the future. The end will not be reached until every village in India possesses its own village school and

every town its own high school leading on to the colleges at the great city centres. 'An efficient school for every village in India' should be the aim of the forward national movement. Only as this programme is realized, will the 'modernization' of Indian life go on with safety and security.

It may seem a far-fetched conclusion, thus to connect directly the high death-rate of India with the low scale of education. But the more the matter is carefully thought out the more convincing will that conclusion appear. I would ask any one, who has any lingering doubt on the subject, to study the returns of the 'Statesman's Year Book'. He will find that in almost every case the death-rate varies inversely with the spread of education, and the exceptions such as they are, only go to prove the rule. The countries, where modern education has been in longest operation and most effectively established, have to-day the lowest death-rate, and *vice versa*.

We are then in a position to assert that on purely economic grounds, as well as on the less tangible grounds of refinement and culture, primary education is such a necessity of modern life that it can not be neglected or left in abeyance without the most serious harm. It is not a thing which can be allowed to lag behind, while other lines of modern progress are advanced. It is not a thing that can be relegated to a distant future, while the more external factors of modern civilisation, such as railways, etc., are pushed forward. It is itself a fundamental factor, a primary necessity.

Modern civilisation demands the modern mind to make it effective. The modern mind can only be acquired by a literate community. Illiteracy is like a dead wall shutting out progress under modern conditions. The nation which would advance on modern lines must have education or perish.

I would strengthen the case I have made by a striking quotation from the *Statist*, a paper which is not likely to err on the side of sentiment or idealism. Indeed it is expressly called 'A Journal of Practical Finance and Trade'. After a long argument concerning the low producing power of India and a discussion concerning the advantages of irrigation as a remedy against famine, it proceeds:—'However

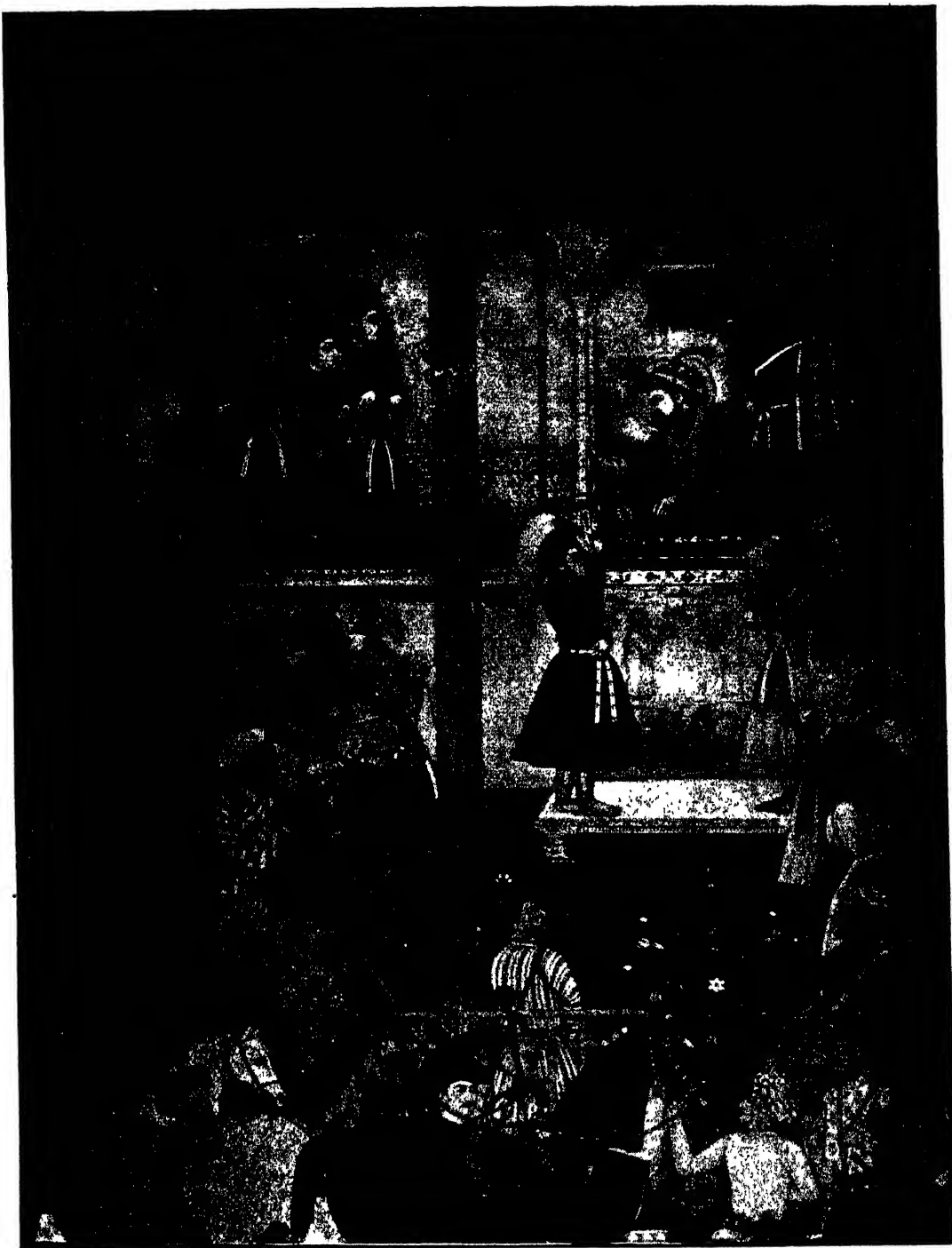
valuable irrigation is, it is not a complete remedy. Therefore the Indian Government ought without delay to take other measures. *The most indispensable, of course, is a sound system of education.*' Then later, speaking of the possibility of setting India free from epidemics, the writer goes on:—'What has been done in Europe can be done in India if the requisite means be adopted. *And first among these means is the giving to the people a sound system of education.*'

I am confident that the claim of the leaders of Indian public opinion for universal primary education, has behind it the full support of the leading economists in England and Germany, in America and Japan. It is not merely a pious sentiment but an expression of a law of science.

A great co-ordinated system of education, which shall cover the whole country and reach the remotest village—that is the great requirement of India to-day. Towards the carrying out of such a system all the best energies of the country—men of all schools of thought, of every religious belief, of every nationality—should be united. The enterprise is one of the greatest ever set before mankind. It is only to be equalled in its potentialities by a similar enterprise which is now beginning among the millions of China. Every hand that is raised to help in this gigantic task should be welcome. It means giving to one-fifth of the human race a new life and a new hope. It means their uplifting out of conditions of suffering and disease, of superstition and ignorance, of privation and early mortality.

Education has made modern Germany both economically and nationally: education has made modern America and united its diverse European immigrants; education has made modern Japan and led to the overthrow of Russian aggression; education bids fair to make a new and progressive Chinese Empire. India also can be raised to her rightful place in the scale of nations only by education.

If primary education can be made to cover the country in the present generation, the lines of modern progress will be firmly laid. If it is neglected the foundations of modern India will be built on shifting sand. The end is not to be attained merely by urging Government to spend so much extra



DURBAR OF SHAH JAHAN.

Mughal School.

To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

Kuntaline Press Calcutta

money, though without that financial help advance must necessarily be retarded. Success will, in the long run, depend upon the enthusiasm of the people themselves and their belief in a great cause. Without that enthusiasm, the social hindrances to female education can never be removed, the caste barriers against education of the depressed classes can never be broken down. With that enthusiasm, on the other hand, even greater social barriers than these can be destroyed, and the pathway of progress made even. At present the social and religious obstacles, which the people of India have themselves erected against universal education, are greater and more serious than the lack of Government financial support. There is, as I have said already, an increasing desire for education among the people, but it must be infinitely stronger and more determined before it can overcome these social difficulties.

Is the educated Indian community really in earnest? Having received for themselves the priceless gift of education, are they ready and eager to hand it on to others? I, for one, who have lived in closest touch with that community for many years, cannot doubt for one moment their sincerity or earnestness. My own anxiety lies in another direction. I wonder, at times, if

they have at all adequately realized what an immense task lies before the country, and how much courage and determination and self-sacrifice is needed for its accomplishment. It is not, again, the will and readiness of the Indian people for self-sacrifice that I doubt, but their knowledge and appreciation of the critical nature of the situation and of the dangers of a policy of drift and *laissez faire*. Let the people once awake to the fact that their very life as a nation is at stake, and that at this moment they are falling behind other nations educationally and not making good the arrears of centuries; let them once realize that the evils under which they suffer as a nation are not invincible, but that the remedy lies largely in their own hands—let this be brought home in ways that will stir the imagination and quicken the spirit, and then I feel certain that the educational effort will be made proportionate to the need. At present we are merely marking time.

I have spoken with frankness and candour in the last paragraph, both of my hopes and fears, for the disease that is eating into the body politic of modern India is too grave and serious for superficial treatment.

Delhi.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NORTHERN TIRTHA

A Brief Summary of the Sequence of Hinduism as seen in the Himawant.

Buddhism and prehistoric Hinduism, largely planetary, worship of Daksha, Ganesh, Garud, Narasinha, &c.

Hindu Siva—in succession to Brahma—the four-headed Sivas at Gopeshwar, the four-headed Dharmachakra at Agastyamuni and at Joshi Math.

Era of Devi-worship—Synthetising itself to Siva, with Ganesha as son. Nine forms of Devi. Kedar Nath, Joshi Math, Siva and Parbatty. Later, Siva becomes Arddhanari and the Siva in three stages as at Gupta Kashi, also Gopeshwar, also Devi Dhura, above Kathgodam, also Kamaleswar in Srinagar.

Possible Era of Ramayana—Dronprayag and all places named on behalf of Rama, &c.

Era of Mahabharata, bringing in worship of Satya Narain. Traces numerous, Vyasa Ganga to Kedar Nath &c.

Esp. Temple of five Pandavas, before entering Srinagar.

Sankaracharyan Siva-worship. Bilwakedar, Kedar Nath, Bhethu Chatty.

Mediaeval Vaishnavism. Srinagar, Gupta Kashi, Bhethu Chatty, Kedar Nath, and the valleys of Badri Narayan.

Siva again substituted for Narayana at Gupta Kashi under pressure of some special circumstances

It must be understood that each of these phases is liable to develop itself continuously, from its inception, so that none of the succeeding eras stands alone. At each place named, it may be only a trace that is left of any given era. It must not be expected that the site shall be eloquent of it.

KEDAR NATH and Badri Narayan are thus to be regarded as the cathedral cities of adjacent dioceses. Each has its four dependent centres, and the still smaller diocese of Gopeswar has also its minor sites of religious importance. On the road to Gangotri, there is an old religious capital called Barahat; and Adh Badri must not be forgotten—on the road to Kathgodam. By all, the visit of Sankaracharya,—sometime between 600 and 800 A. D.,—is claimed as if it had been a recent event, vividly remembered, and this would tend, other things being conformable, to show that these sites were already old, at the time of his coming. We can hardly doubt that this was so. It is evident enough that in his name,—whether he was in fact the Malabari Sankaracharya who wrote the Commentaries, or, as a recent writer, Rajendra Lal Ghose, would have us believe, a Bengali scholar who formed the power behind Shashanka, the anti-Buddhistic king,—a strong wave of Saivism swept up all the valleys of the Himalayas. It was this wave, the work of this gigantic epoch-making mind, that finally purged the *saivite* idea of all its pre-historic, physical elements, and fastened upon Siva the subtle poetic conception of the great monk, throned on the snows and lost in one eternal meditation. Every thing in Hindu imagery of Mahadev that conflicts with this notion, is pre-Sankaracharian.

Even in this, however, it must be remembered that Sankaracharya is rather the end of a process than an individual. In the *Kumar Sambhava*, the Birth of the War Lord, of Kalidas, we see the same Aryanising process at work on the congeries of elements that even then were seething and fuming about the feet of one who would fain cast himself upon the ocean of the thought of God as Siva. A people that had learnt under Buddhism to worship the solitary life of spiritual culture, a people whose every instinct made for the sanctity of the home, and the purity of the family, found themselves on the one hand enrapt by the conception of God as the Great Monk, and on the other puzzled by the presence of Parbatty, with a train of alien associations. The riddle was solved by the genius of Kalidas. In the *Kumar Sambhava* he vindicated triumphantly the Indian ideal

of woman and marriage. In Uma, we have a vision of life and love in which the Aryan imagination can rest, without tremor or misgiving. The last remnant of early Bacchus-ideals is banished, however, by the stern fiat of Sankaracharya. Even the popular imagination is called into leash. The Great God is established finally, as the light of knowledge within the soul, Purusha the stirless, the Destroyer of Ignorance. The great prayer to Rudra :

From the Unreal, lead us to the Real !
 From Darkness, lead us unto Light !
 From Death, lead us to Immortality !
 Reach us through and through ourself
 And evermore protect us—Oh Thou Terrible !—
from ignorance.
 By Thy Sweet Compassionate Face !

Might well have been the utterance of Sankaracharya, in the hour of placing the keystone in the arch of the national conception.

The emblem of Siva which was established by the teacher for worship, in supersession of all others, would seem to have been the hump or heap of natural rock, as we find it at Kedar Nath, at the Kedar Nath monastery in Benares, at Bilwakedar, and elsewhere. I found it a few weeks ago, in a temple on the Ganges bank above Dukkheswar. The emblem that had been in use before his time was undoubtedly that in three stages, cube, octagonal cylinder and thimble-shaped top, the form which was universal in the time of Varaha-Mihira, 550 A.D.

But this Siva was too intimately associated with the image of Arddhanari, even as we find it at Gupta Kashi, to be tolerable to the fastidious mind of Sankaracharya. He would have no Siva in the midst of his Saktis,—the interpretation which had now transformed the four-headed Brahma into the Tantrik Mahadev, as at Gopeswar, and at Chandra Nath near Chittagong.

Nor would he have a form even remotely capable of a phallic rendering. To this fiery monastic intelligence, such a significance was in itself degradation, and he could not away with it. Back, then, to the ancient sanctity of the mound, back to the purity and simplicity of nature ! By a curious irony of history, the violent enemy of Buddhist Tantrik abuses became the restorer of the Buddhist Stupa to worship !

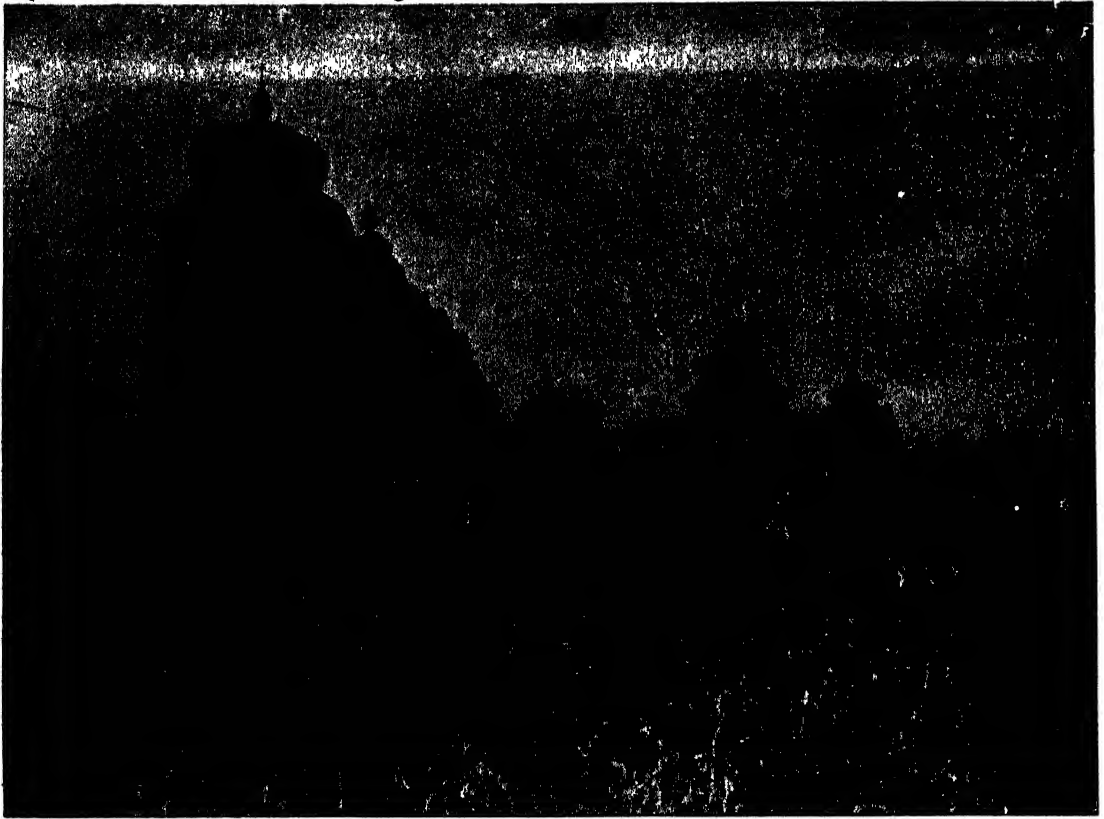
The taste of the whole people endorsed his criticism, and even as they seem to have accepted his repudiation of human sacrifice, in the cause of mother-worship, at Srinagar, so at each sacred site, they set up the Great God for supreme veneration, and where this deity was new, they established Him in His Sankaracharyan form. At Gupta Kashi, whatever its name then was, Siva was already worshipped as Arddhanari, and no change was made, though we cannot doubt that the spiritual impact of the new thought was adequately realised. But at Kedar Nath itself, and at Bhethu Chatty, where Satya-Narain, or Vishnu was the chief deity, Siva, in His new form, was substituted.

The same tide of the Sankaracharyan energy swept also over the valleys leading up to Badri Narayan, and Joshi Math and Pipalkoti still remain, to testify to the pre-Ramanuja Saivism of these parts. But at Joshi Math there are traces in abundance of a world still older than that of Sankaracharya. Its theological name—Dhyani Badri—suggests to the ear that *Badri* is a corruption of *Buddha*, and opens up a long vista of antiquity. Whether this be so or not, its position on the Tibetan road has exposed it to a whole series of influences, from which the more secluded valleys of Kedar Nath have been protected. By comparing the two, we may perhaps succeed in computing the number and importance of the Mongolian elements that have entered into the great synthesis called Hinduism.

The true place of Badri Narayan in history may perhaps be better understood when it is mentioned that it was long a pilgrimage of obligation to the Tibetan Lamas, and that even now certain Tibetan monasteries pay it tribute. It is for them, in fact, the first of that chain of sacred places that ends, for the Buddhistic nations, with Gaya. Seen from this point of view the importance of Badri Narayan as a place of *Sraddh* acquires a new significance. It is the holiest of all. The requiem that has been said here, may be repeated nowhere else. The dead whose repose has here been prayed for, reach final peace. It will, I think, be found that that there is no special place of *Sraddh* in India, which is not either a place of Buddhistic pilgrimage, or else, like Deva

Prayag, an important point on the Tibetan road. And while the habit of prayer for and benediction of the dead is one to which the human heart everywhere must respond, there is not an equal universality, perhaps, in the mode of thought that regards as somehow spoilt and exhausted, the rice, furnishings, and money that are dedicated as oblations to the departed. There is in this an element curiously incongruous with our modern, Indo-European modes of feeling, though it has much that is kindred to it, in ancient Egyptian, and in the Chinese faith. Yet the poetry of the prayer that can be perfected only on the sunlit heights of Badri Narayan, none will, I think, gainsay. Here sorrow ends in peace. Here the dead parent and the living child are uplifted together in a common soothing. And the Love of God throbs out, like a lighted lamp within the shrine, across that temple-court, where the women perform *pradakshina*, telling their beads, and lost in the dream beyond life and death alike.

The mediæval Vaishnavism that began with Ramanuja and dominated the whole life of India in so many ways, during the middle ages, captured Badri Narayan and its subject seats. But at Kedar Nath, it only succeeded in establishing the minor pilgrimage of Triyugi Narain in the immediate neighbourhood. The name of this shrine marks the same eager ambition that we saw in the legend of Narada, at the temple of the five Pandavas in Srinagar, to claim for itself continuity with an older pre-Sankaracharyan orthodox authentic Hinduism. This was the same Vaishnavism that blossomed later into the Ramayana of Tulsidas. It was the same that found expression in Guru Nanak in the Punjab, in Tukaram in Maharashtra, and even—though in such different form!—in Chaitanya in Bengal. Even in the life of Ramanuja, in Chaitanya, in Guru Nanak, and in Tukaram, it is pre-eminently an uprising of the people. Even in Meera Bai in Rajputana, it represents opportunity for women and in the Himalayas at least it found expression in a new order of architecture, seen in perfection at Bhethu Chatty—The tall lily-like tower crowned with the *amalaki*, which is slightly more, modern than the great temple of Bhubaneswar



TEMPLE OF BHUBANESWAR.

in Orissa, even as that represents a later phase of the Bodh-Gaya type. One of the most interesting problems of Indian history lies in the question why a movement that was marked by so many common features throughout the rest of India, should have assumed so distinctive a character in Bengal. Vaishnavism, as a whole, is a subject that calls for careful and extensive study. Its history will be found to be twisted out of many strands, and it will often happen that some slight disagreement on a point of doctrine or symbolism indicates a difference of ages and of provinces in origin. Going back to the period before the Saivism of Sankaracharya and before even the Satya-Narain that that superseded, what do we find, of an older Hinduism still? There can be no doubt that the Ramachandra of Deva-Prayag is older. Here Ramachandra would seem to have been established before the time of the Guptas (319 A.D. onwards) when Siva was the chief deity of Hinduism. Just as

in the Ramayana itself, so also here at Deva-Prayag the one statement made and emphasised is that Rama the Incarnation of Vishnu, is Siva. That is to say, the Godhead of Siva, when this site was dedicated, was nowhere in dispute. It was not a point that called for argument. We cannot help wondering if there was not an early attempt to *Ramayanise* the whole Himawant, so to say. Lakshman Jhula and Dronghat met us at the very outset of our journey. And it is certain that "the days of Rama" seem antiquity itself to the people, and that every village not otherwise named is Rampur or Rambarra, or Ramnagar.

Whether this was so or not, it is fairly certain that in the age when a knowledge of the Mahabharat represented ideal culture, a great and authoritative effort was made, to associate this whole region with the Pandavas. That the attempt was undertaken, with an eye to the work as literature, and not on the basis of ancient, pre-historic

traditions, is shown by the little chapel dedicated to Vyasa, in the valley of Vyasa-gunga. Here the pilgrim about to follow up the stations of the Mahabharata could first make salutation to the master-poet. Of all the elements contained in this particular stratum of tradition, the personality of Bhima—or, as the people call him, 'Bhim Sen'—the strong man of Hinduism, stands out as most pre-historic. There is here something unique, something that has a sanction of its own, in the popular mind, not derived from its place in the national epic. "Bhima," as a member of our own party exclaimed, "is undoubtedly the genuine article!"

If there really was a prior movement for connecting Himawant with the ideas of the Ramayana, succeeded by the Mahabharata-epoch,—bringing in the worship of Satya-Narain—then before either of these came the great era of Devi. There is a chapel of the nine forms of Devi still, at Kedar Nath, and the oldest and most active of the seven minor temples at Joshi Math contains the same images. In order really to understand this idea, it would be necessary to make a separate and complete study of it, as it is found in all the different parts of India. But in the meantime, it is fairly certain that in its most elaborate form, it made its advent into these mountains before the era of Satya-Narain, and it is worth while also to note the relationship of its great centres to the Tibetan road. Two of these are Gopeswar near Chamdi and Devi Dhura above Kathgodam.

The impulse of Devi-worship seems to have been syncretising. It attached itself to that cult of Siva which was already accepted and carrying with it the pre-historic Ganesha, established a holy family. No one who has heard the tale of the headless Ganesha, below Kedar Nath, can fail to recognise the fact that this god had already had a history, before being established as the son of Siva and Parvati. The frequency of his images is one of the surest marks of age, in a Siva-shrine, and his medallion over the door of the chaitya-shaped building that covers the spring at Bhethu Chatty, marks out that structure, as surely as its Buddhistic form, as the oldest of the buildings in the neighbourhood.

Before any of these developments, came the Buddhistic missionaries, who, from the time of the great Nirvana, carried the Gospel to the Himawant. Of this phase of history, little or no trace remains, save in the chaitya-form of the shrine of the Mother at Gopeswar, the spring-cover at Bhethu Chatty, and the temple of the nine forms of Devi at Joshi Math, and in the fact that at Nalla we seemed to see the development of the temple out of the stupa. Whether, besides this, the very word 'Badri'—with its 'Dhyani Badri' as the esoteric name of Joshi Math—is also a trace of Buddhism must be decided by others. One thing is clear. All the Buddhistic texts and deeds that are written on birch bark come from the Himalayas, and as these are many, the Himalayas must have been the scene of great life and activity during the Buddhistic period.

The whole region of the pilgrimage forms a *cul-de-sac* of Hinduism—even better than that of Orissa, in which one may study the birth and origin of manifold things that have gone to form the great synthesis of the national faith. The sensitiveness that certain sites have shown to the whole historic sequence of religious developments, marks their early establishment as Buddhistic centres. And in every case we find the characteristic that distinguishes the Hindu temple still, the tendency to gather round the central theme or shrine an account of the religion as it stands at the moment. The tendency to crowd on a single site, temple, stupa, sacred tree, school, monastery and dharmshala is one that may be seen in Buddhist countries still, throwing a flood of light on the genesis of such places as Agastyamuni, Kamaleswar, Nalla, and Gopeswar.

The northern Tirtha forms a great palimpsest of the history of Hinduism. Record has here been written upon record. Wave has succeeded wave. And still the bond that knits these farthest points north, to the farthest south, is living and unbroken, and the people stream along the pilgrim roads, in worship, to testify to the fact that without the conception of India as a whole we can explain no single part or item of the Indian life. But the greatest of all synthesis is that which is written in the minds and hearts of the simple Himalayan

peasantry themselves. Successive waves of sectarian enthusiasm have made their country what it is but the people themselves are no sectaries. To them, Siva, Devi, and Narayan are all sacred, and in their

grasp of the higher philosophy of Hinduism, they are, without exception, true Hindus.

जय कैदारनाथ खाली को जय !

जय बदरी विशाल को जय !

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

EDUCATION IN LONDON

II.

THERE was a time in the history of Education in India, when Anglo-Indian Administrators thought that education higher than elementary was no concern of the State and that the latter was not justified in spending a large amount of public revenues on the same. Since then there has been a great change in the attitude of the Government towards education. The pendulum now swings to the side of all educational activity being subjected to State control. All the same the Indian Government have not yet accepted their responsibility for giving free elementary education to the people; nor have they realized that education should be among those matters which ought to form a first charge upon the revenues of the State. In England and other western countries, however, it is now accepted as the first axiom of good government, and year by year the figures of the Parliamentary grant for education rise higher and higher. In 1906-7 the net total expenditure on education out of the Parliamentary vote, for England and Wales, was 13,166,788 pounds sterling or something about 20 crores in Indian coin. In 1907-8 it rose to £13,272,624 sterling and in 1908-9 to 13,484,117£. Out of this £740,068, i. e., over a crore of rupees, was spent on secondary schools and pupil teachers, about Rs. 75 lakhs on technical institutions, besides between 7 and 8 lakhs on the Colleges of Science and Art.

In the preceding article we gave an account of elementary education in London. In this article we propose to give information concerning secondary, higher and technical education within the same area.

THE SCHOLARSHIPS.

The London County Council aims at giving a complete education to every boy and girl that desires the same and with that view they have established a comprehensive system of scholarships which are divided into three classes: the county scholarships, the technical, industrial and other scholarships and scholarships for students intending to become teachers.

The county scholarships provide a complete scheme by which a boy or girl may proceed from the public elementary school at the age of 11 to the highest grades of education at a university, technical college, or other institution providing advanced training.

Every boy and girl in the elementary schools in London who has reached a certain standard by the age of 11 is required to sit for an examination in English and Arithmetic. On the result of this examination, combined with the reports from the schools, the "junior" county-scholarships are awarded. The scholarships are also open (under certain conditions as to income) to children who are not in attendance at elementary schools. The number of junior scholarships awarded each year is at present about 1,700. The scholarships are tenable for 3 years in the first instance and are renewable for a further period of 2 years, if the scholar is reported to be capable of profiting by further education, i. e., they are held as a rule till the scholars attain the age of 16. They may be held at almost any secondary school in London. (Boys and girls who do not succeed in obtaining junior county scholarships at the age of 11, have an opportunity of entering for supplementary junior county-scholarships at the age of 13).

At the age of 16 some of the scholars will leave school for industrial or business pursuits; others will be recommended for bursaries, which will enable them to continue at secondary schools for another year with a view to entering the teaching profession; others will obtain "intermediate" county-scholarships which will enable them to continue their education at school until the age of 18 or 19. About 300 of these "intermediate" county-scholarships are offered for competition each year. They may be competed for both by junior county-scholars and by other pupils in secondary schools, whose parents' incomes do not exceed a certain limit. On attaining the age of 18 "intermediate" scholars or other pupils in the secondary schools within the above income limit may apply for senior county-scholarships enabling them to proceed to a university or a technical college and go through a three years' or four years' course of advanced study.

The technical and industrial scholarships consist partly of day-scholarships which are of sufficient value to enable a student to devote his whole time to study and partly of evening exhibitions to assist those who are employed in the day-time to continue their studies in the evening. Special attention has been given recently to the establishment of trade scholarships to enable boys and girls of about 14 years of age to qualify themselves for some particular trade or occupation. Among the occupations provided for, are Book-Production, Building, Cookery, Engineering, Furniture and Cabinet-making, Silversmithing, Woodwork, Corset-making, Dress-making, Laundry work, Millinery, Photography and Upholstery.

The scholarships awarded by the Council provide the holders, as a rule, with maintenance grants as well as with free education.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

In order to be recognised as a secondary school by the Board of Education a school must offer to each of its pupils a progressive course of general education (with the requisite organisation, curriculum, teaching staff and equipment) of a kind and amount suitable for pupils of an age-range at

least as wide as from 12—17. Provision made for pupils below the age of 12 must be similarly suitable, and in proper relation to the work done in the main portion of the school.

In 1904, when the London County Council assumed its powers with regard to higher education, there were 88 public secondary schools in London, providing accommodation for about 30,000 pupils. These schools varied greatly as regards origin, aim, constitution of governing body, and scale of fees charged. A considerable number of them were endowed schools of established reputation, supported entirely by income from endowment and fees. Of these, the St. Paul's School, founded by Dean Colet in 1512, may be taken as an example. This school and some other schools founded at a later date, among which some of the most important are those of the Girls' Public Day School Trust, may be described as "first grade" schools. Their curriculum is designed so as to meet the requirements of a certain proportion of pupils who will remain at school to the age of 18, and of whom a certain number will continue their education at one of the universities. The Girls' Public Day School Trust which was inaugurated in 1872, has for more than 30 years taken an important part in providing in London and the provinces a scheme of "first grade" education for girls.

A considerable number of "second grade" schools have also been established from time to time in London with the aid of charitable endowments. These "second grade" schools were intended for pupils whose school life would not, as a rule, be extended beyond the age of 16.

Since 1904, the Council has found it necessary to supplement the provision of secondary education by organising 20 secondary schools under its own management. These "County Secondary Schools" provide accommodation for about 6,000 pupils.

There is, however, still a considerable variety in the types of secondary schools. This is shown by the difference in the fees, which vary from about Rs. 450 to about Rs. 45 a year (i.e. for Rs. 37-6 to Rs. 3-9 p. m.).

For many years since the passing of the Technical Instruction Acts, the Council has

made annual grants to about 50 of the secondary schools in London. These schools are visited from time to time by the Council's Inspectors, who report where improvement appears to be required. One of the objects which the Council has had in view in making grants is the improvement of the teaching staff by means of the offer of adequate salaries, realising that the efficiency of the school depends on the efficiency of the staff and that capable teachers can only be attracted by adequate remuneration. Grants have also been made for the proper provision of accommodation for science, art, and manual work, and for teacher's and pupil's libraries. The grants towards the enlargement of the buildings have been considerable.

The total public secondary school accommodation in London at the present time is approximately 16,000 for boys and 19,000 for girls, a total of about 35,000 or about 7·4 per thousand of the population. This figure, says the County Council Education Office, appears low for a town of the wealth and importance of London. It must, however, be remembered that it does not include the numerous private schools situated in London and further that the number of London children being educated at secondary schools in the country is very considerable.

The Council has introduced a scale of salaries applicable to secondary schools. Head masters receive salaries varying from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 12000 a year, and head mistresses' salaries vary from Rs. 4500 to Rs. 9000 a year according to the size of the schools. Assistant masters commence at a minimum of Rs. 2250 and rise by increments of Rs. 150 to Rs. 4500 or in some cases Rs. 5250; assistant mistresses commence at a minimum of Rs. 1800 and rise by increments of Rs. 150 to Rs. 3300, in some cases Rs. 3750. A lower scale is in force for assistants who do not possess a University degree.

CLASSES AND LECTURES FOR TEACHERS.

The Council, having in mind that a teacher to be successful must continue to be a student makes considerable provision for classes and lectures for teachers engaged in public elementary and secondary schools in London. The permanently organised classes for teachers may be divided into three main groups—(1) classes intended to

improve the teacher's efficiency in regard to certain special subjects of the school curriculum, such as Drawing, Science, Singing, Infant Work and Drill; (2) lectures and demonstrations at public galleries or museums with the object of enabling teachers who take their classes to these galleries to make the visits more beneficial and more interesting to their pupils and (3) University classes which have been established with a view to bringing the teachers into contact with original workers in various branches of learning. Classes coming under the first category are organised by the Council in its own schools. During the session 1909-10, 7,987 teachers were enrolled. The classes in the third category are organised by the University of London at such schools of the University as the University College, King's College, King's College for Women, Bedford College, and the London School of Economics and Political Science. The subject matter of the lectures covers a very wide range, including such different subjects as Modern Languages and Literature, History, Science, Mathematics and Domestic Science. The number of teachers who enrolled themselves at these lectures in 1909-10 was 2,308. The classes in the second category have only recently been inaugurated.

In addition to the above classes, which may be considered as forming part of the permanent educational system of London, the Council has established classes for assisting unqualified teachers in private schools to obtain some recognised qualification. These classes may be regarded as a temporary expedient rendered necessary by the situation created by the Education Act of 1902. As all teachers now appointed to the London service must possess the teacher's certificate, the need for the classes will gradually disappear.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

The University of London is responsible for the organisation of courses of University Extension Lectures throughout London. During the recent session 186 courses have been held at 70 different centres in London and the suburbs.

The London County Council works in close connection with the University, and makes annual grants both to the University

itself and also to the constituent schools of the University, including the Imperial College of Technology. During the year 1909-10 building and equipment grants were voted by the Council to three of the schools of the University, *viz.*, Bedford College, University College and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The whole question of the organisation of University education in London is at the present time under the consideration of a Royal Commission which was appointed in February 1909, and which has not yet issued its report.

TECHNICAL AND EVENING SCHOOL EDUCATION.

POLYTECHNICS AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTES.

Higher professional instruction is provided at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, at University College and King's College, and other institutions of University rank. In addition, a large share of the work of technical instruction, especially of students who are engaged in some branch of industrial employment during the day, is carried on in polytechnics and technical institutes. These institutions may be divided into three categories:—

- (1) Those aided by the London County Council.
- (2) Those maintained by the London County Council.
- (3) Those receiving no aid from the London County Council.

The institutions vary greatly in size. Thus, the Regent Street Polytechnic has over 10,000 students and receives grants from the Council amounting to over £10,000 a year, while the College for Working Women, with a hundred or so students, receives about £15 a year from the Council.

The institutions aided by the Council have on their books the names of over 30,000 students and they receive annually from the Council, building, equipment and maintenance grants, amounting to about £110,000. Apart from the financial assistance given by the Council, their income is made up of Board of Education grants, endowment, grants from the City Parochial Foundation, students' fees and voluntary subscriptions. Included in this

division there are ten polytechnics, the Goldsmiths' College (Art School and Evening Classes), a number of Art Schools, "Monotechnic" institutions, such as the St. Bride Institute Printing School and the Leathersellers' Company's Technical College, and a group of institutions such as the Working Men's College and the Morley College, which deal largely with the humanities. Each institution has a governing body on which the Council is represented.

The institutions maintained by the Council are 17 in number. They cost annually about £80,000, and deal with nearly 11,000 students. The difference between this expenditure and the receipts from Government grants and fees is made good from the rates. The most important of these schools are the Central and Camberwell Schools of Arts and Crafts, which provide instruction in a great variety of artistic crafts; the Paddington Technical Institute, of which the chief work is in connection with the Engineering and Building Trades; the Hackney Institute, which deals with engineering subjects and has also an art school, a music department, a science department and building trade classes; the School of Building, Clapham, which deals only with Building Trades; the Shoreditch Technical Institute, which provides chiefly for the Furniture Trades; and the School of Photo-Engraving and Lithography, at Bolt Court, Fleet Street, for the Photo-Process and Allied Trades.

The great majority of the students who are in attendance at these technical institutions are evening students who are engaged in commercial or industrial pursuits in the day-time. There is, however, a steadily growing number of day students who are either preparing to take up industrial work or who are already so engaged and are able to attend day classes by permission of their employers. The Evening Trade Classes which constitute the bulk of the evening work are, as a rule, confined to *bonafide* workers of the respective trades. The fee for these classes is small and in the Council's own institutions apprentices, improvers and learners under 21 years of age are admitted free.

Increasing importance is being attached to the organisation of Day Trade Schools

for boys and girls who are leaving the elementary schools. These schools provide a course extending over two or three years and are intended to prepare boys and girls for some particular skilled industry.

The day work covers a wide field and includes courses for students working for their degrees; art classes for training designers, teachers, and skilled craftsmen; pre-apprenticeship instruction for boys, entering such trades as Engineering, Building, Silversmithing, Book-Production, Cabinet-making and Cookery; trade instruction for girls in Dress-making, Waistcoat-making, Upholstery, Corset-making, Millinery, Ladies' Tailoring and Photography and Domestic Economy classes for girls and young women.

Practically all the classes in the schools in (1) and (2) are assisted by grants from the Board of Education, which amount annually to upwards of Rs. 675,000.

The most important institution in division (3) is the City and Guilds Finsbury Technical College, which provides a two-year course for those desirous of entering the mechanical engineering and electrical engineering trades and a three-year course for those entering chemical trades. Other schools which may be mentioned as coming under this head are the Trades Training School, Great Titchfield Street; the Leather Trades School, Bethnal Green; and the South London Technical Art School.

Some of the scholarships and exhibitions referred to before varying in value from Rs. 750 to 75, are tenable at the various polytechnics and technical institutes in the County.

EVENING SCHOOLS.

In addition to the polytechnics and technical institutes London possesses a large number of evening schools, conducted in the buildings of the Council's elementary schools. These evening schools are of three kinds, namely: free schools, ordinary evening schools, and commercial and science and art centres.

In the free schools, instruction is provided in such general subjects as reading, writing, arithmetice, English, history and geography (illustrated by lantern slides). Classes are also held in vocal music, gymnastics and physical drill, swimming,

first aid, home-nursing, cookery, laundry-work, millinery, dress-making and needle-work. In some of these schools an industrial course in technical drawing and workshop arithmetic is taken preparatory to the industrial courses at the technical institutes. Instruction is also given in wood-work, wood-carving and metal-work.

In regard to the ordinary schools, although most of the subjects taught in the free schools are also taken at ordinary schools, the work in the general subjects is of a more advanced character. In addition, elementary instruction is given in commercial subjects, such as book-keeping, shorthand, type-writing, and office routine. Students are prepared for examinations for the minor appointments in the Civil Service, and for those conducted by the Royal Society of Arts and Chamber of Commerce. Classes are also held in many of the schools for the study of English literature and foreign languages.

The commercial centres are intended for students whose previous education enables them to take advantage of the more advanced character of the instruction given. Organised courses, covering two or three years, and consisting of two or more subjects, are arranged so as to provide a progressive course of study. Students under 17 years of age are only admitted to the centres on condition that, as a rule, they join a course and guarantee to attend regularly on at least three evenings a week. In addition to the more advanced work in the commercial subjects taken in the ordinary schools, special classes are conducted in such subjects as accountancy, banking, commercial law, &c.

The science and art centres provide elementary and intermediate instruction in science and art subjects leading up to the advanced work at the technical institutes and schools of art and the polytechnics.

The free and ordinary schools are open generally on three evenings a week, between the hours of 7-30 and 9-30, and the centres on four evenings a week for about two and a half hours each evening.

The fees charged to the students are one shilling the session in the ordinary schools, 2s. 6d. the session in the commercial centres, and 5s. the session in the science

and art centres. These fees cover all subjects of inspection.

The total number of evening schools is 273, and the number of students enrolled in the past winter was about 125,000.

The head masters and head mistresses of the elementary day schools endeavour to induce boys and girls, when they leave school, to continue their education in the

evening schools, and a considerable number show themselves willing to join the classes.

The reader will have seen how complete, thorough and all embracing a provision for education exists in the County of London.

What is true of the County of London, is more or less true of the whole kingdom.

LAJPAT RAI.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH

II

ONE of the objects of the Society for Psychical Research, it will be remembered, is to "inquire into various alleged phenomena apparently inexplicable by known laws of nature and commonly referred by spiritualists to the agency of extra-human intelligences". The society was singularly fortunate in finding a thoroughly honest and trustworthy medium whose trance phenomena have been under the close observation of men like Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. Myers, Mr. Walter Leaf, Dr. Richard Hodgson and others for upwards of a quarter of a century. She is the renowned Mrs. Piper. The discovery of her is due to Professor William James. Hearing about Mrs. Piper from a friend, Prof. James's mother-in-law, Mrs. Gibbens, asked for a sitting out of curiosity, as she had never before seen a medium. Mrs. Gibbens was sceptical when she went to Mrs. Piper, but came back greatly impressed, as the spirit purporting to communicate through Mrs. Piper gave her private details unknown to persons not belonging to her family. This spirit, real or feigning, called itself "Phinuit". On the day following Mrs. Gibbens' visit to Mrs. Piper, Professor James's sister-in-law went to see her and obtained even more surprising results. For example, Phinuit gave entirely correct details about the writer of a letter in Italian, by placing the letter on the medium's forehead and deciphering its contents. Mrs. Piper is quite ignorant of that language.

The Italian who had written that letter was not known to more than two persons in the whole United States. Professor James, however, was amused by the statements of his relatives and laughed at their credulity. Nevertheless, his curiosity was awakened and a few days after, he and his wife asked Mrs. Piper for a sitting, taking, of course, all possible precautions against their identity being known. Intimate details about Professor James's family which could not by any means be normally known to Mrs. Piper were given.* The impression produced on Prof. James's mind after this first sitting was that unless Mrs. Piper knew his own and his wife's families very intimately, of which, however, there was not the slightest chance, she must be possessed of supernormal powers. In the course of the winter, he had twelve more sittings with Mrs. Piper and the result was that his scepticism was thoroughly shaken. The following are examples of the kind of information which Phinuit gave.

* It is necessary to state here that when a sitting takes place, Mrs. Piper falls into a deep trance and becomes quite unconscious. The genuineness of the trance has been testified to by competent medical and other observers. At the time when Prof. James saw her and for some time after, during a trance, the voice of the unconscious Mrs. Piper was controlled by Phinuit and communications were made verbally. Later on, when George Pelham became the communicator, the messages were conveyed by means of automatic writing. Sometimes the voice and the right hand were controlled by two different "spirits" and different communications quite unrelated to each other were simultaneously made.

Professor James's mother-in-law had, on her return from Europe, lost her bank-note. At a sitting held soon afterwards, Phinuit was asked whether he could give any information about it. He told her exactly where it was and there it was found.

At another sitting Phinuit told Professor James, who was not accompanied by Mrs. James, "your child has a boy named Robert F. as a play-fellow in our world." The F's were cousins of Mrs. James who lived in a distant town. On returning home, Prof. James said to his wife, "your cousins the F's have lost a child, haven't they? But Phinuit made a mistake about the sex; he said it was a boy." Mrs. James confirmed the exactness of Phinuit's information; her husband had been wrong.

Thus learning that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in the Philosophy taught at Harvard, Professor James was naturally led to consider the question whether the orthodox belief that there can be nothing in any one's knowledge that has not come in through ordinary experiences of sense is tenable. "It is a miserable thing," he says, "for a question of truth to be confined to mere presumption and counter-presumption, with no decisive thunderbolt of fact to clear the baffling darkness.... For me the thunderbolt has fallen, and the orthodox belief has not merely had its presumption weakened, but the truth itself of the belief decisively overthrown. If I may employ the language of the professional logic-shop, a universal proposition can be made untrue by a particular instance. If you wish to upset the law that all crows are black, you must not seek to show that no crows are; it is enough if you prove one single crow to be white. My own white crow is Mrs. Piper. In the trances of this medium, I can not resist the conviction that knowledge appears which she has never gained by the ordinary waking use of her eyes, ears and wits. What the source of this knowledge may be I know not, and have not the glimmer of an explanatory suggestion to make, but from admitting the fact of such knowledge I can see no escape" (*The Will to Believe and Other Essays*, Pp. 318-19).

On the recommendation of Professor James, the Society for Psychical Research

took up the investigation of the trance phenomena of Mrs. Piper in 1885 and the investigation still continues. The person to whom this great and responsible task was entrusted was Dr. Richard Hodgson, LL.D. "Dr. Hodgson", says Prof. James, "is distinguished by a balance of mind almost as rare as Sidgwick's". When he began these investigations, he was a pronounced agnostic and a thorough disbeliever in supernormal phenomena. He did not think that a future life was probable. He possessed intimate knowledge of the conjuring tricks often employed by fraudulent mediums to deceive their dupes and was thus able to unmask many a pseudo-medium. He it was who detected the tricks of Eusapia Palladino at the series of Cambridge sittings and it was again he who exposed Madame Blavatsky. He went to America in 1885 to study the trance phenomena of Mrs. Piper and lived there almost continuously for twenty years until his death in 1905, devoting himself entirely to this work. The infinite patience and perseverance with which he carried on the great work likely to result in discoveries of far-reaching consequence, quite unmindful of other interests and attractions and at great personal sacrifice is beyond all praise. No noble achievement is possible without such single-minded devotion. Dr. Hodgson, of course, took all possible precautions against fraud on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Piper. I have no space to describe the elaborate and stringent measures adopted to guard against possible fraud. The reader will find them set forth in minute detail in the several reports on the Piper case in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Suffice it to say, that during a quarter of a century of close observation, the thorough honesty of Mrs. Piper has been unchallengably established and no adverse critic of her trance phenomena, not even Mr. Podmore, seriously entertains the hypothesis of fraud. After Dr. Hodgson had observed Mrs. Piper for sometime in America, she was taken to England to make assurance doubly sure that informations were not acquired by her by ordinary means. Fraud was impossible in a country where Mrs. Piper was a total stranger and was out of her habitual environment. All the precau-

sions taken in America were taken in England also. In England she came under the observation of Sir Oliver (then Mr.) Lodge, Frederic Myers and Mr. Walter Leaf. All were convinced that supernormal knowledge is displayed during her trance but it was not thought necessary to have recourse to the hypothesis of spirit communication to account for it. Telepathy and possibly clairvoyance could, it was felt, explain most of the phenomena. Sir Oliver Lodge and Mr. Myers, however, admitted that some of the trance communications strongly suggested the agency of spirits.

As samples of the phenomena that occurred during this period, I quote the following from Sir Oliver Lodge's account of them.

"One of the best sitters was a friend who for several years was my next door neighbour at Liverpool, Isaac C. Thompson, F. L. S., to whose name indeed, before he had been in any way introduced, Phinuit sent a message purporting to come from his father. Three generations of his and of his wife's family living and dead (small and compact Quaker families,) were in the course of two or three sittings conspicuously mentioned with identifying detail; the main informant representing himself as his deceased brother, a young Edinburgh doctor, whose loss had been mourned some twenty years ago. The familiarity and touchingness of the messages communicated in this particular instance were very remarkable, and can by no means be reproduced in any printed report of the sitting. This case is one in which very few mistakes were made, the details standing out vividly correct, so that in fact they found it impossible not to believe that their relations were actually speaking to them."

"There was a remarkable little incident towards the end of my series of sittings, when this friend of mine was present. A message interpolated itself to a gentleman living in Liverpool, known but not at all intimately known, to both of us, and certainly outside of our thoughts—the head of the Liverpool Post Office, Mr. Rich. The message purported to be from a son of his who had died suddenly a few months ago, and whom I had never seen; though Isaac Thompson had, it seems, once or twice spoken to him. This son addressed I. C. Thompson by name and besought him to convey a message to his father, who, he said, was much stricken by the blow, and who was suffering from a recent occasional dizziness in his head, 'so that he felt afraid he should have to retire from business. Other little things were mentioned of an identifying character; and the message was a few days later duly conveyed. The facts stated were admitted to be correct; and the father though naturally inclined to be sceptical confessed that he had indeed been more than ordinarily troubled at the sudden death of his eldest son because of a recent unfortunate estrangement between them which would otherwise have been only temporary."

The following is an example of Phinuit's knowledge of events occurring elsewhere contemporaneously with a sitting:—

"On the 29th November Professor Henry Sidgwick, of Cambridge, had a sitting with Mrs. Piper. It was arranged that Mrs. Sidgwick, who stayed at home, should do something specially marked during the sitting. Mrs. Piper was to be asked to describe it to prove her power of seeing at a distance. Phinuit, when questioned, replied, 'she is sitting in a large chair, she is talking to another lady, and she is wearing something on her head.' These details were perfectly correct. Mrs. Sidgwick was sitting in a large chair, talking to Miss Alice Johnson, and she had a blue handkerchief on her head. However Phinuit was wrong in his description of the room in which this happened."

This reminds one of the remarkable case of Swedenborg's mediumship which received the attention of the great philosopher Kant and is thus described by him:—

"Madame Herte Ville, the widow of the Dutch Ambassador in Stockholm, sometime after the death of her husband, was called upon by Croon, a goldsmith, to pay for a silver service which her husband had purchased from him. The widow was convinced that her late husband had been much too precise and orderly not to have paid his debt, yet she was unable to find the receipt. In her sorrow, and because the amount was considerable, she requested Mr. Swedenborg to call at her house. After apologising to him for troubling him, she said that if, as all people say, he possessed the extraordinary gift of conversing with the souls of the departed, he would perhaps have the kindness to ask her husband how it was about the silver service. Swedenborg did not at all object to comply with her request. Three days afterwards the said lady had company at her house for coffee. Swedenborg called, and in his cool way informed her that he had conversed with her husband. The debt had been paid several months before his decease, and the receipt was in a bureau in the room upstairs. The lady replied that the bureau had been quite cleared out, and that the receipt was not found among all the papers. Swedenborg said that her husband had described to him, how after pulling out the left hand drawer a board would appear, which required to be drawn out, when a secret compartment would be disclosed, containing his private Dutch correspondence, as well as the receipt. Upon hearing this description the whole company arose and accompanied the lady into the room upstairs. The bureau was opened, they did as they were directed; the compartment was found, of which no one had ever known before, and to the great astonishment of all, the papers were discovered there, in accordance with his description.' (Quoted in Sir Oliver Lodge's *Survival of Man*, Pp. 119-20),

As an illustration of a conversation, during this period, between the sitters and the spirits purporting to communicate, I quote the following:—

The sitters are Professor Oliver Lodge

and his brother Alfred Lodge. The words within brackets are remarks made by Prof. Lodge after the sitting.

"Phinuit "How are you Alfred? I have your mothers influence strong (pause) By George! that's Aunt Anne's ring (feeling ring I had put on my hand just before sitting) given over to you. And Olly dear* that's one of the last things I ever gave you. It was one of the last things I said to you in the body when I gave it you for Mary. 'I said for her through you.' (This is precisely accurate) O. L. (Olive Lodge) yes, I remember perfectly.

Phinuit speaking for Aunt Annie—I tell you I know it, I shall never forget. Keep it in memory of me, for I am not dead. Each spirit is not so dim (?) that it cannot recollect its belongings in the body. They attract us if there has been anything special about them. I tell you my boy I can see it just as plain as if I were in the body (Further conversation and advice ending convince yourself [of a future life] and let others do the same. There's a gentleman wants to speak to you) Mr. E. (an intimate deceased friend of Prof. Lodge, who had appeared before and offered proofs of identity which were verified later) Lodge, how are you? I tell you I am living, not dead. That's me. You know me, don't you?

O. L. Yes, delighted to see you again.

Mr. E. Don't give it up, Lodge. Cling to it. It's the best thing you have...

O. L. Is it bad for the medium?

E. It's the only way, Lodge. In one sense, it is bad, but in another it's good. It's her work. If I take possession of the medium's body, and she goes out, then I can use her organism to tell the world important truths. There is an infinite power above us. Lodge, believe it fully. Infinite over all, most marvellous. One can tell a medium, she is like a ball of light. You look as dark and material as possible, but we find two or three lights shining. It's like a series of rooms with candles at one end. Must use analogy to express it. When you need a light you use it, when you finish you put it out. They are like transparent windows to see through. Lodge, it's a puzzle. It is a puzzle to us here in a way, though we understand it better than you. I don't care for material things now, our interest is much greater. Lodge keep up your courage, there's a quantity to hope for yet. Hold it up for a time. Don't be in a hurry. Get facts, no matter what they call you, go on investigating. Test to fullest. Assure yourself, then publish. It will be all right in the end—no question about it. It's true".

Are these ostensible communications from departed spirits really so? Before this hypothesis can be seriously entertained, the following conditions must be strictly fulfilled. The communicator must prove his identity by unambiguously mentioning definite facts and incidents intimately connected with his earthly life, unknown to

* Here Phinuit is supposed to be reporting Aunt Anne's words in the first person.

the medium and incapable of being surmised by her. It is much better if the facts be unknown even to the sitter. But it must be known to some living person or persons, otherwise it would not be capable of verification. An elevating discourse or a glowing account of the life after death would be useless because unverifiable. Now, in numerous cases those conditions were abundantly fulfilled and yet the workers of the Society did not, at this time, feel themselves justified in attributing the phenomena to spirit agency. Why? Because telepathy bars the way. It must be remembered that spirit communication is the thing to be proved and it cannot be regarded even as a working hypothesis until alternative explanations of the facts break down. During the Phinuit regime, the telepathic theory, though at times the strain on it was very severe, had not broken down. Whether in view of later phenomena, it is still tenable, we shall see by-and-by. The telepathic theory is that during the trance of Mrs. Piper, her secondary personality comes to the fore and personates the dead. The incidents of the earthly life of a personated individual, which must be communicated in order to prove identity, it telepathically gathers from the minds of persons to whom they are known. If they are known to the sitter, so much the better, for, in that case, they are easily accessible. If they are unknown to the sitter they must, in order to be verifiable, be known to living persons and from their minds the medium's telepathic faculty draws them. The medium, let us suppose, is at Boston. Her secondary personality succeeds in effectually deceiving a sitter by making him believe that he has received a communication from a deceased friend or relative by dramatically personating the deceased and collecting the necessary facts for the purpose from the minds of persons at a distance, say at Chicago, Philadelphia, Australia or England, if these facts are unknown to the sitter, as is very often the case. The hypothesis is unquestionably startling and in point of incredibility can fairly be compared with the tales of the Arabian Nights. But, after all, it may be true! Why the secondary personality should invariably be so diabolical and so morbidly anxious to prove the existence of a future life, I have nowhere found

explained. However that may be, in the days of Phinuit, none of the leading members of the Society for Psychical Research thought that they could legitimately back the hypothesis of spirit communication. And it must be admitted that there was ample justification for this attitude. Phinuit himself was perhaps the chief obstacle to the acceptance of the spiritistic hypothesis. He professed to be a spirit controlling Mrs. Piper's organism during her trance. Other spirits communicated through him. They, it was alleged, conveyed their messages to him and he communicated them to the sitters. The proof of the identity of a communicator was often given, but Phinuit utterly failed to prove his own identity. On the whole, he undoubtedly seems to be more like a secondary personality of Mrs. Piper than a spirit.

In his first report on Mrs. Piper, Dr. Hodgson did not think it necessary to go beyond the hypothesis of telepathy from the living, though he frankly admitted that there were many facts which strongly made for the spiritistic hypothesis.

Matters stood thus when a remarkable development took place. Early in 1892, a young man to whom the pseudonym* of George Pelham has been given, died at New York in consequence of a fall. His age was 32. "He," says Dr. Hodgson, "was a lawyer by training, but had devoted himself chiefly to literature and philosophy, and had published two books which received the highest praise from competent authorities. He had resided for many years in Boston or its vicinity, but for three years preceding his death had been living in New York in bachelor apartments. He was an associate of our Society, his interest in which was explicable rather by an intellectual openness and fearlessness characteristic of him than by any tendency to believe in super-normal phenomena. He was in a sense well known to me personally, but chiefly on his intellectual side, the bond between us was not that of an old, intimate and if I may so speak, emotional friendship. We had several long talks together on philosophic subjects, and one very long

discussion, probably at least two years before his death, on the possibility of a "future life". In this he maintained that in accordance with a fundamental philosophic theory which we both accepted, a future life was not only incredible, but inconceivable, and I maintained that it was at least conceivable. At the conclusion of the discussion he admitted that a future life was conceivable, but he did not accept its credibility, and vowed that if he should die before I did, and found himself 'still existing,' he would 'make things lively' in the effort to reveal the fact of his continued existence." George Pelham had only on one occasion a sitting with Mrs. Piper, when, as usual, he was introduced under a false name. The result of the sitting did not impress him much.

On March 22, 1892, about 4 or 5 weeks after Pelham's death, one of his friends, Mr. John Hart (a pseudonym), had a sitting with Mrs. Piper. He took with him some articles belonging to G. P. G. P., whose first manifestation took place at this meeting, at once recognised Hart and greeted him appropriately. On this occasion, he communicated not directly but through Phinuit, who acted as intermediary. George Pelham's real name was given in full and the Christian names and surnames of many of his most intimate friends, including Hart's. Incidents connected with these friends, unknown to the sitter, Mr. Hart or to Dr. Hodgson, were alluded to and subsequently verified. Hart gave a pair of studs to the medium and asked "who gave them to me?"* "That's mine, I gave you that part of it. I sent that to you. (When?) Before I came here. That's mine. Mother gave you that? (No). Well father then, father and mother together. You got these after I passed out. Mother took them. Gave them to father, and father gave them to you. I want you to keep them." Mr. Hart notes: "The studs were sent to me by Mr. Pelham as a remembrance of his son. I knew at the time that they had been taken from G.'s body, and afterwards ascertained that his step-mother had taken them from the body and suggested that they would do to send to me, I having previously

* The reason for pseudonyms being given is the unwillingness of the persons concerned or their relatives to become objects of public curiosity.

* The words within brackets in this extract and in others to follow are remarks made or questions asked by the sitter.

written to ask that some little memento be sent to me." Dr. Hodgson remarks that a good deal of the personal references made cannot be quoted because of their privacy. These were regarded by Hart as profoundly characteristic of Pelham. Pelham's intimate friends James and Mary (Mr. and Mrs.) Howard were mentioned with strongly personal specific references, and in connection with Mrs. Howard the name Katharine was mentioned. "Tell her, she'll know. I will solve the problems, Katharine." Mr. Hart notes, "This had no special significance for me at the time, though I was aware that Katharine, the daughter of Jim Howard, was known to George, who used to live with the Howards. On the day following the sitting I gave Mr. Howard a detailed account of the sitting. These words "I will solve the problems, Katharine" impressed him more than anything else, and at the close of my account he related that George, when he had last stayed with them, had talked frequently with Katharine (a girl of fifteen years of age) upon such subjects as time, space, God, eternity and pointed out to her how unsatisfactory the commonly accepted solutions were. He added that sometime he would solve the problems using almost the very words of the communication made at the sitting." All this was absolutely unknown to Hart or to Dr. Hodgson, who at that time had no acquaintance with the Howards.

Before Mr. and Mrs. Howard had an opportunity of having a sitting,—sittings were held by others for whom previous appointments had been made. At each of these sittings, Phinuit represented Pelham as anxious to see his friends. Only one of the sitters during this period, Mr. Vance, happened to be known to Pelham. At the sitting at which he was present, Pelham expressed a wish to Dr. Hodgson to see his father and made references to two of his friends. Then for the first time he noticed Mr. Vance and dramatically asked, "How is your son? I want to see him some time." "Where did you know my son," inquired Mr. Vance. "In studies, in College" was the reply which was correct. Mr. Vance had a son who was G. P.'s class fellow. "Where did you stay with us," asked Vance. In reply he got a correct description of his country house.

The following extract will give the reader some idea of the sort of conversation that often took place between Dr. Hodgson and George Pelham. The words within round brackets are Dr. Hodgson's.

"I am determined to transfer to you my thoughts, although it will have to be done in this uncanny way. (Never mind. That's all right. We understand) Good. I will move heaven and earth to explain these matters to you, Hodgson. You see I am not asleep. I am wide awake, and I assure you, I am ever ready to help you and to give you things of importance in this work. It was like Greek to me before I came here. I could not believe this existence. I am delighted to have this opportunity of coming here to this life, so as to be able to prove my experiences and existence here. Dear old Hodgson, I wish I could have known you better in your life, but I understand you now, and the philosophy of my being taken out (Didn't you go too soon?) Not too soon, but it is my vocation to be able to explain these things to you and the rest of my friends (Does it do you harm?) And it is all nonsense about its doing me harm, for it surely does no harm and will help to enlighten the world. What think you Hodgson? (I agree entirely. I think it's the most important work in the world). Oh! I am so glad your exalted brains are not too pretentious to accept the real truth and philosophy of my coming and explaining to you these important things (Now, George, we mustn't keep the medium in trance too long) Do not worry about her, she is having a good time, and I will do no harm, you know that too well. [Phinuit speaks] He says he is not an idiot (oh, I know he is not an idiot.)

I understand. You see I hear you. Now I will proceed with my important conversation. Your material universe is very exacting and it requires great practice and perseverance to do all I want to say to you" (*S. P. K. Proceedings, Vol. XIII, P. 314*).

G. P.'s intimate friends Mr. and Mrs. Howard had their first sitting on April 11th, 1892. At the beginning Phinuit spoke a few words and then gave way to George Pelham who controlled the voice of the entranced Mrs. Piper during the rest of the sitting. Very personal and intimate statements, all correct, were made by G. P. Inquiries were made about common friends and the Howards, says Dr. Hodgson, "who were not predisposed to take any interest in Psychical Research, but who had been induced by the account of Mr. Hart to have a sitting with Mrs. Piper, were profoundly impressed with the feeling that they were in truth holding a conversation with the personality of the friend whom they had known so many years." The following extract gives an account of part of the conversations:—

G. P. Jim is that you? Speak to me quick. I am not dead. Don't think me dead. I am awfully

glad to see you. Can't you see me? Don't you hear me? Give my love to my father and tell him I want to see him. I am happy here, and more so since I find I can communicate with you. I pity those people who can't speak. I want you to know I think of you still. I spoke to John about some letters. I left things terribly mixed, my books and my papers. you will forgive me for this, won't you?

(What do you do George, where you are).

I am scarcely able to do anything yet. I am just awakened to the reality of life after death. It was like darkness, I could not distinguish anything at first. Darkest hours just before dawn, you know that, Jim. I was puzzled, confused. Shall have an occupation soon. Now I can see you my friends. I can hear you speak. Your voice, Jim, I can distinguish with your accent and articulation, but it sounds like a big bass drum. Mine would sound to you like the faintest whisper.

(Our conversation then is something like telephoning).
Yes.

(By long distance telephone).

[G. P. laughs.]

(Were you not surprised to find yourself living?)

Perfectly so. Greatly surprised. I did not believe in a future life. It was beyond my reasoning powers. Now it is as clear to me as day light. We have an astral fac-simile of the material body... Jim what are you writing now?

(Nothing of any importance.)

Why don't you write about this?

(I should like to, but the expression of my opinions would be nothing. I must have facts.)

These I will give to you and to Hodgson if he is still interested in these things.

(Will people know about this possibility of communication?)

They are sure to in the end. It is only a question of time when people in the material body will know all about it, and every one will be able to communicate... I want all the fellows to know about me. What is Rogers writing?

(A novel).

No, not that. Is he not writing some thing about me?

(Yes, he is preparing a memorial of you).

That is nice; it is pleasant to be remembered. It is very kind of him. He was always kind to me when I was alive... Berwick, how is he? Give him my love. He is a good fellow. He is what I always thought him in life, trustworthy and honourable. How is Orenberg? He has some of my letters. Give him my warmest love. He was always fond of me, though he understood me least of my friends. We fellows who are eccentric are always misunderstood in life. I used to have fits of depression. I have none now. I am happy now. I want my father to know about this. We used to talk about spiritual things, but he will be hard to convince. My mother will be easier. (*Proceedings, Vol. XIII, PP. 300-301*).

All the references to persons, incidents and characters were correct.

On another occasion, an arrangement was made with G. P. that he should watch his father doing something definite which the Howards could not know and

communicate his observations at the earliest opportunity. The next sitting was held on April 22 at which Mr. Howard was present. G. P. wrote:—

"I saw father and he took my photograph and took it to the artists to have it copied for me. I went to Washington; my father will be hard to convince, my mother not so hard."

Mrs. Howard wrote to Mrs. Pelham about this and other matters mentioned at the sitting and got the following reply from Mr. Pelham:—

"The letters which you have written to my wife giving such extraordinary evidence of the intelligence exercised by George in some incomprehensible manner over the actions of his friends on earth have given food for constant reflection and wonder. Preconceived notions about the future state have received a rude shock... My wife is writing.

Mrs. Pelham wrote:—

Some of the things you state are very inexplicable on any other theory than that George himself was the speaker. His father *did*, without my knowledge, take a photograph of him to a photographer here to copy—not enlarge. The negative had been broken. (*P.ceedings, Vol. XIII, p. 304*).

A very dramatic incident occurred at the sitting of December 22, 1892. Mr. Howard strongly urged G. P. to give some unmistakable proof of his identity. "Do you doubt me, dear old fellow", answered G. P. Mr. Howard said that he simply wanted some test which would conclusively prove that the communicator was indeed G. P. "The transcription of the words written by G. P.," says Dr. Hodgson, "conveys, of course, no proper impression of the actual circumstances; the inert mass of the upper part of Mrs. Piper's body turned away from the right arm, and sagging down, as it were, limp and lifeless over Mrs. Howard's shoulder, but the right arm, and especially hand, mobile, intelligent, deprecatory, then impatient and fierce in the persistence of the writing which followed, which contains too much of the personal element in G. P.'s life to be reproduced here. Several statements were read by me, and assented to by Mr. Howard, and then was written "private" and the hand gently pushed me away. I retired to the other side of the room, and Mr. Howard took my place close to the hand where he could read the writing. He did not, of course, read it aloud, and it was too private for my perusal. The hand as it

reached the end of each sheet tore it off from the block book and thrust it wildly at Mr. Howard, and then continued writing. The circumstances narrated, Mr. Howard informed me, contained precisely the kind of test for which he had asked, and he said that he was "perfectly satisfied, perfectly."

G. P. never failed to recognise his friends. Each of them was addressed and spoken to exactly as the living G. P. would have done. Only in one case he failed to recognise an acquaintance. This failure is noteworthy. It is the case of Miss Warner, who had two sittings. At both the sittings, G. P. was rather cold and said that he did not know Miss Warner very well:—

"I do not think I ever knew you very well. (Very little; you used to come and see my mother) I heard of you, I suppose (I saw you several times. You used to come with Mr. Rogers). Yes I remembered about Mr. Rogers when I saw you before. (Yes, you spoke of him). Yes, but I cannot seem to place you. I long to place all of my friends, and could do so before I had been gone so long. You see I am farther away I do not recall your face; you must have changed (Dr. Hodgson—Do you remember Mrs. Warner?) [excitement in the medium's hand] of course, Oh, very well. For pity's sake, are you her little daughter! (Yes) By Jove how you have grown ..."

These sittings were held 5 years after G. P.'s death and before his death, he had not seen Miss Warner for 3 years. During these 8 years the little girl had grown into a young woman and it was perfectly natural that G. P. should fail to recognise her at first sight.

Besides G. P. other "spirits" communicated, for whom G. P. acted as amanuensis and proved their identity. One of the most remarkable of these communicators is an Italian lady whom Dr. Hodgson calls Madame Elisa Mannors. An incident connected with her communications is thus described by Prof. Hyslop:—

"A deceased acquaintance of Dr. Hodgson, Madame Elisa, stated through Mrs. Piper that she had been present at the death bed of a certain gentleman as he was dying, had spoken to him, and indicated that he had recognised her. She repeated what she had said to him from the "other side" as he was dying, and it was an unusual form of expression. That this had actually occurred at the death bed of the person mentioned was confirmed by two near and surviving relatives who were present at the death bed. The gentleman as he was dying had recognised the apparition of the deceased person and uttered the words as coming from her which were afterwards communicated through Mrs Piper. (*Science and a Future Life*, P. 201).

Dr. Hodgson thus summarises the incidents connected with this communicator,—She was known to George Pelham, and her first appearance was to her sister Madame Frederica on May 17th, 1892 (about four months after the death of George Pelham) She (Madame Elisa Mannors) had died the previous summer. The cause of her death was designated by Phinuit, who also described correctly, purporting to repeat what she was telling him, some incidents which had occurred at her death-bed. The sister inquired about a watch which had belonged to Madame Elisa, but the statements made at this sitting and to myself at subsequent sittings did not lead to its recovery. Some Italian was written by request, the lady being as familiar with Italian as with English, but only two or three common words were decipherable. The first names of sitter and communicator were given and the last name was both written and afterwards given by George Pelham to Phinuit. Some of the writing was of a personal character and some about the watch, and George Pelham stated correctly, *inter alia*, that the sitter's mother was present (in 'spirit') with the communicator and that he himself did not know her. The real names are very uncommon. The Italian for "It is well, patience," was whispered at the end of the sitting as though by direct control of the voice by Madame Elisa. Mrs. Piper, as has already been stated, does not know Italian.

I am sorry that I have no space to narrate further facts as astonishing as those which I have stated. The reader who wants to know more must read Dr. Hodgson's report in S. P. R. Proceedings, Vol. XIII. G. P. succeeded in proving his identity up to the hilt. He repeatedly asserted that Phinuit was really a spirit who once lived on earth. It is the assurance of George Pelham and others that is the only ground for concluding that Phinuit is really a departed personality. Regarding the communications of G. P. Dr. Hodgson says:—

"In the persistence of his endeavour to overcome the difficulties of communication as far as possible, in the effect which he has produced by his counsels to myself as investigator, and to numerous other sitters and communicators, he has, in so far as I can form a judgment in a problem so complex and still presenting so much obscurity, displayed all the keenness and pertinacity which were eminently

characteristic of G. P. living. The manifestations of this G. P. communicating have not been of a fitful and spasmodic character, they have exhibited the marks of a continuous living and persistent personality."

George Pelham achieved one important result. He succeeded in convincing the cautious, level-headed and sceptical Dr. Hodgson that the telepathic theory is not true and that spirit communication really takes place. G. P., as the reader will remember, had a long discussion with Dr. Hodgson on the possibility of a future life before his death. He did not think that a future life was even conceivable, as he was unable to attach any meaning to such a thing as disembodied spirit. Dr. Hodgson agreed that it was very unlikely that the soul survived death but thought that it was, at any rate, conceivable. "The gross material body," argued he, "might be the shadow of a causer and cruder form of mind-stuff, that it might be tenanted by a more subtle organic body composed of the luminiferous ether, that such ethereal body might be the correlate of the human personality, and that although the gross material body might disintegrate at death, the ethereal body might not." G. P. ultimately agreed that a future life was conceivable but said that it was quite incredible and it was then, says Dr. Hodgson, "that he pledged himself to do all that he could to establish a future life, if he died before me and found that there was a future life after all." How faithfully has he fulfilled his promise if the communicating G. P. be indeed the surviving spirit of the G. P. that once lived on earth! Dr. Hodgson concludes his report with these words,—

"What my future beliefs may be, I do not know

and it may be that future experiment in the lines of investigation before us may lead me to change my view; but at the present time I cannot profess to have any doubt but that the chief "communicators" to whom I have referred in the foregoing pages, are veritably the personalities they claim to be, that they have survived the change we call death and that they have directly communicated with us whom we call living through Mrs. Piper's entranced organism."

Further experiment, as is well known, only confirmed Dr. Hodgson in this conclusion. Referring to his conviction formed after years of patient observation of the trance phenomena of Mrs. Piper, Sir Oliver Lodge says ;—

Of all men at that time living, undoubtedly Dr. Hodgson had more experience of Mrs. Piper's phenomena than any other—for he devoted years of his life to the subject and made it practically his sole occupation. He did this because, after preliminary study, he recognised its great importance. He was by no means a credulous man—in fact he was distinctly sceptical, and many have been the spurious phenomena which he detected and exposed. In some respects he went, in my judgment, too far in his destructive career—he disbelieved in Mrs. Thompson, for instance, and he practically for the time annihilated Eusapia Palladino,* the famous "Physical" medium—but hyper-scepticism is far more useful to the development of the subject than hyper-credulity, and when such a man is after adequate study decidedly and finally convinced, his opinions deserve and from those who knew him received, serious attention...Undoubtedly his views are entitled to great weight."

HIRALAL HALDAR.

* A large number of the continental savants and men of science remained convinced of the genuineness of Eusapia's phenomena in spite of the adverse report of the Society for Psychical Research. The Society found it necessary to investigate her phenomena again. The investigators Mr. Hereward Carrington, Mr. W. W. Baggally and the Hon. Everard Fielding, all trained experts, presented a report about a year ago, unanimously declaring that the phenomena observed by them were all genuine !

NEWSPAPER PROBLEMS IN AMERICA

(a) LANGUAGE.

THE American newspaper men are praised for their enterprise, their gift of organisation, and their ability in gathering news. They are, however, criticised by some for the style in which they serve the

news. Their light, slangy, unclassical way of writing offends the critics. The American newspaper style, to be sure, is not classic, but it is extremely clear and vivid, and that constitutes a great source of its strength. It tells the news of the day in such a way that

even the man in the street can understand it. For what good can a newspaper serve if it continually shoots over the heads of its readers?

An English church dignitary in a sermon on kindness and gentleness to a group of small public school children once used this pompous sentence. "Let the coruscations of your wit be like the scintillations of the summer lightning, lambent but innocuous."* This may be an excellent sentiment, clothed in a classical style, but it certainly failed in its purpose, as its meaning could never be grasped by the little children. The modern newspaper writers cannot but take warning from this English divine in the use of their language, if they wish to be effective.

The journalists furthermore, writing under such a heavy pressure as they do, can have little time for elegance of expression; they cannot be expected to use the "jewel-like form of an essay." They are of necessity concerned more with the matter than with the manner.

Granting that the newspaper men had all the time they need to write in classical diction, would that be advisable from the newspaper standpoint? A metropolitan paper that has a large constituency to serve has to remember that a great portion of its readers do not go to the newspaper for classical literature; in fact they do not care for it. The working people, what Abraham Lincoln used to call the plain people, make up the majority of the newspaper readers. They do not want fine writing, they like plain common sense expressed in clear language. The newspaper publishers, if they are at all mindful of their own interest, cannot ignore these men.

In spite of these discouraging circumstances, there are a few newspapers that are veritable models of literary excellence. Among several others the New York Tribune, the Boston Transcript, and the New York Evening Post have maintained a high standard of pure, dignified English. They are worthy of all commendation. But such newspapers do not secure a large circulation, as every metropolitan paper should expect to do. The New York World, before Joseph Pulitzer took hold of it, was a very unsuccessful

paper, although it was noted for its high literary tone. It is now a common saying among the New York journalists that "Mr. Pulitzer found the World the best written and the least read of any New York newspaper and made it the worst written and the most read."†

If we are to understand thoroughly the apparent failures of newspapers in attaining a high literary grace, we must go below the surface and know what literature means. Literature is something more than the whole body of written words. It is "an expression of personality through craftsmanship which we call genius."‡ Tested by this definition, the newspaper, by its very nature, cannot have a literary aspect. The business of the journalist is to record, to comment on public events, and to speak for the public, not altogether for himself. Journalism, in this sense, is a trade and not an art. It cannot embody the principles of universal beauty, passion, feeling and truth.

Exception, however, is to be made in case of the Sunday supplement. The Sunday magazine of the Sunday newspaper forms, as it were, a twilight zone between the daily journalism and the "higher journalism." The writers of such special articles as "Nature and God's Providence," "Poetry of the Book of Isaiah" and "Aspects of Modernism"§ or the "Making of a Man," "Empress of All the Russias," "Organizing Congress"—articles that are the distinctive features of the Sunday supplement—enjoy a liberty of expression unknown to ordinary writers of the daily press. These articles have a touch of the finality, the beauty, which eventually make for higher literature. Dickens, Kipling, George Meredith were once students of daily journalism, but only by working at 'special stuff', did they finally graduate to 'higher journalism' and become masters of literary art.

(b) PERSONALITY.

To come back to our daily newspaper, there is certainly no opportunity for individual expression of opinion, which alone

* "Bookman", Vol. 15: 43.

† "Journalism and Literature"—Prof. H. W. Boynton, Chapter I.

‡ "Springfield (Mass.) Republican"—Sunday January 31, 1909.

§ Los Angeles Sunday Times—March 14, 1909.

"Fortnightly Review" (English)—Vol. 85: 739.

makes the creation of literature possible. Impersonality is the dominant note of American journalism. Some people regard this impersonality as a mark of its decadence. It is, however, difficult to see in what way this decadence manifests itself. All the great newspapers express their views today just as vigorously and emphatically as they did in the early times when the papers were known not so much by their real names as by the names of their editors. To the popular mind there was no Times, Herald or Tribune; they were known as Brant's paper, Greely's paper, or Raymond's or Bennett's. The influence that the personality of these men exerted was great indeed, but it is doubtful whether that personality could accomplish anything if it existed today. The reason for this is that with the lapse of time, our ideas of newspapers and newspaper men have changed immensely. The newspapers of the olden days were the personal organs of the editors and not public institutions, such as we now demand them to be. When a publisher had a grievance against a public man, he would heap insults upon him; when the times were dull and the news was scarce, the editor would treat his readers to an account of his private affairs. Mr. Bennett was one day thrashed in his office and the next morning there appeared in his paper a picturesque account of the encounter under this lucid headline: "Horse-whipped again". The following choice selection of epithets which Park Benjamin, then the editor of the Signal, launched against the Herald, afford an insight into the personal journalism of that day: "infamous blasphemer; loathsome and leprous slanderer and libellous reptile; profligate adventurer; venomous reptile; accursed sting; pestilential scoundrel; instinct of brutes; ghost-like propensity; polluted wretch; prince of darkness; caitiff monster; foul jaws; black-hearted; dirt; gallows."*

It seems evident that the more personal the newspapers become—that is the more there is known about the editor and reporters and the less they are kept from public view—the more vulgar and violent they are

liable to be in their treatment of each other and the more is their attention given to personal controversy. Happily the personal journalism has now lost its office.

Impersonal though newspapers are, they exercise a great influence in moulding the public opinion. That the loss of personality in newspapers will spell no diminution of its strength is proved by the fact that the London Times, which is acknowledged by all as the most influential journal of the world, is and has always been impersonal. The Times is conducted by what Editor Walterson of the Courier-Journal calls the "scholarly dummies." Even in its palmy days under John Walters, the Times instead of attempting to force its personal opinion on the public, used to send out emissaries to find out what the leaders of public opinion thought about certain questions.* It then reproduced their views and had the credit of independent opinion.

Impersonality in journalism is in vogue to-day not only because personality is revolting to modern taste and therefore less effective, but it is a physical impossibility. The increased use of telegraph, telephone, wireless, railroad and steam boat have enlarged the departments of the newspapers. A journal in the early fifties could have been run by only one or two men, now it is not uncommon to find a hundred or two hundred men employed in the production of a single metropolitan daily. The result is that the newspapers instead of being the oracle of one or two men, have become a vast organ of "popular sentiment and the untiring vehicle of universal intelligence".

The question may be asked that if the newspaper loses its personality completely, will the public have much confidence in the "instruction of an unaccredited tutor?" It is well to remember that the public confidence is inspired in a paper by its sincerity, honesty and fearlessness. When the people see printed in a paper an article that has these qualities, they will know that the paper is reliable and that the teacher is "accredited by the very fact that a reputable publisher gives it a place in his publications."†

* For an account of animated newspaper tilting between Horace Greely and James Watson Webb see "New York Tribune" and "Morning Couriers and New York Enquirer"—January, 1844.

* "Life of John Sterling"—Thomas Carlyle.

† Mr. Frederic L. Seely, publisher of the "Atlanta Georgian" in "Chicago Evening American".—Feb. 27, 1909.

(c) ETHICS :

This brings us now to the vexed problem of newspaper ethics. Can an American newspaper be sincere, honest and truthful? "He lies like a newspaper" seems to be more than a common proverb. The moral aberration which such a condition indicates, is to a great measure due to a misconception of the purpose of newspapers. A veteran editor of a Chicago paper ruled the other day that the purpose of a newspaper is to give the "striking and exceptional."^{*} It is this mania for printing "nothing but extraordinary" that easily lends itself to deception, dishonesty and prevarication. Two years ago Professor J. L. Laughlin of the University of Chicago, in an address before one of the graduating classes of the University, urged the students "to seek a sense of form in dress, manners, speech and intellectual habits". The wide-awake, original, dashing, Chicago reporter at once sent the following telegram to all the New York papers: "The wiggling swaying movements of American women on the streets and the stage have been made the ridicule of Europe. They have a glide and a wiggle that make them both undignified and ungraceful. American women live too much in a state of slouchiness in dress, manner, intellect and language. What we need is a sense of form. It is something that is very scarce in American women. It is indeed the rarest thing in the country"[†] Of course Dr. Laughlin never said anything like it. Nevertheless the paragraphs were placed within quotation marks and were purported to be extracts from his commencement address!

If the inaccuracies of the newspapers are simply due to the unavoidable haste and confusion which is incident to modern journalism, they are not unpardonable sins. But a wilful distortion of facts out of an abnormal desire to secure 'a beat' in 'extraordinary' is most outrageous, most damnable.

The misrepresentation of truth in a paper also arises from its lack of moral freedom. The journals being looked on merely as "things of commerce", cannot defy the dictates of the counting room. For their profit, they are dependent entirely on the

good will of the advertisers. The advertisers, conscious of the helplessness of the newspapers without their aid, presume to dictate their policy. Incredible as it may seem in India, it is true, nevertheless, that within the last three years, all the department stores of New York combined and "modified the policy of at least three New York papers" with respect to their attitude towards certain political questions.^{*}

The influence of the advertisers over the newspapers is one of the most lamentable features in American journalism. The advertiser has gagged its mouth, robbed its liberty, and is holding it in perpetual slavery. The lack of independence is one of the glaring vices of journalism in this free Republic.

Another most serious evil that menaces honest journalism is the owning of the papers by the joint-stock company. The stockholders and the bondholders, the "men of wealth who have gained their wealth in evil fashion"—to violate ex-President Roosevelt's copy-right on that phrase -- have come to be the real controllers of the newspapers. These "criminally rich" men -- Roosevelt again—use the newspapers as paws for pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. The editors write not what they honestly believe, but what they are bid to do.

Missionary efforts at creating a demand for clean journalism are being made heroically by a few papers. Their names, however, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. After a long, painful search among 23,000 American papers, one cannot find more than the following 7 papers that will always be honest, will tell the truth and refuse to be dictated to by private interests: Springfield (Mass.) Republican, New York Evening Post, Sacramento Bee, Milwaukee Daily News, Dubuque Telegraph and Oregon Journal. But what has been their reward? We shall take one newspaper—the New York Evening Post and study its 'success'. The Post does not pay more than two per cent. interest on its capital; it never did pay more than four per cent. Whereas, if the money was taken out and invested in bonds or "speculation" it would bring the share-holders from

* "Inter Ocean"—Vol. 37. (Nov. 9, 1908).

† "Nation"—Vol. 84: 55.

* "Atlantic Monthly"—Vol. 12: 441.

five to ten per cent. interest. For years and years, the Post was maintained at a loss, just for the purpose of giving correct news; but its efforts must have had a poor success, judging by the small number of people that it reaches.

Now for a general proof that honest clean journalism is not appreciated in America, we turn for a moment to the circulation list of these papers. The list:—

Oregon Journal	28,219
New York Evening Post	26,114
Milwaukee Daily News	25,620
Springfield Republican	16,511
Sacramento Bee	15,322
Dubuque Telegraph	4,865

Compare this circulation with the circulation of the following screaming sensational papers:—

New York Journal	700,000
New York World	311,246
Boston Post	239,056
Chicago Examiner	171,428
Los Angeles Times	50,579

It is clear from this that the demand for sane, sober newspapers is not very widespread in America. The newspapers must reform, but if there is to be a reform, the movement toward it must first begin with the newspaper readers. Improbable as it may seem, it is self-evident that no fountain can rise higher than its head. If there is no public thirst for honesty, for truth, for honour, no newspaper on earth will be able to create them.

LOOKING FORWARD.

With all its faults, the American newspaper stands unrivalled in the world for its enterprise, mechanical equipment, and resources. America is the select home of the newspaper. The Americans are a nation of newspaper readers. Like themselves, whatever faults their journals may suffer from, they are the faults of the excess

of youth. Mellow age will bring in the future many changes moral and ennobling. We cannot look for a perfect press, until we have a perfect nation. As the communities grow old and their standards of education and intelligence are raised, the newspapers will inevitably follow them in their wake.

Our ideal American newspaper is not that of the past, but of the unborn future. The ideal newspaper will be larger in size, cleaner in tone and impersonal in its conduct. As the quality and the quantity will increase, so will the price. The price of the daily papers instead of being two pice and four pice, as it is now, will be ten pice. One effect of the increased price will be the partial emancipation of the newspapers from the bondage of the advertisers.

The newspaper has a great mission in America. Its office, to use the words of Milton, will be "to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of mind and set the affections in right tune; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship".*

It is a great task. It is meant—
"... not for the mean;
It requireth courage stout,
Souls above doubt,
Valour unbending."

And America is not potentially lacking in these virtues. With "deepest purpose, the most active spirit, the broadest thought and culture, the most tolerant heart" which generally characterises this nation, its journals will go forward, be a credit to America, and an example to the world.

Urbana, Ill.
U. S. A.

SUDHINDRA BOSE.

* "Areopagitica."

CONVERTING CRIMINALS INTO CONSCIENTIOUS CITIZENS

II: HELPING THE WEAK TO BE STRONG

I

IF there was a way of compiling statistics showing the number of men who, in a moment of mischief or weakness, or in

a fit of jealousy or anger, broke the law and were cast into jail by order of the court, thus being launched on a life of crime and infamy, leading them to wreck and ruin, a record would be prepared that would make even a callous-hearted person disgusted

with so-called "even-handed justice"—a fetich before which the world at large for ages has been bowing and scraping. Only when this havoc has been calmly studied and analysed is one able to turn to the new ideal of "judicial clemency", or "probation," which is the foundation of the working philosophy of the modern magistrate, and which, instead of seeking to avenge society, or unscientifically protect it by confining him in company with vicious characters, gives the unfortunate offender a chance to reform, and thus benefits him, his family, and the State.

This new method of dealing with the criminal is based on the principle that the reformation of the wrong-doer, for apparent reasons, is conducive to the best interests of the individual as well as society at large. The idea is American in its origin. It was advocated by District Attorney Aldrich, of Worcester, Massachusetts, as early as 1853, though it has been developed only during recent years. The last half-dozen years have witnessed a wonderful expansion of this system in the United States. Lately it has been formally adopted in England. It is now being warmly advocated in a number of other lands as the best way of dealing with offenders against the law.

For so many centuries the world has believed in treating the law-breaker harshly, that the theory of "judicial clemency" inspires the idea that it would encourage crime. This would be true if mercy was indiscriminately applied; or if the transgressor was not made thoroughly to understand that dire punishment awaits him if he does not pull himself up and behave properly.

The superstructure of the probation system rests on two distinct principles:—

First, the jurist does not quash the charge against a habitual criminal, and thus set a premium upon crime. Only the first offender, the amateur evil-doer, is permitted to stay outside the gaol providing he leads a life of strict rectitude.

Second, every law-breaker put on probation is told most explicitly that his offence has been punished by a gaol or workhouse sentence or a fine, and this has been held in abeyance on his undertaking to deport himself properly. But the minute the probation officer or the policeman, who has

been instructed to keep watch over him, reports that the probationer has broken his word of honor, the sentence instantly will be put into operation.

A close analysis is necessary in order to realize the soundness of the "judicial clemency" doctrine. The magistrate, in putting the misdemeanant on probation, interests him in himself. Henceforth he will be forced to work hard for his own salvation. As if this was not incentive enough, to cause the erstwhile bad man to be good, the suspended sentence, which can be put into effect any moment, hangs like the sword of Damocles over the head of the offender inspiring him to do the right thing by himself—and by the State.

The threat of punishment is real, not merely pretended. This fact is strongly brought out in the case of an American who had been untrue to his wife, a woman of high character and sweet disposition. The culprit pleaded his cause to such good advantage, and promised so fervently to lead a virtuous life if he was not sent to gaol, that he succeeded in deceiving the judge, who suspended his sentence on promise of good behaviour. No sooner was he set free than he fled to another State in company with the woman who was his partner in evil-doing. The judge and probation officer were put on their mettle by his base deceit, and determined to prove to him, and to others, that probation could not be taken advantage of in such a wanton way. Extradition papers were secured and the man was arrested and brought back. When he appeared once more in court, he informed the judge that, as a probationer, he expected to be treated with clemency; but he was sternly informed that mercy did not mean the license to forsake a loving wife and live a wicked life—that there was no kindness in that Magistrate for iniquity; and his suspended sentence was immediately put into operation.

The judge is forced to be stern in dealing with the delinquent probationer, not only because to do otherwise would be suicidal to the well-being of the wrong-doer himself, but also because the psychological effect of one backslider would be pernicious on the others who are making sincere efforts to lead an upright life. With this in view, the probation officers appointed

by the court keep a close watch on the movements of an offender put on his honour. The minute a man shows the least inclination to falter, the officer gives him friendly counsel and encouragement. This usually brings him to his senses, and he masters the situation to the satisfaction of himself and everyone interested in his uplift. In case, however, counsel proves of no avail, and the probationer actually breaks his word, the majesty of the law is put into quick operation to teach him that he can not lightly trifle with those who are his best helpers.

So wisely, however, is "judicial clemency" applied that the system has yielded uniformly beneficent results and already has passed beyond the experimental stage. In Chicago, the second largest city in the United States, Judge Cleland stated a short time ago that of 600 convicted of various offences whom he had paroled, but 50 had broken their pledge. In Saint Louis, Missouri, recently, Judge William Jeff. Pollard told the writer that about 90 per cent. of the drunkards and thieves he put on probation behaved like men and did not reappear in his court charged with the commission of a crime. This is an eminently satisfactory record, inasmuch as both these and other American jurists are eager to give a chance to any misdemeanant, no matter what his offence may have been, so long as there is a bit of manhood left in him to which an appeal for a better life can be made.

The good results achieved in America have been duplicated in Great Britain. Captain Spencer, who has charge of the Probation of Offenders' Department of the work of the Church Army in London, is authority for the statement that out of 104 cases of offenders put on probation which were brought forward from the previous year, every one, with the exception of a solitary case, turned out satisfactorily. During 1909 the new cases referred to the probation officers totalled 202, and only 10 of these had to be returned to the courts for punishment. This means, in other words, that out of 306 misdemeanants, 295 satisfied their being given a chance to behave, and, in all probability were saved from eventually leading criminal lives.

Captain Spencer cites a typical instance

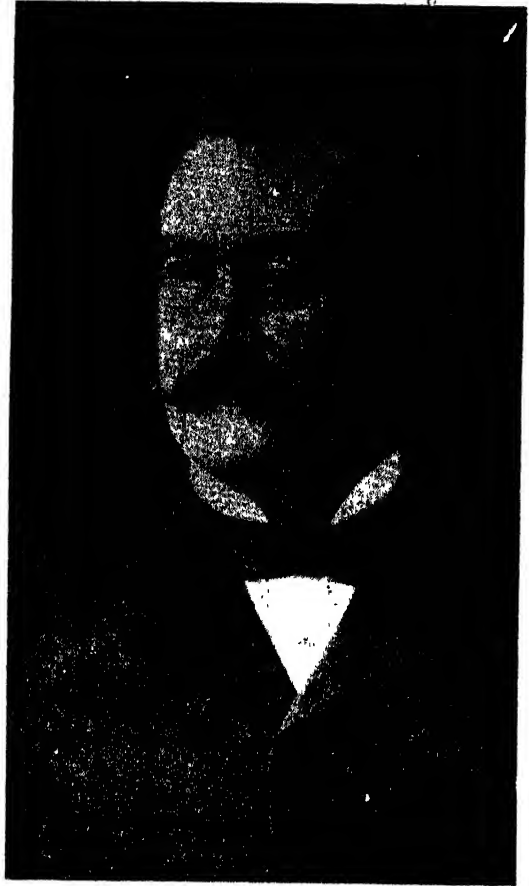
of a man deflected from a life of vice by being paroled. Shortly after the probation law went into effect, he says, a man was given into his charge from the "Old Bailey." He had been convicted of highway robbery with violence—a really serious offence. It was considered by some to be unwise to place the prisoner on probation, but the Judge saw fit to take that course, and his word necessarily prevailed in the matter. After considerable difficulty work was found for the erring man and, to the surprise of everybody, he did well from the beginning. Today he is earning a good salary, has a nice home, is living in comfortable circumstances and is in touch with uplifting religious influences. Had he been forced to serve the sentence of three years in gaol, which had been pronounced against him, the strong presumption is that he would have become a hardened criminal. He would have cost the State considerable money for his upkeep while in the penitentiary, and his wife and family would have been sent to the workhouse at the expense of the rate-payers: all this was saved by giving him "a chance".

A similar American example may be quoted. In one of the large metropolises of the United States a broker and real-estate agent, under the stress of financial stringency, placed himself in a position where his arrest was demanded for fraud by misrepresenting facts and falsely signing a document. The probation officer had a heart-to-heart talk with him and was puzzled as to just what course to pursue in his case. There was no question of his guilt. The miserable man himself admitted that. But he was sorry for what he had done, and was perfectly willing, if allowed to do so, to work hard and pay back all the money he had dishonestly acquired. Some advocated his severe punishment. They declared that it would be a sin against justice not to chastise the man who had cheated them, since he had deliberately violated the law; that if such an act was not legally avenged, the ends of justice would be defeated and society would be utterly without protection. Others advised giving the man a chance to make good the amount he had taken from them—something that could not be done if he was imprisoned. He had a wife and

children who loved him dearly, and if he was sent to jail, they not only would be left without means of support, but the consequent disgrace would be a terrible cause of suffering to innocent people. These people reminded the officers of the fact that the man never had been guilty of a crime previous to his fall from virtue in this instance, and they declared that they owed it to him to make it possible for him to reform and rectify the moral mis-step he had made. The upshot of it all was that the man was put on probation, and immediately he began to make restitution of the money he had deceitfully obtained. His wife and children encouraged him in his efforts, and he at last succeeded in paying dollar for dollar all the money that had been lost through his operations. Today even his worst enemies are forced to acknowledge that probation, in his case, at least, was a wise and humane step to take.

Probably nowhere in the United States has the probation theory been put into such successful operation as in Judge William Jeff Pollard's Court in Saint Louis, Missouri. Indeed, it may be safely said that Judge Pollard was one of the first judges to practically apply the parole theory to adult offenders. To be sure, his plan involves, primarily, the reformation of the drunkard: but he deals, in his Second District Court, with criminals of all classes, and since he has proven, to his own satisfaction, that the great bulk of crime in his city and State—and in many others of Occidental countries—is due to the degenerating influence of intoxicating liquor, he has been able to save many hundreds of petty offenders by reclaiming them from being drunkards, rousing the latent manhood in them, and making them help themselves to be good.

Judge Pollard invariably gives a first offender—or even a many-times offender, if he believes he is justified in doing so—a choice between a fine or workhouse sentence and signing a pledge to refrain from drinking intoxicants for the period of one year. If the man elects to sign the pledge, the sentence is suspended. He is required to report to the Judge personally—the Missouri jurist employs no probation officer in his work of reform—and if, at any time,



JUDGE WILLIAM JEFFERSON POLLARD.

he backslides, the sentence is immediately put into effect.

This Magistrate does not require the unfortunate men to sign the pledge under oath. He goes deeper down than that and merely asks the repentent drunkards to give their word of honour. He impresses them with the fact that he trusts them implicitly to keep their word; and his belief in them inspires them to act in such a manner that he will not be disappointed in them, or regret that he pinned his faith to their honour. So successful has the Pollard plan proved that England has adopted it and other countries are seriously considering taking this step.

Judge Feagin, of Birmingham, Alabama, also has been experimenting with the probation system, with good success.

Recently the Alabama legislature passed a law permitting magistrates to use their discretion to suspend the sentence of a man or woman who has been found guilty of a misdemeanor, finally discharging the offender, or imposing the suspended sentence, according to the behaviour of the probationer. Judge Feagin immediately took advantage of the new law. Up to that time he had been in the habit of imposing the heaviest sentence allowed by the statutes, to misdemeanants who came before him, hoping to discourage law-breaking by drastic punishment. The heavy fines he imposed, as a rule, had to be worked out on the streets, at the rate of one rupee eight annas a day. This procedure not only caused the men to lose their positions, but it deprived their families of their sole support and brought everlasting disgrace upon the guilty man and his innocent loved ones. When the new law went into operation, Judge Feagin radically changed his plan of action. He put the offenders on probation for a period of thirty or sixty days, stipulating that they must report to him as to their behaviour on the last day of the month. He realized that the espionage of the city police was not sufficient or proper for these human weaklings, and appointed a well-trained philanthropist to act as probation officer and look after the moral and material welfare of the men who were allowed their freedom under a suspended sentence. It was estimated, a short time ago, that, instead of leaving the families destitute, as happened under the old regime, since the new law went into effect the men on probation have earned at least six rupees a day—an exceedingly low estimate for workingmen in that district.

The benefits accruing to the individual himself, to his family, and to the State, from each life thus saved from crime, it is easier to imagine than relate.

2

No matter how discriminating the police may be in making the arrests, no matter how paternal the magistrate may be in giving the delinquent a chance to be good and keep out of gaol, a certain percentage of hardened criminals must be locked up in order to protect society and bring them

to their senses. Modern penology does not recommend that habitual offenders shall be left at large to harrass the community. On the contrary, it demands that while the first and even the second-time offender is given the opportunity to reform, the third and fourth offence shall be punished by a severe sentence. New criminology, however, requires that gaols shall not be conducted in such a manner that they deform the convict's character, but insists that they shall be reformatory institutions where the morally sick may be cared for, and let out only when restored to health.

Penitentiaries that would answer to this description until quite recently have been conspicuous by their absence. But of late, here and there in the world at large an investigator comes across prisons which are dominated by men who, until recently, were sneered at as vain idealists, but who at present are being allowed to inaugurate more or less radical reforms.

The best gaol to see modern penology in actual, every-day operation, is at the Iowa State Penitentiary, at Fort Madison, Iowa, in the United States of America. Here Warden J. C. Canders is working out his original ideas in an intensely practical manner, and the reforms he has inaugurated in the gaol are head and shoulders above their kind in other prisons.

This gaoler—or "warden", as the holder of this office is called in the United States of America, is a composite character. At different periods of his life he has been a barber, master tailor, cabinet maker, printer, professional base-ball player, league umpire, director of a band, solo cornetist with a travelling circus, and high school principal. As soon as he was placed at the head of the Iowa State Penitentiary as warden of the Fort Madison Institution, he started in to remould the conditions existent there and transform the gaol into a training school that would educate bad men to be good.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the reforms introduced by this one-time school-teacher. He has organised a Glee Club, and an orchestra and band. The prisoners were untrained, but he persevered and now the Fort Madison Penitentiary Glee Club and Band are considered amongst the best in the State. Any prisoner who evinces a



DIFFERENT GRADES OF PRISONERS.

Stripes third, checks second, blue gray first.
The two gray suits represent old and new.

taste for music and is willing to learn and able to buy his instrument, is eligible to the Band and Glee Club.

A Historical and Literary Society has been established, and a lecture course provided. The convicts subscribe out of their own pockets the fund which pays for the fees and travelling expenses of the lecturers who are brought to instruct or entertain them.

Warden Sanders has remodelled the school conducted in connection with the Penitentiary. The course of study now embraces all branches ordinarily taught in modern schools. There are 200 pupils, and one employed and eleven inmate teachers. Classes are held in the evening. The library has been trebled in size and a daily list of current magazines is circulated among the men.

The warden has also introduced athletics with a view to bringing up the physical condition of the prisoners. He has given the men a half hour's leisure immediately following the noon-day meal, during which time they play basket-ball and indoor base-ball. A number of teams have been

organized in the various departments, and they play match games that furnish exercise for themselves and exciting amusement for their fellow-prisoners.

In the hospital each man now receives a private examination instead of being made to strip and submit to a humiliating public inspection. The old gray and striped blankets have been removed from the hospital beds, giving place to neat white spreads. The general gloom of the place has been so transformed that the inmates did not recognize it as the same place.

Warden Sanders has designed new uniforms for the convicts that are calculated to inspire in them a spirit of self-respect. He now uses the old-time prison suits merely as a punishment for serious infraction of the

rules. As soon as a new convict has convinced the gaoler that he is worthy of trust, he is given a neat gray uniform and cap, almost military in style. Convicts who are able to afford it are permitted to wear on Sundays and holidays laundered dress shirts, stiff collars, fancy ties and stylish shoes, and even are allowed to have their shoes brightly polished. This has resulted in a considerable saving of money to the tax-payers; for the men are eager to secure money enough to enable them to wear these respectable clothes, and get away from the prison taint as much as possible. Over 70 per cent. of the prison population of Fort Madison have purchased their own shirts, shoes, collars, ties and underwear.

No prisoner is ever designated by a number, but invariably is addressed by his own name.

An expert dentist and optician attend to all the dental and eye troubles amongst the convicts. The oculist is a life prisoner who has been specially trained, since his incarceration, for the work he is doing. He was permitted by the Warden to take a

course in Optometry, attending the night school at Fort Madison City and going and coming from the prison absolutely unattended, never once attempting to run away or take advantage of the liberty accorded him.

A fire brigade has been organized amongst the prisoners and the cell doors of eighty-five men are left unlocked every night in order that they may respond immediately to an alarm. In several instances their efforts have saved the prison shops from destruction. These men never have shown any disposition to take advantage of their privileges. The cell doors of the water carriers also are left unlocked at night, in order that they may attend to their duties quietly, without awaking all the other prisoners each time their doors are opened to permit them to come out and attend to their work.

The sanitary conditions of the prison have been materially improved. Convicts are allowed to decorate their cells, and this permission extends even to the chapel, formerly a bare, dismal place, the walls of which are now ornamented with religious scenes painted by a prisoner-expert under the direction of Warden Sanders. The offices in the Penitentiary also have been tastefully decorated in the same manner. Thus every effort has been made to convert the prison into a cheerful, home-like place instead of a dreary dungeon. Even the Penitentiary yard now becomes a bower of beauty in the summer time, the convicts being permitted—indeed, required—to raise flowers according to their own fancy, with a view to softening them by appealing to their love of the beautiful.

Furthermore, the idea of privacy and private rights is emphasized. Letters addressed to prisoners are delivered immediately upon their passing the proper authority, instead of being held up for hours, as used to be the case. The men are allowed to have paper and writing materials in their cells all the time, and those who are so fortunate as to receive the daily newspapers, or weekly or monthly publications from outside, are allowed to lend them to those less lucky. When the wives and children of the convicts come to visit them, they are allowed to see them in the Warden's private parlor or alone in the office. In fact, the

prison management encourages the prisoners to keep up their home ties against the time when they will be set free, when they will need some strong influence to keep their heads above the water of honesty and respectability, and they are urged to write to their dear ones frequently and have them visit the prison as often as possible so as to keep them in close, loving touch with their families and friends.

In the kitchen and dining room some of the most radical reforms have been instituted. When Warden Sanders first assumed his office he made a close study of existing conditions. He knew that no man could be at his best on a steady diet of soup and stew, so he hunted up a chef among the prisoners and arranged with him for a diversified menu, which should not cost any more than the old-time "slop" that had been served, and which, he felt certain, would result in healthier, better-behaved, harder-working, less-sullen men. He was greatly aided in this matter by his wife, who is an expert house-keeper. The kitchen crew readily fell into the spirit of the change and vied with one another to turn out gastronomical surprises. Potatoes were peeled and served in many appetizing styles; eggs occasionally found a place on the prison table, and puddings and other simple luxuries were included in the dietary. Waiters, theretofore unkempt, were shaved and dressed in white uniforms and caps, and the kitchen force also appeared in immaculate white. Formerly the men were silent and sullen at meals; all this was quickly changed when the Warden introduced a stringed orchestra, composed of prisoners, to play during the meal hour. Men who had not smiled for years lifted up brightened faces and went back to work, cheerful and willing.

The Warden has put himself in the place of the man behind the bars. He is striving to nurture the good in the prisoners and starve out the bad, so that they may be able to stand up like men and do their part well when the time comes for the prison doors to open and restore their liberty to them. He is doing everything in his power to rouse the spark of manhood in them into activity and to make them eager to do the right thing when they go out into the world of temptation

once more. And he is accomplishing this by changing a dark, dismal dungeon into an institution that will purge the unfortunate men of the taint of crime and inspire them to lead healthy, normal productive lives.

The Penitentiary of the State of California is carrying out a similar reform in the treatment of the prisoners, although not on so large a scale as the Iowa State Prison is attempting. In the California gaol the appeal to the best in the men is made through the medium of the dining room discipline. Every convict is put on his good behaviour, and if he obeys the laws of the prison and thus secures good marks to his credit, he is permitted to eat at the Warden's table. Thus the authorities there are trying, in the time-honored way, to reach the men's hearts by way of their stomachs.

Three tables are provided for the prisoners in this institution. At the first table sit the men who have done their work well and have not been rude or disobedient for one month. First class food is provided at this table, and each convict is given a napkin, while they are allowed to talk with each other, and are served by waiters. At the second table the regular prison fare is served, and here those who have rebelled against doing their work or have wilfully disregarded the rules of the gaol are made to eat. The table is made of plain pine boards and is without a table-cloth. The unruly prisoners who are forced to sit at this second table eat off of tin plates and drink out of tin cups, have no napkins, and are not allowed to speak during the meal. No waiters serve the men who have not shown respect for themselves or for the laws of the prison. The third table is intended for the incorrigibles, and is familiarly known as the "bread and water" table. The men who are forced to sit here, three times a day, are served with plenty of dry bread and as much water as they may care to drink. If it has been necessary to confine them to their cells for especially bad conduct, the bread and water is taken to them there.

The success of this plan of treating the prisoners immediately made itself apparent as soon as it was put in operation. When three months had past one-half of the

prisoners were sitting at the Warden's table. At the end of six months two-thirds of them were sitting in the place of honour; and today nine men out of ten make it a point to observe the regulations, behave properly, and thus secure the coveted privilege. The lure of good food, well served, and right to talk during meals has roused the spirit of manhood in the convicts and caused them to conduct themselves in such a manner as to prove their fitness to be treated like men, and not like wild beasts.

3

The poor convict, on his exit from gaol, clings to society's skirts for protection and help; but the matter-of-fact community acts the step-mother, ruthlessly kicking and slapping him about until he loses his faith in humanity. The unfortunate man has already fully paid for his folly by serving the sentence that was imposed upon him; but the social organism is not yet avenged. It casts the ex-prisoner out of its pale, hounds him from pillar to post as if he were a moral leper. And the natural and inevitable result of this short-sighted, inhumane treatment is that the one-time bad man, even though he may have noble aspirations surging in his breasts, breaks down, herds with former convicts for sociability, commits crimes and once again lays himself liable to be put behind the bars.

Modern penology which inspires the police and the magistrate to reform rather than punish offenders, which prevails upon the gaol authorities to engage in the reclamation of the criminal, decrees that the good work shall not stop there. Indeed, the unfortunate man needs more care and solace when the prison doors open to let him out than he did while he was inside the Penitentiary. His enforced confinement has institutionalized him—has had a paralyzing effect upon his senses of initiative and responsibility. Naturally, when he regains his freedom he is bound to be more helpless than he was when he entered the portals of the prison.

These theories have commenced to provoke serious thought only recently, and consequently little has been accomplished along the line of lending a practical helping hand to the ex-convict. About the only

important work that is being done along this line has been undertaken by Mrs. Maude Ballington Booth.

Mrs. Booth is the wife of the man who is at the head of the Volunteers of America, an organisation similar to the Salvation Army, and an offshoot of it, formed by seceding and protestant members. It has always been her practice to go out into the highways and by-ways, where the derelicts of fate have been stranded in the quicksands of life, and carry a message of hope and release from the bondage of sin. One day, years ago, she visited the Penitentiary at San Quentin, California, to talk to the convicts incarcerated there; and suddenly she became impressed with the utter hopelessness of their position. They had nothing to look forward to but a life of continued crime; for she well knew that society would have none of them when they emerged into the world, with the prison pallor on their faces and the gaol blot on their escutcheon. Yet, practically every one of the men into whose faces she gazed as she talked to them of the better life, yearned to live the balance of his life in such a way that he could look the world straight in the eyes, conscious of his own uprightness. In the existing circumstances, such a thing was out of the question. It was inevitable that, if he was able to claw his way up the steep sides to the top of the bottomless pit in which he was lying, the holier-than-thou people of the cruel world would stamp on his trembling fingers as he sought to pull himself out of the darkness of the underworld into the light of respectability and send him spinning back into the depths. Instantly Mrs. Booth determined to formulate a practical plan to help the released convict.

She had little money to work with, for the Volunteers of America are poor, and it was impossible for them, as an organization to assume the responsibility for the new movement. Whatever was to be accomplished Mrs. Booth must do on her own initiative. Undaunted by difficulties, she rented an old house in a remote section of New York City, and then told some prisoners in Sing Sing, who were about to be released, that if they would come to "Hope Hall", as she had named the home, immediately upon their release, she would

take care of them and endeavour to find paying work for them. At once the ex-convicts began to pour in, and the little woman who was working entirely on faith, without endowment or financial backing of any sort, was forced to use all her ingenuity to cope with the eager crowd that accepted her invitation and expressed a desire to live a good life in the future. She persevered, took a larger house and eventually established similar homes in practically every large city in the United States.

The New York home for ex-convicts is a roomy place capable of sheltering forty men at one time. It is full most of the time. In connection with it there is a little farm of about thirty acres, a good-sized vegetable garden, a laundry and kitchen, and these various departments afford work for the one-time prisoners until a position is found for them elsewhere. All that is required of those seeking shelter under the roof of "Hope Hall" is that they shall go immediately from the prison to Mrs. Booth's New York office, that they shall not enter a public house at any time, and that they shall not leave the grounds without first asking permission to do so. No man who really wants to do what is right could refuse to submit to these slight regulations.

Mrs. Booth has also organized Volunteer Prison Leagues in every penitentiary in America. Sing Sing gaol in New York State has nearly 500 members, while Joliet prison, in Illinois, has about 500. To be a member of the League, the convict must sign a pledge to try to do the right thing so far as he is able to do it, and to pray for help every day. The members wear a button on which is written the words: "Look up and hope"—the motto of the League.

In those States where the law makes it possible for a prisoner to be paroled if some responsible person will guarantee his good behaviour, Mrs. Booth has done much good by furnishing the necessary guarantee for friendless men who, but for her help, would have been forced to serve out their entire sentence. Over 6,000 men have been cared for by Mrs. Booth since she first conceived the idea of "Hope Hall", and she is authority for the statement that seventy-five per cent. of them have remained true to the trust that was placed in them. About

twenty per cent. are lost track of, while five per cent. are known to return to their evil ways.

At first the prison authorities looked askance at Mrs. Booth's enterprise; for they had no faith in the possibility of reclaiming a convict to respectable manhood. They were of the old school of penologists, "once a convict, always a convict" was their theory. But when they realized that practically none of the men she had taken in hand were returned to the prisons for crimes committed subsequent to their release, although that had been the invariable rule up to that time, they capitulated, and from being luke-warm lookers-on they became enthusiastic helpers in the new work that was making men out of helpless wrecks. The gaol officials now say that Mrs. Booth has reduced the difficulties of prison management by fifty per cent.

Not only has she convinced the gaol authorities that the convict can be saved if the proper methods are used, but she has also succeeded in making the people of the brutal world realize that the ex-prisoner is to be trusted, and today she finds little difficulty in securing work for the men who have finished serving their sentences. Indeed, so faithful are they that employers who have tried the experiment of hiring one of Mrs. Booth's "boys", frequently write to her asking her to send them more helpers of the same kind. She never sends

out to seek for work for the men whom she wishes to help, but depends upon requests for laborers coming in voluntarily.

Besides looking after the welfare of the ex-convict, she also remembers the wives and children of the imprisoned offenders and sends them a Christmas "box" every year.

The money for the support of the work is all raised by means of lectures, which Mrs. Booth gives. All the proceeds of the lectures which the talented "prison mother" gives practically every day, are devoted to the work of the League; and it usually happens that her appeals so soften the hearts of her listeners that they contribute munificently to the cause of converting the convict into a conscientious citizen.

Thus goes on the good work of literally lifting the criminal out of the gutter and making a man of him. It is no wild theory - no wild-cat scheme—in which I am endeavouring to interest my Mother-land. It is an intensely practical work—successful as few human enterprizes are. I have compared our criminals with those of the United States of America and other lands. As a result, I refuse to believe that the Indian offender is more hardened in sin than his confrere abroad. Let us study the problem and see if something practical can be done to convert the criminal of this country into a respectable citizen.

INDO-AMERICAN.

THE POSTMASTER

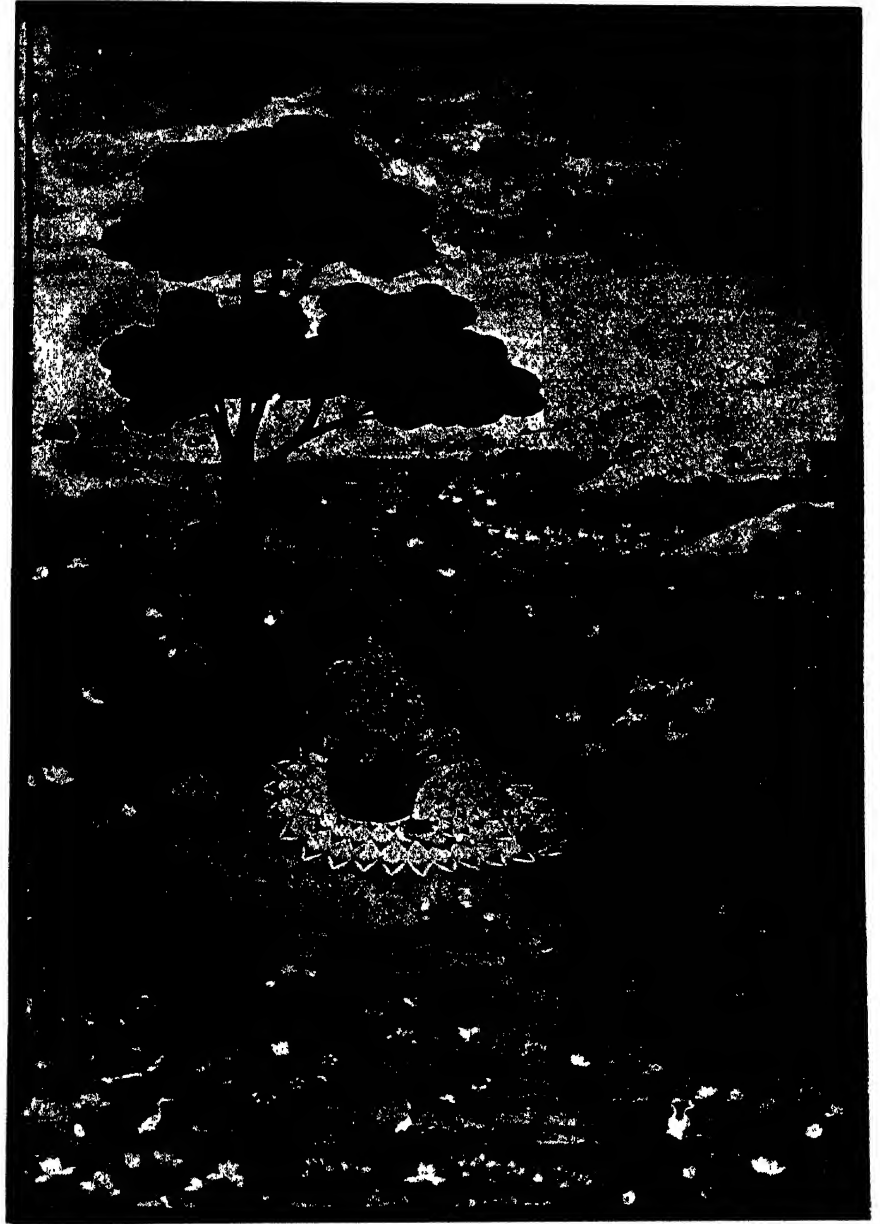
[TRANSLATED FROM A STORY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE.]

ON commencing service the postmaster had to come to Ulapur. It was a petty village. Hard by, there was an Indigo Factory. The *Sahib* of the factory had after a great deal of trouble got this post office established.

Our postmaster was a Calcutta cockney. He was like a fish out of water in this village post office. His office was held in a gloomy thatched house; at no great distance there was a pond mantled with

duckweed, and dense jungle covered the banks. The officers of the factory had hardly any leisure nor were they fit company for gentlemen.

Besides a Calcutta cockney never feels himself at home among strangers. In a strange place he either bears himself haughtily or fights shy of the people. For this reason he could not freely mix with the people of the locality. Nor had he much work on his hands. Sometimes he



RAGINI MALLAR.
(Rajput School).
To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

would dabble in poetry. His poems would give vent to the sentiment that life may pass very happily by gazing on the trees and creepers trembling in the wind and on the clouds flitting on the sky, but God knows that if some genie of the "Arabian Nights" could, in a single night, level those trees, root and branch, and make paved roads and could by means of rows of houses screen from his view the clouds on the sky, then this half-dead gentleman would regain a new life.

The postmaster's pay was very small. He had to cook his own meals, and a homeless orphan girl of the village did the household work for him and got her meals there. The name of the girl was Ratan. She was about twelve or thirteen years of age. There was little prospect of her marriage.

When in the evening volumes of smoke rose in curly streams from up the village cowsheds, the army of mosquitoes, having struck up their band among the jungles of the *Shaora* plants for a long time and having enjoyed the evening breeze, developed a keen appetite and got access to human habitations, when from every bush the cicalas chirped afar, tipsy bands of *bauls** with cymbals and drums would set up loud noisy songs, when sitting alone on the dark verandah of the thatched house the trembling of the trees would wake up a tremor even in the poet's heart—the postmaster would light a dim lamp in a corner of his room and would call "Ratan." Seated at the door Ratan would wait for this call but instead of coming in at the first call, she would say "Why Sir, do you want me?"

Postmaster—What are you at?

Ratan—I shall have to light the oven presently—of the kitchen.

Postmaster—Never mind your kitchen, look to it after; do let me have a smoke of tobacco.

Very soon after Ratan entered with inflated cheeks blowing upon the *chilum*. Taking over the *chilum* from her hand the postmaster abruptly asked "Well Ratan, do you remember your mother?" That was a long story; she remembered certain things and other things had slipped

from her memory. Her father loved her more than her mother did—she had a faint recollection of him. Her father returned in the evening after the day's labour and of such evenings one or two had been clearly outlined in her memory as a picture. While thus chatting Ratan would sit down on the dust at the feet of the postmaster. She remembered a little brother—long ago in the wet season one day they had played at angling with the broken branch of a tree for a fishing-rod in a pond. And this fact would come to her mind more readily than even graver events. In such chitchat the night would far advance and for sheer laziness the postmaster would feel disinclined to cooking. Some stale hodgepodge there was remaining from the morning's cooking and Ratan would hastily light the oven and bake some chapaties which served as their evening meal.

Sometimes the postmaster sitting in a corner of the large thatched house on a wooden stool of his office would talk of his own home—talk about his little brother, mother and elder sister—those for whom his heart ached in this strange place far away from home. Things which were always uppermost in his mind but which could not at all be broached to the *gomastas* of the Indigo factory, he would relate without the least thought of any impropriety to an unlettered village girl. At last the situation reached such intimacy that the girl would mention the people of his home as 'mother', 'sister', 'brother,' as if she had known them all her life. She had even managed to sketch out their figures in imagination on the tiny tablet of her heart.

It was on a cloudless noon in the rainy season, a soft warm breeze was blowing pleasantly, the wet grass and trees were giving out a peculiar fragrance under the sun— it seemed as if the warm breath of the tired earth was wafting over the bodies of men and a certain obstinate bird was persistently pouring out her complaints at the bar of Nature in a plaintive monotonous tune. The postmaster had no work on his hands—the quivering of the smooth, shining, rain-washed shoots of the leaves and the scattered sunlit piles of white clouds of this fag-end of the rainy season were really enjoyable sights. The postmaster looked on

* A class of musicians.

and thought, "would there were some one dear to his heart near to him now—some human idol of love and affection bound up with his heart!" Gradually it struck him that the bird too was repeating the same tale over and over. And the murmuring of the trees in that solitary shady noon conveyed the same idea. None will believe it, none can know it, but in the heart of a sub-postmaster drawing a small salary in a small village such feelings are awakened in a deep silent noon of a long holiday.

The postmaster heaving a deep sigh called "Ratan". Ratan was then sitting with her legs stretched out, eating green guavas. On hearing the voice of her master she immediately came running and asked in a panting voice "*Dada Babu* (elder brother), do you want me?" The postmaster said "I shall give you short lessons in reading from day to day". And the whole noon he taught her the alphabet. Thus in a few days the compound letters were gone through.

It was the month of *Sravan*, rain poured down in unceasing torrents. Ditches - marshes—tanks overflowed with water. The noise of the rain and the croaking of frogs were heard day and night. The village thoroughfares were almost stopped—the *hat* (market) could be reached only in boats.

One day the rain had set in heavily from the morning. The postmaster's pupil waited long at the door but missing the usual call she entered the room slowly with her books and papers and saw the postmaster lying upon his bed. Thinking that he was taking a short nap she was about to retire from the room noiselessly again, when suddenly she heard "*Ratan*". She turned back quickly and asked "*Dada Babu*, were you sleeping?" The postmaster in a plaintive voice said "I don't feel well—just feel my brow."

In the heavy rains, lying ill and alone in a strange place, a man craves for some nursing. He remembers the sweet touch of hands, with shell bracelets on, on his fevered brow. He craves for the presence of the womanly tenderness of mother and sister at the sick bed. In this case the sojourner's wishes did not remain unfulfilled. The girl Ratan was no longer a girl. She immediately took up the mother's *role*, called in the physician and duly gave him pills, sat up

the whole night at his bed, cooked the sickman's diet and asked hundreds of times "well *Dādā Babu*, do you feel a little better now?"

After a long time the postmaster left his sick bed weak in body and determined that he would stay there no more and anyhow he must get himself transferred from that place. He immediately applied to the authorities in Calcutta for a transfer on the ground of the unhealthiness of the locality.

Being freed from nursing, Ratan occupied her own place outside the room. But she received no calls as before. Sometimes she peeped in and saw the postmaster sitting on the stool or lying on his bed very much absent-minded. When Ratan was waiting expectant for his bidding he was awaiting a reply to his application with an uneasy heart. The girl sitting behind the door went through her old lessons many times. She was afraid lest she should make a muddle of her compound letters when the sudden call for her lessons would come. At last after a week one evening the call came. With a full heart Ratan entered the room and asked "*Dada Babu*, did you call me?" The postmaster said "Ratan, I am going away to-morrow."

Ratan—Where are you going, *Dada Babu*?

Postmaster—I am going home.

Ratan—When do you come back?

Postmaster—I shan't come back again.

Ratan did not ask any more questions. The postmaster told her of his own accord that he had applied for a transfer and his application had been rejected. He had therefore resigned his post and was proceeding home. For a long time neither spoke a word. The lamp burnt dimly and pitpat the rain fell on an earthen plate through a chink in the dilapidated thatched roof.

A little while after Ratan went away slowly to the kitchen to prepare the *chapaties*, but it was not done so quickly as on other days. Probably there arose many thoughts in her head. After the postmaster had finished his meal the girl suddenly asked him "*Dada Babu*, will you take me home with you?" The postmaster laughed and said "how can it be?" Why the matter was not possible he did not think it worth his while to explain to her.

The whole night asleep or awake the laughing voice of the postmaster "how can it be?" rang in her ears.

Early in the morning the postmaster saw that the water for his bath was ready. According to his habit in Calcutta he used to bathe in drawn water. For some reason the girl could not ask the postmaster when he would start; and lest he would want his bath in the morning Ratan had drawn water from the river late in the night. Having finished his bath the postmaster called Ratan. She entered noiselessly and looked up silently to his face awaiting his orders. Her master said "Ratan, I shall leave instructions to the man who comes to relieve me to take care of you as I have done, you need not be anxious because I am going away." There was no doubt that these words were the outcome of a kind and affectionate heart; but who can read the heart of a woman? Ratan had many a time quietly taken the rebukes of her master but could not bear these gentle words. With a surcharged heart she wept aloud and said, "No, no, you need not tell anyone for me. I shall not stay here."

The postmaster had never seen Ratan behave thus and so he was struck dumb with amazement.

The new postmaster came. Having made over his charge the late postmaster was about to start. At the time of departing, he called "Ratan" and said "Ratan, I have never been able to give you anything; now while taking my leave, I give you something which will keep you at ease for a few days." Saying this, he took out all he had earned as his salary, retaining only the fare for his journey. Then Ratan fell on the dust at his feet and clinging to them said "*Dada Babu*, I beg you humbly, you need not give me anything, none should be

anxious for me," and saying this she ran away from that place.

Our late postmaster drawing a long breath took up his carpet bag in his hand, an umbrella on his shoulder, put his queer tin-trunk striped blue and white on the head of a coolie and slowly strode on towards the boat.

When he got to the boat and the boat started—the overflowing and widening river of the rainy season splashed on all sides and sparkled like the overflowing tears of the earth, —he felt a smart pang in his heart—the pitiful picture of a simple village girl's face expressed a vast world-wide inexpressible heartache. Once he actually thought of coming back to take with him the forlorn orphan-girl—but the sails had caught the wind, the swollen current of the rainy season was flowing fast, the village had been left behind, and the burning-ghat by the riverside came in view. In the sad heart of the voyager floating down the river the truth crept in—in this life there are innumerable such partings, innumerable deaths, what is the good of going back?

But Ratan's mind knew not the light of such truth. Flooded in tears she hovered round and round the post office. Perhaps a faint flicker of hope was in her heart—that *Dādā Babu* might come back and this thought held her as a bond and she could not leave the place.

Oh! foolish human heart, delusion never breaks off, the dictates of reason come but too late, the strongest proofs are set aside and false hopes are clung to with the whole life and heart, till at last the nerves torn asunder, the blood of the heart sucked up—hope flies away, then one comes to to one's senses and again the heart yearns for the snares of a second delusion.

DEBENDRA NATH MITTER.

ARE THE BENGALI HINDUS A DYING RACE?*

This nicely got-up little book has been written expressly by way of a counterblast to the wellknown pamphlet, 'A Dying Race' by Lt. Colonel Dr. U. N. Mukherji. In that pamphlet Dr. Mukherji laid down

* *Bangiya Hindu Fati Ki Dhwansonmukh? Are the Bengali Hindus a Dying Race?* : by Sakham Ganes Deuskar, Professor of History in the Bengal National College. Price five annas. 71-1 Sukea Street, Calcutta. Aswin, 1317. (Pp. 123).

the somewhat alarming proposition that "we are a decaying race. Every census reveals the same fact. We are getting proportionately fewer and fewer. There is no actual decrease; but the rate of increase compared with that of the Mahomedans is extremely small" (p. 4). Professor Deuskar attempts to show—and we are bound to admit that in this attempt he has largely succeeded—that a careful analysis of the census returns does not bear out Dr. Mukherji's

alarmist theory. The learned professor points out that Dr. Mukherji did not take into consideration the frequent redistribution of territory that took place in Bengal, Behar and Orissa since the inauguration of the first census in 1872, nor the admitted errors and omissions that characterised the earlier census operations chiefly in the eastern districts of Bengal where Mahomedans preponderate, nor the mistakes which resulted from the Hinduised aborigines of Bengal—e.g., the Sonthals, alone numbering 18½ lakhs—being shown in the census returns of 1891 as Animists by Mr. O'Donnel, who first started the theory that the Hindus were a dying race and tried to support it by manipulating the census figures in an entirely arbitrary way, nor yet again the fictitious increase in the earlier census figures admittedly due to the inclusion of a floating population of immigrant labourers in the eastern districts of Bengal; and making due allowance for all these elements, and also taking into account the number of Bengali (Hindu and Mahomedan) settlers in the rest of India and in Burmah, and deducting the probable (for here the exact figures are not available) number of non-Bengali immigrants to Bengal, Professor Deuskar arrives at the conclusion that between 1872 and 1881 Bengali Hindus increased at the rate of 3·65 per cent. and Bengali Mahomedans at the rate of 5·18 per cent. and he gives the rates of increase in the census of 1891 and 1901 in the following tabular form:—

	Rate of increase per cent. from 1881 to 1891		Rate of increase per cent. from 1891 to 1901	
	Hindu	Moslem	Hindu	Moslem
West Bengal	3·1	4·2	7·1	8·5
Central Bengal	3·2	2·7	5·5	4·5
North Bengal	3·2	3·6	5·3	5·3
East Bengal	10·3	16·9	6·9	12·3

From the above figures, which may be taken to be fairly accurate, it will appear that (1) the rate of increase of the Bengali Hindus between 1872—1881 was markedly lower than that of the Bengali Mahomedans, (2) in the two subsequent decades, the rate of increase of both the communities was fairly equal in North Bengal, slightly greater among the Mahomedans than among the Hindus in West Bengal and slightly greater among the Hindus than among the Mahomedans in Central Bengal, (3) the rate of increase in East Bengal, while far in excess, for both the communities, of the rest of Bengal, was a little more than half as much again among the Mahomedans as among the Hindus in 1881—91, and nearly double in the period 1891—1901. As to the period ending in 1881, Prof. Deuskar has satisfactorily shown that the marked decrease in the Hindu population was due to the outbreak of malaria in the Burdwan division which was locally known under the name of 'The Great Burdwan Fever' and owing to which there was an actual decrease of 5·35 per cent. in the population of the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore and Hugli, in all of which Hindus preponderate over Mahomedans. The remarkably high rate of increase in the East Bengal districts is explained by their comparative immunity from malaria, the greater fertility of the soil, the absence of famines, and the general prosperity due to the extensive cultivation of jute. Prof. Deuskar also shows, with convincing force, that the

number of literates among the lower class Hindus of Bengal is nearly twice that of the entire literate population among the Bengali Mahomedans, though in East Bengal the Mahomedans are rapidly making up leeway, for there the literate Hindus are only five per mille ahead of the Mahomedans; that there are 11·34 per ten thousand of Bengali Hindus to 15·8 per ten thousand of Bengali Mahomedans in jail; that in seven districts of Western Bengal (the new province of Bengal proper) the death-rate among Hindus is greater, and in the other seven districts less, than among the Mahomedans, and in only four out of the thirteen districts of the province of Eastern Bengal does the mortality among the Hindus exceed that among the Mahomedans; and lastly, that the number of sexagenarians and old men and women is larger among Hindus than among Mahomedans, thus proving that they attain greater longevity. These, in short, are the positive facts deducible from the able and closely reasoned analysis of the figures and statistics contained in the Census Returns and the reports of the Sanitary Commissioner presented to us by Prof. Deuskar in the book under review.

But there is another side to the shield, and it will do us no good to ignore it, as the learned professor appears to do. He does not explain why the Mahomedans of East Bengal are increasing much faster than the Hindus, and it is precisely here that we are forced to recognise the value of the many thoughtful and recondite suggestions contained in Dr. Mukherji's brochure. East Bengal was known in ancient times as Banga and it gave its name to the entire Bengali people. It contains the capital of Ballal Sen, and is the seat of the two great divisions of Bengali Brahmins, Rarhi and Varendra. Vikrampur is the centre of Sanskrit culture and is second only to Navadwip in that respect. East Bengal has produced many men of whom the Hindus of both the Bengals are deservedly proud; and some of the foremost Bengali Hindus of the other province, from the time of Chaitanya downwards, trace their origin to East Bengal. It will not therefore do for Bengali Hindus to ignore the fact that in East Bengal, already teeming with Mahomedans, the Hindus are being outstripped in the race by Moslems. The writer of this review is himself an inhabitant of East Bengal, and it is his reasoned conviction that the higher middle class Hindus of East Bengal do not compare unfavourably in productiveness with the Mahomedans of that province. It is that portion of the lower middle class people who have to live apart from their families for the greater part of the year for the sake of business or employment, and the low castes generally forming 40 per cent. of the total Hindu population, who show a marked deterioration in the number of their offspring. The conclusion is irresistible that the low caste Hindus of East Bengal are less endowed with vitality, that the Mahomedans of East Bengal are a more virile race, more enterprising and adventurous, more organised and united. Is this not due, at any rate partially, to the causes pointed out by Dr. Mukherji, *viz.*, that they eat more nutritious food, are less addicted to drink (a fact admitted by Prof. Deuskar—see p. 99 of his book), and are immune from the canker of caste? It is they who are sent out by their Hindu landlords to occupy and squat on newly formed *churs*; as agriculturists, they are the

first and foremost, as labourers they are more in demand (*vide* the Bluebook on the Administration of Sir Andrew Fraser).—Even their vices are more manly—they abduct Hindu girls they love, murder their rivals, break out in a riot when their agrarian rights are threatened. They assemble once a week in social camaraderie in the village *jumma* house; if they find their habitat unsuitable, they migrate with ease. The Hindu on the other hand lives by usury, by the petty chicanery of the law courts, and by fomenting social squabbles or *Daladali*. Dacca was once the capital of Mahomedan Bengal, and it is a wellknown fact that most of the East Bengal Mahomedans are descendants of converts from low class Hindus. "The affinities of the Mahomedans of East Bengal seem to be with the Pods and Chandals, and those of North Bengal with the Rajbansies and Koches" says the Bengal Census Report of 1901. Dacca is again rising into importance as the centre of Mahomedan influence on this side of India. Granting that a portion of the conversions was due to the application of force and the moral influence of the ruling race, can it be denied that they were in a large measure due to and helped by the social tyranny exercised by the caste system over the depressed classes? Prof. Deuskar seems to make light of the loss to Hinduism due to proselytism. He calculates that on the average only about fifteen hundred Hindus accept Christianity or Islam every year, and this he considers a very small number. But these converts will multiply, and their descendants will swell the ranks of the non-Hindu communities. Even if the Hindus procreate in the same ratio, it would be the reverse of prudent to remain indifferent to the process by which a small minority, which is necessarily weak, is transformed into a large minority, which is strong, because it is capable of making its influence felt on the body politic.

Again, the converts from Hinduism have great potentialities, they and their descendants may be pillars of strength to or may occupy an honourable position in the society to which they have transferred their allegiance; whereas converts to Hinduism are a source of weakness to the Hindu community, owing to their being destined to live a life of perpetual degradation at the bottom of the social scale.

According to the Professor, the fact that only one lakh and fifty-two thousand people in the Santhal Pargannas and Chota Nagpur have embraced Christianity shows that the Christian Missions are failures. He forgets that the Hinduising influence has been acting for centuries on these people, and the Christians have come to the field only since the last century. Those, however, who are unable to treat these conversions in the cavalier fashion in which Professor Deuskar treats them, cannot fail to be impressed by the arguments advanced by Dr. Mukherji to prove that the cause of these changes of faith lies mainly in the extremely degraded position assigned to the lower classes under the Hindu caste system. While attempting to whittle down the significance of the conversions from Hinduism, the learned professor makes much of the conversions of the aborigines to Hinduism. But let us hear what Dr. Mukherji says on the subject: "What is the attitude of the Brahmans towards these Hindus? It is one of absolute indifference. These men are neither welcome nor is any opposition offered to their entry. It is all the

same to the Brahmans whether they call themselves Hindus or not. Their adoption of Hindu religion causes some amount of amusement and sometimes gives rise to a certain amount of indulgent contempt. If a Brahman is found to do so (minister to these classes) he becomes instantly degraded and his position is considered even lower than that of the new proselytes. The luckless minister becomes at once one of the great 'untouchables' (p. 37). Is conversion of this kind something to be proud of? Have the Mahomedans not even a semblance of justification for submitting a representation to the Census authorities suggesting that this class of Hindus should be shown in the returns as non-Hindus? The Note recently circulated by Mr. E. A. Gait, Census Commissioner of India, begins with the following admission "The complaint has often been made that the Census Returns of Hindus are misleading as they include millions of people who are not really Hindus at all, who are denied the ministrations of the Brahmans and are forbidden to enter Hindu temples, and who in many cases are regarded as so unclean that their touch, or even their proximity, causes pollution. There is, of course, much truth in this criticism...."

The fact is, that while the Hindu just tolerates the convert on the outskirts of the borderland which divides Hindus from non-Hindus, the Christian actively proselytises, at immense cost and with infinite zeal and patience, and is prepared to undergo untold hardships in attaining his object. Let us now take another passage from one of the masterly generalisations of Dr. Mukherji: "The so-called high castes who form less than 13 per cent. [this is admitted by Prof. Deuskar—*vide* p. 85 of his book] of the total number of Hindus, regard any association, such as sitting together, with 30 per cent. of their co-religionists as degrading, with the majority of 57 per cent. of the remaining Hindus as contaminating. Any water touched by 57 out of 100 Hindus will be regarded as polluted by the remaining 43"—(p. 26). Or the following: "Suppose a Brahman meets another, a good many questions are to be settled. The other may be a Rarhi, Baidik, or Barendra. Supposing both are Rarhis, the question of "Gotra" is to be considered, there are more than a dozen of them. Supposing it happened that the "Gotra" is alike, the "Mel" is to be decided—there are over 20 different extant "Mels"—If it happens that the "Mels" are also alike, there is the question of "Santan," there is the "Gain", of course the important point of "Swabhab" or "Bhanga" must be taken into account. If it is "Bhanga" the "Purusha" is to be ascertained. On the whole, it may be safely asserted that the number of combinations of the differences that would separate one Brahman from another will be well over ten thousand. In the case of a Baidya or a Kayastha the differences will be nearly as many" (pp. 50-51.) "As things stand, it must be a rare combination where a dozen Bengali Hindus meet together and cannot discern something to disunite them. *Disunion is the corner-stone of our society.*" (P. 40.) Who can deny the truth of these statements or of the following account of the position occupied by one of the typical depressed communities in Hindu society? "He is a Bagdi, a member of an acknowledged low caste. The very name is a synonym for what is low and vile. Except men of his own class everybody shuns him. *Beradery* society he understands

so long as it means men of his own class : with the other Hindus, that is of course out of the question. Hope, ambition, self-respect, self-reliance have no meaning for him and things have been like this ever since he has been a Bagdi. "Am I my brother's keeper?" Decidedly not; he is not my brother, nothing of the sort; it is a Bagdi." (p. 45.)

It would be easy to quote many more fine passages from Dr. Mukherji's remarkable pamphlet. It teems with fruitful suggestions and powerful and instructive inductions, and has deservedly caused a profound stir in the calm and placid surface of Hinduism. He has certainly exaggerated the symptoms of decay, as Prof: Deuskar has convincingly proved, but he has not hesitated to call a spade a spade, and it must be admitted that had he not sounded the tocsin of alarm the attention of the upper classes would not have been so universally directed to the absolute necessity, in the interest of self-preservation, for the elevation of the depressed classes. Destructive criticism of the kind indulged in by Prof: Deuskar is obviously easier than constructive work such as has been successfully attempted by Dr. Mukherji, and the latter's pamphlet will continue to be read with profit by thousands of our educated men in spite of the statistical inaccuracies it contains; for it is much more than a mere collection of census figures and deductions therefrom, and Prof: Deuskar's refutation leaves the main part of Dr. Mukherji's argument untouched. It is a pity that the truly patriotic motive which led Dr. Mukherji to write the pamphlet and which ought to be obvious to all has escaped Prof: Deuskar's notice altogether; and in this connection we cannot but express our emphatic disapprobation of the unseemly banter and injudicious epithets employed by him in criticising Dr. Mukherji's views.

In the opinion of Prof: Deuskar, the abolition of caste is synonymous with the abolition of Hindu society (p. 116). He quotes Sir Gurudas Banerji in support of the opinion that *except with regard to food and marriage*, the Hindus of different castes should mix more freely with one another, as otherwise Hindu society is sure to be torn by caste dissensions. Inter-marriage between different castes may be difficult to bring about, and want of it need not materially interfere with social equality, as the example of the three higher castes shows, but one cannot understand how in the absence of inter-dining, even in the restricted sense of eating together food cooked by Brahmins, the higher castes can associate freely with the lower castes. Nor do we see why abolition of caste should mean the doing away with Hindu society. The Punjabi Hindus, who may without offence, be said to be more pure-blooded than the Bengali Hindus, do not evidently think so, if the opinion expressed by the leaders of the Punjab Hindu Conference be accepted as representing their views. That opinion has been ably summarised in the editorial notes of the November number of this magazine as follows: "If we go back to Vedic times, we do not find that caste was so stereotyped as now, or that the worship of idols was considered a *sine qua non*, or that the same restrictions as to food existed as now, or that the Brahman had the monopoly of the priest's function or of spiritual ministrations. We think, therefore, that all persons of Hindu extraction whose spiritual ideals, culture and exercises are mainly Hindu in character and origin,

and whose social and domestic life and ideals conform generally to the Hindu type, may be called Hindus." Christians believe Christ to be the son of God, Mahomedans regard Muhammad as God's prophet. Hindus subscribe to none of these doctrines; hence they would remain a distinct people even if the caste system were abolished. While the attitude of a large section of Bengali Hindus is represented by the above remarks of Prof: Deuskar, it is significant that the Moslem community, conscious of what a fruitful source of discord and weakness caste is, have applied through their League to the authorities to omit all references to caste distinctions among them in the coming census. It is due to Prof. Deuskar, however, to say that he is in favour of the fusion of sub-castes (p. 117). It is hardly necessary to point out the logical conclusion of this argument. If fusion of sub-castes be salutary, the fusion of all the castes into a homogeneous whole cannot but be so.

Prof: Deuskar admits that one reason, though a minor one, of the greater prolificacy of the Mahomedans as compared to the Hindus, lies in the custom of widow marriage among them (p. 44). That the existence of this custom does not lead to the indiscriminate marriage of every widow appears from the fact that only ten per cent. of Moslem widows at all care to remarry (p. 108), and it is not to be supposed that Hindu widows would be more eager for remarriage. The number of Bengali Hindu widows is estimated by Prof: Deuskar at a little over 29 lakhs. He admits that in every part of India except Bengal the Hindus permit their widows to be united with a second husband. And he calculates that the number of women among Bengali Hindus is actually less by one lakh and ninety-six thousands than that of men, and that this is almost as true of the higher as of the lower castes. Prof: Deuskar further shows by quoting facts and figures that with the increase of the marriageable age among Bengali Hindus, the number of widows is growing less. These facts and conclusions lend strong support to the case for widow marriage and the abolition of early marriage.

Finally, we have a few words to say with regard to the mental attitude of Prof: Deuskar touching the whole question.—He says that a perusal of the country's history for the past one thousand years has convinced him that no good will come to the Hindus unless they are permeated with the spirit of their religion, and proceeds regretfully to observe that Hindu students do not hesitate to act in opposition to their *Samaj* (pp. 97-98). On page 122 he says that in the opinion of many, the Hindu race shall not regain its former health unless it conforms, in ritual and practice, in religion and activity, in spirit and ideal, wholly and always, to the ancient Aryan system of India. We regret that this should be the attitude of the professor of history in the National College of Bengal, and we should regret it still more if this were to represent the attitude of the scholars and the authorities of the College. A professor of history need not be told that 'the ancient Aryan system of India' was a very elastic and nebulous thing, and varied greatly in different ages and times. Much water has flowed down the sacred rivers of India since those good old days, never to return. It is, therefore, worse than useless to sigh for them. It should be obvious that the mode of life which prevailed then cannot be revived in exactly the

same form. Had the great authors of the *smritis* and the *samhitās* taken more adequate account of the changes that were called for by the changed times, we should not have arrived at our present deplorable pass. Inadaptability to environments has been the sure cause of our decay. Atavism of the kind suggested is impossible. We cannot help being, in some degree, creatures of the times we live in. There is such a thing as the 'Time-Spirit' or युगधर्म. There are powerful influences at work in the outer world which are knocking at our doors and would not be denied. We can neglect them only at the cost of our awakening manhood. The ideal of excessive Chauvinism set before the young nationalist by men like Professor Deuskar therefore seems to be in our opinion anything but wholesome. It will feed false pride, and oppose healthy activities tending to the reform of social abuses. The young India which should be our ideal has been very happily depicted by the Rev. Bernard Lucas in a recent issue of the *Indian Review*: "The Young India for whose freedom I plead is an India in whose veins flows the lifeblood of the Past—a child more truly allied to the orthodox grandfather than to the non-descript father who has begotten him. It is essentially and enthusiastically Indian, but its golden age is in the Future and not in the Past. It believes with all its soul in the mission of India to the world, but it believes that that mission can only be accomplished by an India which is alive, and whose pulsating life has full freedom to express itself in the

political, the social and the religious spheres. It has no desire to cut itself off from the Past, nor any intention of renouncing its birthright. It demands, however, that the veto of the Past shall be exercised in directing, not in prohibiting progress, in controlling, not in arresting the development of the national life. It craves for freedom from caste tyranny, not for license from all social restrictions. It asks for more social liberty, because it is conscious of the possession of a richer and fuller social life. It seeks for religious liberty, not because it is irreligious or anti-religious, but because it is conscious of a wider religious outlook and a broader and deeper religious life. It is national without being antforeign, patriotic without being jingoistic, religious, and that of a distinctly Indian type, without being either bigoted or obscurantist. It is the Young India thus roughly sketched who is the hope of the future, for it is in his hands that the destinies of India lie."

Surely Professor Deuskar does not need to be reminded of the wise words of the immortal Kalidasa in *मालविकाग्निमित्र*. What he says of poetry applies equally to social rules and customs.

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्व्वं

न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।

सन्तः परीक्षायन्तरङ्गजन्ते

सदः परमव्ययनेयवृद्धिः ॥

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN ECONOMICS

I

"The brooding mother of the unfilial world,
Recumbent on her own antiquity,
Aloof from our mutation and unrest,
Alien to our achievements and desires,
Too proud alike for protest and assent,
When new thoughts thunder at her massy door ;—
Another brain, dreaming another dream,
Another heart, recalling other loves,
Too grey and grave for our adventurous hopes,
For our precipitate pleasures too august."

"Methinks that was not my inheritance;
For I was nurtured otherwise, my soul
Passes from higher heights of life to a more
supreme goal."

THERE are many earnest students of Economics in India at the present day who seriously doubt if there can be such a thing as an Indian system of Political Economy, or Indian Economics, distinct from the general science of Economics as it is commonly known and studied in the West. They seem honestly to question the necessity and even the

possibility of an independent and systematic study of the characteristic features of economic life in India, which in their view have nothing peculiar to them, and are at best too few in number to deserve special consideration.

This view of the nature of Political Economy as a science, though absent in the most recent and advanced economic thought of the times, is still widely prevalent and popular and is responsible to a great extent for the slow rate at which the science of Economics is progressing, as compared with the group of sciences known as physical. It is an attitude that was bequeathed to the economic world by the orthodox or classical school of economists represented by such famous names as those of Ricardo and Malthus, Senior and James Mill, Torrens, McCulluch and others. Their enthusiasm for establishing and demonstrating the strictly scientific character of Economics blinded them to the fact that

Economics was after all one of the human sciences, a branch of sociological speculation, and as such could not admit of the certainty and comprehensiveness which characterise what are called the exact sciences. The result was that they moved in a world of abstractions without knowing it themselves*: they set up certain more or less arbitrary assumptions drawn from an unduly narrow field of observation and experience, hastily proceeded to build on them a system of deductive reasoning and claimed for their conclusions the character of universality without realising the limitations of their fundamental assumptions and the necessity of applying the test of experience to the conclusion drawn from them. Imitating the method of Euclidean logic that starts from assumptions like that of a line having length without breadth which have no real existence in nature, the classical economist paved the way for the sweeping and irresistible march of his logic by resolving the ordinary human being with his inconvenient complexities into a simplified human being called the Economic Man or rather not a man but a money-making animal or machine propelled by only one force or impulse, *viz.*, the desire to be rich, the desire to have the maximum of gain with the minimum of pain, together with certain other propelling influences which are subsidiary and derived from the main impulse. This human monstrosity, in whom were assumed an exclusive regard for self-interest as the overmastering motive and with it a capacity to perfectly comprehend and act on that interest, became the centre round whom was woven a system of subtle reasoning which, while it undoubtedly imparted to economics the appearance of a pure science, also proportionately narrowed the sphere of its applicability and practical

* Arnold Toynbee thus speaks of Ricardo and his system: "His powerful mind, concentrated upon the argument, never stopped to consider the world which the argument implied,—that world of gold-seeking animals, stripped of every human affection, forever digging, weaving, spinning, watching with keen undeceived eyes each others' movements, passing incessantly and easily from place to place in search of gain, all alert, crafty and mobile—that world less real than the island of Lilliput which never has had and never can have any existence—a logical artifice became the accepted picture of the real world."

usefulness, and hence greatly reduced its popularity. The wonder is that this artificial and highly abstract character of the system was never perceived by its propounders, who continued to maintain the real character of their unreal conceptions, the preponderance of deduction as a method of research and the absolute way in which their conclusions were always conceived and enunciated, without caring to widen the range of their observation or to appeal to experience. Indeed one writer went so far as to assert that "Political Economy is not greedy of facts; it is independent of facts; and it depends more on reasoning than on observation.*"

The abuses of the classical school were corrected by a natural reaction that soon set in against it. Adam Smith, though he is regarded as a pioneer in the field of deductive Political Economy, is also well known for his inductive tendencies, and he was really as much a theorist as an historian. As Dr. Ingram justly remarks: "What strikes us most in his book in his wide and keen observation of social facts and his perpetual tendency to dwell on these and elicit their significance, instead of drawing conclusions from abstract principles by elaborate chains of reasoning. This redeeming feature of Adam Smith's work, to which it owes its abiding freshness and charm, was totally lost sight of by some of Smith's immediate followers and successors but it was not entirely lost upon writers like John Stuart Mill and John Elliott Cairnes, who in a way protested against Orthodox Economics by recognising the purely hypothetical character of the science. In the meantime the genius of Auguste Comte rose to lay the foundation of a scientific social doctrine and to elaborate his theory of sociological method which is known as the Historical Method. There was a great change in the intellectual tendencies of the age, which came to be more and more pervaded by the historic spirit. There was a growing application of the historical method to all branches of sociological speculation, including the economic. The historical school of economists first came into prominence in Germany, where it was led by Roscher, Hildebrand and Knies. In England it is represented by

* Senior.

writers like Bagehot, Leslie and Jevons. This School, which is often spoken of as inductive and statistical, denies the universalism and perpetualism imputed to economic doctrine by the older school and seeks its history rather than in *a priori* assumptions the principal material for building up the Science. The relativity of economic principles and institutions is here fully recognised, and the present is always regarded as having its roots in the past, without a reference to which it cannot be properly understood. Hence the true starting point of Economics, according to this school, is not some *a priori* assumptions evolved out of the brain, as was done by Adam Smith and the Physiocrats, regarding a system of natural liberty which "by an invisible hand" leads the individual, pursuing his private interests, unwittingly and automatically to promote the public good, and thus sets up a harmonious and beneficent order of things the approximation to which is the test of a nation's economic condition and organisation. This theory which exaggerates the identity of individual and social interests, and the sufficiency of individual self-seeking for the salvation of the race, which believes Man's self-love to be God's providence and discovers, as it were, a providential scheme that like alchemy transmutes every man's base selfishness into a power for the good of all—this the economist must either put aside as too abstract for his purpose, or must accept with due limitations and qualifications to bring it into line with facts. Nor must the economist start with a simplified human being such as figures so largely in the pages of the Ricardian School of economists—the conception of men not as members of families, associations or nations but as isolated individuals connected only by pecuniary interests, bound together by no other tie than what Carlyle has called "Cash-nexus"—"man's duty to man resolving itself into handing him certain metal pieces, and then shoving him out of doors"—a conception which is adapted more to the purposes of their deductive reasoning than to the actual realities of life and thus sacrifices a wider applicability and observation to a higher scientific precision. As Dr. Ingram puts it, the laws of wealth must be inferred from

the facts of wealth, not from the postulate of human selfishness. What is wanted is a comparative study of the economic conditions of different periods and different countries, the study of the history of economic evolution by which alone can economists be saved from the reproach of one-sided and narrow dogmatism.

This conception of the character of Economics as a science and of the methods of its investigation makes the task of the Economist by no means easy. It extends very much the field of his study, observation and induction. He must "glance from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven," must "survey mankind from China to Peru" before he can legitimately apply the deductive method of reasoning and arrive at economic truths, principles or laws. If he has made a study of the economic phenomena of a particular country and has made them the basis of his generalisations, he must not pass them as scientific truths of universal application, but must recognise their relative character and be ready to modify them in the light of any further experience regarding the economic phenomena of other countries that may be forthcoming. On this point Walter Bagehot is so explicit and he so clearly exposes the limitations of what he calls *English Political Economy* (rather than simply *Political Economy*) that we cannot refrain from making extracts out of his writings:

"The science of Political Economy as we have it in England, may be defined as the science of business such as business is in large productive and trading communities. It is an analysis of that world so familiar to many Englishmen—the 'great commerce' by which England has become rich." Again: "The world which our Political Economists treat of is a very limited and peculiar world also. They often imagine that what they read is applicable to all states of society, and to all equally, whereas it is only true of—and only proved as to—states of society in which commerce has largely developed and where it has taken the form of development, or something near the form, which it has taken in England."

Indeed Bagehot went so far as to assert that *English Political Economy* realises itself only in Lombard Street and on the stock exchange, being only "a convenient series of deductions from assumed axioms which are never quite true, which in many times and countries would be utterly untrue" but which are applicable only to the modern English world.

The functions of the Economist, and the tendencies of modern economic thought are now quite plain. The claim of universality is admitted only of a few fundamental conceptions and principles "which are so simple in nature and so deeply grounded in the constitution of man and the outer world that they remain the same throughout all those ages which are within our consideration."* Barring those general conceptions and principles all economic doctrines must be understood to be relative to the particular epoch or to the particular country which forms the subject of economic investigations. Different countries representing different civilisations and phases of human evolution present different features of economic life and types of industrial organisation which must form independent subjects of economic inquiry. Even the different ages of a particular country or of a number of countries having a common civilisation exhibit different kinds of economic phenomena. The economic England of the twentieth century wears a different aspect from that of the economic England of Adam Smith's time, when the days of the Industrial Revolution were not yet; while there is not much in common in the industrial life of modern Europe and mediæval Europe, as Cliffe Leslie puts it:

"The structure and phenomena of mediæval society in Germany, as elsewhere, were far from suggesting an economic theory based on individual interest and exchange. Common property in land, common rights over land held in severalty; scanty wealth of any kind, and no inconsiderable part of it in mortmain, or otherwise intransferable; labour almost as immovable as the soil; production mainly for home consumption, not for the market; the division of labour in its infancy, and little circulation of money; the family, the commune, the corporation, the class, not individuals, the component units of society: such are some of the leading features of mediæval economy."†

It is therefore quite evident that the true science of Economics will build itself on a comparative study of the economic life lived by man in different ages and countries, of the principal types of industrial organisation that existed in the world, none of which can be excluded from our study with impunity.

* Jevons. *The Future of Political Economy*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. XXVI.

† *Essays in Political and Moral Philosophy*, p. 84.

The real reason why economic phenomena are found to vary from age to age and with societies and countries is perhaps to be sought in the fact that material welfare, whether individual or national, is not the sole or supreme end of human activity but is only one of the several ends which men pursue, so that different degrees of importance are attached to it by different peoples and by the same people at different stages of their progress. Hence the means to that end, which it is the business of the economist to investigate and set forth, must also be different for different states of society or ideals of life. Man's behaviour towards wealth is mainly determined by the whole view and philosophy of life. The Hindus are so strongly impressed with the vanity of human wishes and the reality of the world of the spirit that they make light of the importance of the world of the senses. Ancient Athens placed artistic glory above other ends, while much of the ambition of France in the period from the age of Louis XI to that of Napoleon was directed towards military renown and that of England towards commercial success. Even the same nation may attach different degrees of importance to wealth in different epochs. The Dutch once sacrificed their wealth for the sake of their religious principles and the English for political pre-eminence in their wars with Napoleon. Hence it is the genius of each nation that determines the place to be filled by the pursuit of wealth in the activities of that nation and the character of the means to be adopted in the pursuit of material welfare must be in keeping with the institutions and the current morality of a given society; for no economical principle can establish itself as a guiding maxim of conduct in a society when it runs counter to its ruling ideas. In other words, economical principles proper, which set forth the rules to be observed in advancing material welfare, only indicate, as pointed out by Dr. Cunningham, "the means to procure wealth-as-conceived and wealth-as-desired by a particular nation at a particular epoch, not wealth in general," so that they can only constitute a Political Economy, not a cosmopolitan Economic science that has to investigate "the means of securing wealth at different times and places" and as such "merely descriptive and classificatory".

But the relativity of economic institutions and doctrines is not only to be justified on mere *a priori* grounds. It can be amply illustrated from the history of economic thought in Europe, which shows how economic doctrines are fashioned to the varying hour and change constantly with the times and conditions of life. The classical theory which regarded slavery as a perfectly natural institution was well-suited to times when "earth and sea and sun and sky had combined to make it easy for men to obtain the material requisites for a perfect life" and slave labour was productive. But this doctrine was in time out-grown by the new condition and philosophy of life to which Christianity gave birth with its message of the equality of men. The new economic doctrines which forbade usury, regulated prices and at the same time emphasised the dignity and necessity of labour both as a discipline and title to monastic charity were all shaped by the Christian principle of loving one's neighbour. The movement of the enfranchisement of labour flowed steadily on converting the slave into serf and the serf into the free man who brought in the era of guilds and purchased with his wealth the freedom of the mediæval cities. But mediæval economic doctrines which justified regulations restraining industry were mainly intended to ensure the skill and diligence of the workman on which industrial success depended in those times. Then followed the momentous geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries widening men's horizon and the limits of local economy, and appropriate economic doctrines grew up in obedience to the needs of the times. These go by the general name of the Mercantile system which replaced the old restraints on individual economic activity by newer restraints on national economic policy in an era of national jealousies kindled by colonial ambition. Wealth, specially in its form of the precious metals, was soon recognised as the fountain of political power, commercial dependence was confounded with political, and the theory of the balance of trade as determining the balance of power established itself as the economic policy of nations. The colonies were used as means

Prof. Marshall.

for furthering the ends of the mother country till the bonds with too much tightening were snapped asunder by the Declaration of Independence of the year 1776, which gave a death-blow to the prevalent restrictive commercial policy of Europe. The year of the Declaration of Independence was also the year of the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which swept away by a storm of logic the Mercantile System and built up in its place a new system of Natural Liberty that was an inevitable reaction against the old restrictive regime. Individualism asserted itself in all spheres of activity, in morals, politics and economics, and the Ricardian School of Economists rose to preach its glories. The Domestic System of industry gradually yielded its place to the factory system and unrestricted competition began to rule the economic world, and justify itself by an increase of the volume of production. But individualism is not without its excesses obscuring its glories, for it is now being seen that in trying to expand production individualism often destroys individuality, makes the strong stronger and the weak weaker and is productive of great social unrest. So that again a new system of opinions arises known as socialism to mend or end the old system which sacrificed well-being to wealth. Thus the whole course of the evolution of economic institutions and thought in Europe is but one long tale illustrating the relativity of economic principles and their correspondence to the facts on which they are based.

The task of reconstructing the old orthodox economics on these new lines has already far advanced. Each of the principal countries in the West has furnished a host of competent scholars devoted to the investigation of the economic phenomena and organisation of their own country and thus supplying very valuable material for the building up of the general science of Economics. Complete presentations of national systems of political economy such as obtained in Europe and America are now forthcoming, so as to make possible the universal science of Political Economy.

Unfortunately the East is not contributing to this Renaissance so largely as the West, and is apt to be overlooked or dismissed as unimportant in the economic

investigation of Western scholars. The East with all its proverbial wealth, "the gorgeous East" with "its barbaric pearl and gold," by a curious irony of fate is now disregarded by a science that deals with wealth. Besides, an essentially wrong conception of the philosophy of history and the evolution of culture as also of the use of the historico-comparative method seems to be obtaining among Western scholars, who are disposed to find in the Græco-Romano-Gothic type the culmination of racial development and culture, the epitome of mankind, the representative of universal humanity, the heir of all the ages. But this is a radically wrong conception of the course of human evolution, an unwarrantably narrow vision of universal Humanity. As in biology development is now represented not by a line but by a genealogical tree, so the history of civilisation cannot be conceived as a single line of progress. The linear view of development which the Hegelians applied to human history must be abandoned once for all. We must admit ethnic varieties at the outset and of different types of culture—Chinese, Hindu, Semitic, Greek,

Roman, and Teutonic—which cannot be regarded as links of one chain. "God fulfils Himself in various ways": each race must be regarded as reflecting in its way universal Humanity and making its own contribution to the realisation of the Ideal of Humanity. For, this Ideal cannot be completely unfolded in any single race and different races only express different phases of the ideal,—phases which differ both in quantity and quality. In a word, in all our sociological investigations we must make the comparative study of the entire "Social Series" (to use Mill's phrase) but giving to the phrase a wider denotation and connotation than are readily conceded to it by the prejudices or narrowness of Western scholars, from which even a thoroughly historic spirit and a philosophic bent of genius could not save Dr. Ingram, who is disposed to take the following view:

"The essential condition of all sound sociological inquiry is the comparative consideration of the entire series of the most complete evolution known to history, that, namely, of the *group of nations forming what is known as the Occidental commonwealth or more briefly, the West.*"

RADHAKUMUD MOOKHERJEE.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

UNDER this heading we intend, for the most part, to bring together extracts from newspapers and periodicals relating to the position and prospects of our countrymen in foreign lands.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

POLICY OF EXCLUSION.

The *Daily Chronicle* of the 2nd September contained the following:—

The questions raised in the interview with Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee are of importance, not only to the British Empire, but to the whole world.

Are the brown and yellow races of Asia, swarming as they do in their own countries, to be denied access to the empty places of the earth, which are crying out for population? On the other hand, can the white races live and thrive beside those which are brown and yellow?

This is one of the great problems which confront the administration of an Empire like ours. Indeed, an

official at the Colonial Office told our representative who went to seek information as to the statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee, that it was by far the most difficult problem of all and that it was every day becoming more acute. Trouble has long been brewing in the East African Protectorate. In August, 1907, the Land Board of the Protectorate recommended that Indian immigration be discouraged as much as possible and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. This resolution was transmitted to Lord Elgin by Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, but in doing so the Commissioner felt it to be his duty to point out several facts to the Colonial Secretary:—

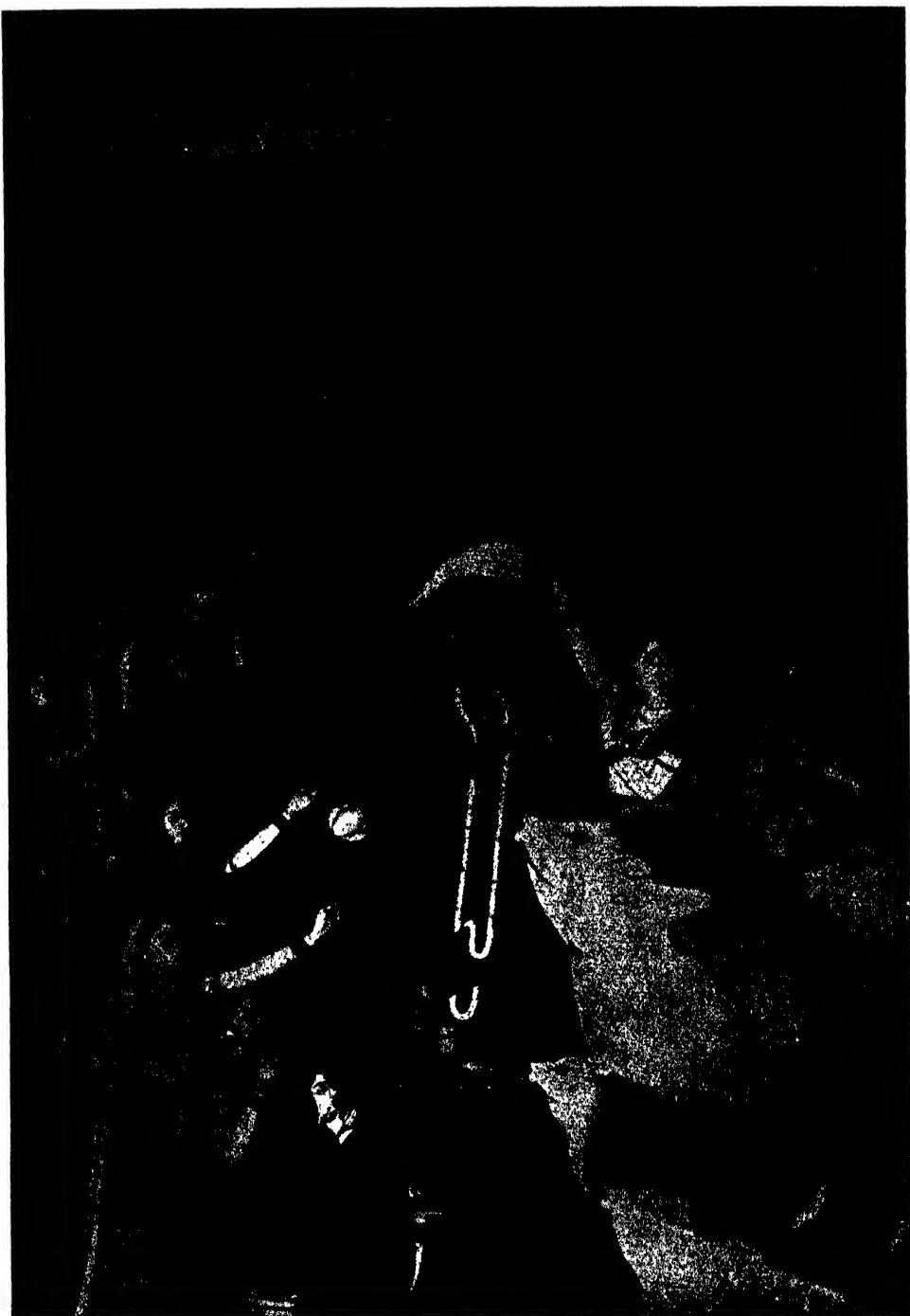
(a) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans.

(b) The Uganda Railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was made by Indian labour. But for such labour it would never have been constructed at all.

(c) Most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians.

(d) Finally, Indians are British subjects.

Lord Elgin's views on the matter were laid down in



KRISHNA, THE DIVINE COWHERD.
Rajput (Kangra) School.
To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

despatch sent to the Governor on March 19, 1908:—

"With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas."

COLOUR, THE DOMINANT QUESTION.

Mr. Winston Churchill, when Under-Secretary for the Colonies, paid a visit to the East Africa Protectorate, and was brought into immediate contact with this great problem. He refers to it in the book which he wrote describing his experiences in that country. "Colour is already the dominant question at Nairobi," says Mr. Churchill. "'We mean to make East Africa a white man's country', cries in ardent tones the Colonists' Association on every occasion."

"It is the brown man who is the rival," Mr. Churchill goes on. The middle stage in the economic system must provide white society with the means of earning—as professional men, as planters, merchants, traders, farmers, bankers, overseers, contractors, builders, engineers, accountants, clerks—a living for themselves and their families. To quote Mr. Churchill:—

"Here strikes in the Asiatic. In every single employment of this class, his power of subsisting upon a few shillings a month, his industry, his thrift, his sharp business aptitudes give him the economic superiority; and if the economic superiority is to be the final rule—as it never has been and never will be in the history of the world—there is not a single employment of this middle class from which he will not to a very large extent clear the white man, as surely and as remorselessly as the brown rat extirpated the black from British soil."

This says Mr. Churchill, is the nightmare which haunts the white population of Africa. He goes on to deal with the other side:—

"How stands the claim of the British Indian? His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of those East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication."

"Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of good faith? Most of all, we ask, is such a policy possible to the Government which bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire?"

WHAT MR. CHURCHILL PROPOSES.

"And is it, after all, beyond our reach to provide, if not a perfect, at any rate a practical answer? There ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the present state of political knowledge and social organisation, in assigning different spheres to the external activity of different races. The great Powers have partitioned

Africa territorially. Is it beyond the wit of man to divide it economically? The co-operation of many kinds of men is needed for the cultivation of such a noble estate. Is it impossible to regulate in full and intricate detail the conditions under which that co-operation shall take place? Here white men can live and thrive; there they cannot. Here is a task for one; there is opportunity for another. The world is big enough. There is plenty of room for all. Why cannot we settle it fairly?"

At the Colonial Office yesterday our representative was informed that the ordinances complained of by Mr. Jeevanjee were issued by the local authorities, that nothing was known of them in Downing Street. The policy with regard to the selling and leasing of land was laid down by Lord Elgin in the despatch which is quoted above.

At the same time, it was admitted at the Colonial Office that the uplands between Mombasa and Port Florence were to be reserved for white settlers. This area was, it was mentioned, about 4,000 square miles in extent. Here no land was to be sold or leased to Indians.

With reference to the conditions mentioned in the notice of sale of town lots in Nairobi, it was stated that the municipal authorities desired to keep the houses of the white residents away from those of the Indian residents on the ground of danger from plague.

"But," said the Colonial Office Official, "we cannot speak with any certainty on these matters. They are in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate, and if Mr. Jeevanjee will put his complaints in writing, we will send them out to the Governor at once, who will attend to them."

Seen by our representative in the afternoon, Mr. Jeevanjee said he had already, three weeks ago, laid his complaints before the Colonial Office. Dealing with the replies made to our representative he took the case of the notice of the sale of plots in the Sixth Avenue, Nairobi. One of the conditions of sale ran:—

"Any plot sold shall not be used as a place of residence for Asiatics or natives who are not domestic servants in the employ of the lessee."

"You are told," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "that Asiatics are not to be permitted to live beside Europeans. Why, these very plots which are offered in Sixth Avenue are surrounded by my land on every side, on which Indians live already."

"PUSHING US OUT."

"I am afraid this explanation will not do," he went on. "A deliberate policy of pushing us out of the country is being pursued. Let me give you one or two incidents which force me to believe this. Some time ago I applied for the lease of land at Port Florence for the purpose of starting a sugar plantation. This place is altogether unfitted as a residence for Europeans, but I could have employed many hundreds of Indians, brought trade to the country, and freight to the railway. Yet my application was refused."

"Again, a young friend of mine—an Englishman—wanted to start an artificial manure factory, for which there is a great opening in the Protectorate. I explained to him that if I found him the capital he would be prejudiced under the present state of affairs. So he tried to get it elsewhere, but failed."

"Then he came to me again, and I promised to finance him. The authorities objected to the factory being put up in Nairobi on hygienic grounds. I happened to have some land at Mombasa, three miles from the town, and with dwellings near it. But the authorities would not allow us to build."

"Why?"

"Because I am an Indian. I can conceive no other reason."

It may be mentioned that when Mr. Winston Churchill was at Nairobi, the only house in which he could be entertained was one belonging to Mr. Jeevanjee.

We give below the interview with Mr. Jeevanjee referred to in the previous article.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

AMAZING ACTION OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

The *Daily Chronicle* says:—Our Empire builders are not all of one race or colour or creed. Take the man who has practically founded the Colony of British East Africa. He is a Mahomedan from Bombay and Karachi, who has built up an enormous business in that country; yet he is a loyal subject of King George, and as enthusiastic an Imperialist as you would find in a day's march.

Sheth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee has just been made a member of the Legislative Council of British East Africa. He thoroughly deserves, and has thoroughly earned, that position. Just now he is over in Europe acting as a sort of commercial traveller for his adopted country, at the request of the Nairobi Agricultural Department. Yesterday he was kind enough to talk over the position and prospects of the country with one of our representatives.

Mr. Jeevanjee has developed in a remarkable degree the talent of the Oriental races for business organisation, and for adapting oneself to one's surroundings. The firm of A. M. Jeevanjee and Co. is known all down the East Coast of Africa as contractors, shipowners, and general merchants. He controls two lines of steamships, one providing a regular service between the Mauritius and Bombay, and the other—the "Bombay Hedjaz Company"—which carries pilgrims from Bombay to Jeddah.

But it is in British East Africa that Mr. Jeevanjee's chief interests are to be found, and it is there that his heart evidently is.

"It is one of the most wonderful countries in the world," he said, "and there is not a single product of commercial value that cannot be obtained there. Our cotton fetches the highest price in the market—it is equal to the best Egyptian—and the export of it is continually increasing. We produce the best rubber in the world. There are minerals in plenty waiting to be developed. Large deposits of manganese have just been discovered. On the coast line we can grow all sorts of tropical fruits, while on the uplands wheat, maize, beans, and potatoes do well."

"The country is there, and it is only waiting for two things to bring about its full development. And these are European capital and Indian labour. It is not a white man's country in the sense that white men can perform hard and continual manual labour. But for our Indian fellow-citizens it offers infinite possibilities."

Then Mr. Jeevanjee went on to unfold a story to our representative which would be ludicrously incredible, were it not that it was told by a man who has the best possible means of knowing its truth, and who could support it by documentary evidence.

INDIANS MARKED DOWN.

"A deliberate attempt is being made to debar us from any share in the commerce and agriculture of the country," he said. "We are marked down because of our race and colour."

"Yet it must be remembered that no less than 85 per cent. of the trade of British East Africa is in the hands of Indians. I have been in the country for twenty years—I may almost say I have made the country. All the best property in Nairobi belongs to me. I built all the Government buildings and leased them to the Administration. I built all the hospitals and post offices between Mombasa and Port Florence. I was the sole contractor on the Uganda Railway while it was building and provided rations for the 25,000 coolies engaged in making the line."

"Taking the whole of Uganda, I should say that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is as twelve to one. In fact, it may be said that they practically carry on the country. In Nairobi they pay practically the whole of the taxes, and own nearly the whole of the town."

Here Mr. Jeevanjee handed to our representative copies of notices which have recently appeared in the Official Gazette, signed "Acting Commissioner of Lands." One notice offers certain plots of lands in the Rewero township, and this is one of the conditions:—

'Plots may only be leased by persons of European origin.'

The same notice appears in the condition of sale of Government lands at Nairobi Hill.

"What does this mean?" asked our representative.

"It means," replied Mr. Jeevanjee, "that we are not to be allowed to purchase land in our own country. Any white man may—although he may be a German or an Italian or a Greek. But we—the subjects of King George—are shut out."

"But this is not all," he continued. "Look at this. It is a copy of the rules and by-laws for the regulation of the produce market at Nairobi. And these are among the provisions:—

'The market master shall not accept produce for sale from any but European or American consignors.'

'Non-Europeans may not enter the market house unless authorised by European employers to act on their behalf.'

'The market master shall not accept the bid of any non-European before satisfying himself that such bidder is duly authorised in writing to purchase on behalf of a European.'

"These rules are issued in a town where practically the whole business is carried on by us—Indians. Can you imagine anything more absurd? Here am I in London representing the commercial interests of Uganda, Mombasa and Nairobi, and doing my best to open up new markets for their produce, and yet if I go into the market at Nairobi I must not buy a hundred bushels of maize unless I am authorised in writing to act for some European. Indeed I may not even enter the market unless I have some such authorisation in my pocket. And I must not send a

"bale of cotton or a pound of rubber from my farms to the market."

KILLING THE COLONY.

"But what is the real reason for this?" asked our representative.

"The real reason," replied Mr. Jeevanjee, "is that an endeavour is being seriously made to prevent any but white people living and trading in British East Africa. If for no other reason, this policy is a suicidal one, because the country can only be developed by coloured labour. It cannot be colonised by Europeans. Let it be opened to us, and in a very few years it will become a second India, and a source of strength to the Empire.

"I say nothing about the action of the South African Union towards us. But the case of British East Africa is entirely different. We are already there. We have made the country. We have created enormous interests there. And now there is nothing but stagnation—and there will be nothing but stagnation in the future, if this policy is persisted in.

"I am a loyal subject of the King. I am proud to be a citizen of the British Empire. My whole interests are bound up with Uganda. It is my home, and I have done my little best to build it up and make it a useful and valuable part of the British dominions. And I have nothing to say against the Imperial Government. But I do hope they will consider whether the policy of driving loyal subjects of the Crown out of the country which they have made is one which is likely to add to the strength of the Empire.

"I have no sympathy with the agitation which is going on among a section of the people in India. But can you wonder at it, when the people of our race receive treatment like this? So far as I am personally concerned, the matter does not affect me as it does some of my fellow-countrymen. Fortunately, I am in a position to be independent of what may happen in British East Africa. But that does not alter the fact that I feel the present position acutely."

Another matter referred to by Mr. Jeevanjee was the treatment of Indians on the Lake steamers. The steamers running to and from Lake Victoria are controlled entirely by Indians, and most of the freight and passengers are supplied by them. Yet they are not treated with the consideration of second class passengers, even though they may have purchased a second class ticket. They are not provided with pillows, blankets, and mattresses, as in the case of the Europeans.

At the close of our chat, Mr. Jeevanjee showed our representative samples of many of the products of the country. But, as he says, he is quite uncertain as to what he shall do in the future, until he has ascertained what will be the effect of the new regulations on the commerce of his adopted country.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

REPRESENTATION BY THE LONDON ALL-

INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The London All-India Moslem League has made strong representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject of the "serious disabilities imposed

of late upon Indians in South Africa; and as a considerable proportion of the Indian inhabitants of the Protectorate follow the Moslem faith," the League has been moved to take up the cause of Indian labour in South Africa.

The letter quotes the opinions and observations of high officials, including those of Mr. Winston Churchill, pointing out that Indians, more than any one else, have "developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." Further that the construction of the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza was carried out only by Indian labourers recruited by Government. The letter says:—

"At one time as many as 25,000 Indians were employed upon the line. The contract for the supply of labour was in the hands of a distinguished Indian Moslem, who has made East Africa his home, and who occupies now a seat on the British East African Legislature. The contractual period was three years, and a return passage to the home of each worker could be claimed. The labourers were, however, free to remain in the country at the expiration of their contract, and a few of them did so, sending for or fetching their wives and families."

Further, that at the present time the railway is chiefly worked by indentured immigrants from India under the same conditions of contract, and it is estimated that some 2,000 Indians are so employed.

"The evidence laid before the important Committee appointed by the Secretary of State with Lord Sander-son as Chairman, to consider the question of Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, shows that a large Indian staff is essential to the working of the line. 'We could not do without them,' said the manager of the line. There was much other similar testimony as to the need for the continuance of Indian traders in the country, since their enterprise enable articles of European use to be obtained at moderate prices."

The letter quotes the following from Sir James Hays-Sadler's despatch to the Colonial Office:—

"The Protectorate has everything to gain from Indian settlement, both in the actual development it will itself bring about and in the stimulating effect it will have on production by the natives, on whom and the Indians, East Africa must, whatever be the conditions of the uplands, mainly depend for the production and development of its economic resources."

Inter alia the Moslem League takes exception to the reservation of the Shire Highlands area for European settlers, and the letter brings forward evidence to show that European settlers have not taken full

advantage of this reservation. In conclusion, the letter states:—

My Committee regret the necessity to place before his Lordship so many facts and arguments, but they feel that the great Imperial importance of the subject fully justifies a detailed exposition of the Indian case. It may be convenient for his Lordship to have set out with all brevity, the measures for the restoration of Indian rights and the amelioration of grievances which we pray His Majesty's Government to direct.

(A) The recognition that the attempts to colonize the upland tracts by white labour have failed, and that they constitute a grave injustice to the Indian community, with its long record of invaluable work in developing the Protectorate and its domicile in the country long before the advent of British rule going back indeed, as Sir Harry Johnson has observed, to "pre-historic times" in the history of East Africa. Such recognition would involve a reversal of the present policy of extension, and adhesion in practice and not merely in theory to the principle laid down by his Lordship's predecessor that it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions (in the matter of renting or acquiring land) on any particular section of the community.

(B) The giving of full and unqualified effect to the recommendation of the Sanderson Committee that indentured immigration from India to assist private enterprises should only be allowed on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases.

(C) That in view of the arrested development of the Protectorate and its dependence on the British exchequer, Indian settlers should be granted Crown lands on terms similar to those prevailing in many parts of India, thus yielding a substantial direct revenue to the country in addition to that obtainable from its agricultural development.

(D) The Imperial application of the Emigration Act as between people of European or mixed birth and Indians; exclusions to be based on ground entirely personal to the individual, as set forth in the Act, and not on those of race.

(E) The Exclusion of Indian traders or merchants from the market-house at Nairobi, save as agents for Europeans to be revoked, and their produce to have equal rights of access to the market with the produce of white farmers. This revocation would naturally follow the policy of freedom to acquire and farm lands asked for under-head.

(F) That due regard be paid to the vested rights of the Indians in Nairobi in the matter of property and residence and that there should be no attempts at dispossession in order to bring about anything like segregation of them in locations.

(G) That no disabilities should be placed upon well-to-do Indians in respect to the question of accommodation in the steamers and on railways.

(H) That as in Uganda, there should be no differentiation between Europeans and Indians in respect of the right of trial by jury; and that this system should be applied to trial of Indians on serious charges at least.

(I) That the power of the Governor to nominate to the magisterial bench should not be restricted, as

at present to British subjects "of European extraction," but the Indians should be eligible for such appointments.

(J) That due regard should be paid to the religious scruples and caste observances of Indians when suffering terms of imprisonment.

The maintenance and extension of anti-Indian prejudice in the legislation and administration of East Africa cannot fail to have most unfortunate effect on the contentment of the people of India under British rule, and to react most adversely on the political situation there.

The Committee lay stress upon the consideration that the responsibility, both administrative and moral, rests upon the Home Government. There is here no question of imposing the will of Whitehall upon a self-governing colony, nor is the Colonial Secretary faced with the difficulties arising in those dominions where the ideal of a white man's country is entertained.

PLANTER AND LABOURER IN MAURITIUS.

THE "RIGHTS" OF THE COOLIE.

We have received the following communication from a correspondent at Port Louis (Mauritius) which throws a flood of light on the condition of indentured labour in that island:—

Eighteen Indian labourers on the Capooris Estate contracted in April last to serve Mr. Curreemjee Jeewanjee for the period of one year. Mr. Curreemjee subsequently sold the estate to Mr. Leclezio and two others; and the eighteen Indians have intimated that they do not wish their services to be transferred along with the land. Though article 107 of the Local Labour Law requires the consent of a labourer to his transfer to another employer, *i.e.*, to work on another estate to the one on which he was engaged, no such consent is demanded if the land is sold. Thus the labourers pass to the new owners like fixtures or cattle. It may be said that this latter condition is printed on the form of the contract of service, and hence that it has been agreed to between the parties. But I have never seen the Stipendiary Magistrate explaining anything more than the amount of salary and rations receivable and the period of engagement to a certain master. Some magistrates are suspected of doing even less of their duty than this.

In the individual case mentioned there was an oral agreement between Mr. Curreemjee and his men that the contract must terminate on sale of the land, and in fact Mr. Curreemjee has taken back the advances of money made to his men on engagement. It would thus be seen that the eighteen men are being sold, or rather bought by force, as I understand Mr. Curreemjee is favourable to the men, though the purchasers of the land have influenced the seller a great deal. The Protector of Immigrants has not assisted these men at all. On the contrary, he is adverse to the men for having taken legal advice against the white planters who have the Capooris estate.—*India*, 23-9-1910.

BRITISH INDIANS IN TRINIDAD.

An Indian correspondent in Trinidad sends us some interesting particulars regarding his countrymen who have settled in the island. "Many years ago," he writes, "our people out here were looked upon as 'inferiors,' and were largely employed as 'hewers of

wood and drawers of water,' but thanks to the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, which during the past half century 'has opened up schools exclusively among the Indian villages and estates, education and Western civilisation have been brought to our doors.'

To-day there are in Trinidad scores of Indian teachers, several lawyers, doctors, merchants, ministers, land-owners—all East Indians holding their own with the other members of the community. To protect their special interests there have been formed an "East Indian National Congress of Trinidad" and also an "East Indian National Association of Trinidad." The former body has taken up a case in which two indentured Indian labourers were shot on the Bien Venue Sugar Estate, the one being killed on the spot, and the other dying next day in hospital. What is described by the Trinidad "Mirror" as "one of those periodical outbursts of dissatisfaction" seems to have occurred, and ended, according to the majority of witnesses, in an attack on an overseer named Sanderson, who, it is alleged, fearing bodily harm drew his revolver and shot the unfortunate men. The families of the dead men approached the Congress for legal assistance. The Committee decided to send Mr. R. J. Nanco and Mr. F. E. M. Hosein, Barristers-at-law, to watch the proceedings at the inquest. The former could not appear owing to a previous engagement, and the latter was prevented by the police from taking part in the inquest, the result of the "inquiry" being that the matter was hushed up. An extraordinary meeting of members of the Congress was thereupon called with Mr. C. D. Lalla, the President, in the chair, and it was resolved to take such steps counsel might advise, whereby the liberty of British subjects may in the present be vindicated and in the future be effectually preserved.*

Commenting on the affair, the Trinidad "Mirror" of August 31 observes:—

There was, in our opinion, some conflict of evidence and it must also be borne in mind that on the whole it seemed to be divided into two sections, the overseers of the estate giving practically one version, while the comrades of the deceased persons gave another. There can be little doubt, further, that a number of other immigrants, knowing well the circumstances, would think it better to remain silent on the matter than to risk the consequence of giving evidence against those who have them so completely in their power. It is not our intention here to pronounce any opinion on the shooting, on the evidence, or on the finding of the magistrate at the inquest, but what we would like to say is that we thought that for a matter of so grave and serious import it was too hurriedly gone into, that sufficient time was not taken to wait until feeling had somewhat subsided, and that the police scarcely took sufficient time to get the most disinterested evidence. Had that been done all this feeling would not have arisen, and no application would have been made subsequently for a re-hearing; no resolution of dissatisfaction would have been passed by assembled East Indians, and no further proceedings would have been contemplated. If the magistrate is confident that the case was clearly one of justifiable homicide, does anyone think that twelve disinterested men would not come to the same conclusion? Is it prudent and safe further to increase the dissatisfaction which has of late been increasing and ever and anon bursts out into some lawless act between the

immigrants and the estate's authorities? It is within the memory of all our readers that other less serious cases have been sent up to the Criminal Sessions merely, in our opinion, to prevent any marked expressions of feeling and dissatisfaction, and the opinion of the thinking men has been echoed in the finding of the jury after the hearing. We do not advocate such a procedure in this instance, but we feel sure that had there been less haste in the matter, had there been that painstaking, thorough and exhaustive enquiry which we must admit our police authorities have often taken in similar matters, these resolutions of dissatisfaction, which must have been the moderate and well-reasoned opinion of the most prominent of our East Indian fellow-citizens, would not have been passed. *India, 23-9-1910.*

INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO FIJI.

The Colonial Secretary of the Fiji Islands, Mr. Fyre Hutson, in his annual report, states that during the year under review, 1877 Indian immigrants were introduced into the Colony and allotted to various plantations throughout the group as agricultural labourers. On the 31st December, 1909, the East Indian population, not under indenture, was estimated at 25,000 souls, as after the expiration of their terms they show a decided inclination to settle in the Colony. The occupation more generally followed by them is that of farming. The number of immigrants at present under serving indenture in the Colony is 12,243. Throughout the Colony there are many holdings in the hands of Indians, acquired in this manner. It is, however, apparent that such settlement is not as beneficial to the people as their settlement on Government areas.—*India, 4-11-1910.*

INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN FIJI.

We have received from Mr. Gandhi the following letter, which has been written to him by an Indian storekeeper in the islands of Fiji:—

"I am unable to write now at any great length because our grievances are so numerous it would necessitate my taking up too much of your time. There is one, however, in particular which I would like to mention. All the barristers here are Europeans, and whenever we have to obtain advice on legal matters they treat us with utter carelessness, and whilst charging very high fees, often for very little work, they drive us out of their offices. If we continue to complain, we are threatened with the police. Again, after paying these high fees, we receive no reply for months as to the judgment passed in our cases. We repeatedly enquire (from the verandah of the office only), but when we hear the barristers' threats we have to return home sad at heart. So we implore you to send over here for our protection a barrister thoroughly conversant with Devanagiri, Urdu and English.

"I give you another instance of unfair treatment meted out to us. In this country one has to travel from place to place by steamship. There are all kinds of facilities for white people, but we Indians can only travel on the open deck. This means we have to stay in the open whether it be day or night; burning sun or heavy rains. When we have severe cold we shiver all the time on deck, and if for protection we stand by the side of a cabin of a white man, we are asked to go away. If we ask the captain of the ship to give us a cabin for which we were prepared to pay the ordinary

fares, we are told, 'You are coolies and blackfolk, you can't have a cabin.' It is fruitless to complain to the Manager of the Company."—*India, Oct. 7, 1910.*

INDIANS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

Seth Alibhoy Mulla Jeevanjee, who is the first Indian to be appointed to the Legislative Council of the British East Africa Protectorate, has taken advantage of a visit he is paying to Manchester on business connected with the extension of cotton growing in Africa, to make a statement to a representative of the "Manchester Guardian" on the position of British Indians in the Protectorate.

"For about 300 years," Mr. Jeevanjee said, "there has been a constant trade between India and East Africa, and it was indeed through the existence of that trade that East Africa became at last a part of the British Empire. There are at the present time about 25,000 British Indian residents in the country, mostly business men and their families. They are settled all along the coast and in the interior, and many of them have been born and brought up in the country. A few years ago the British Government in East Africa adopted a legislative and administrative policy adverse to the interests of the British Indians resident there. The general object seems to have been to discourage British Indians from going to East Africa and to discourage those already there from staying. Within the last six months these measures have become more pointed. Meanwhile members of European and American nations are allowed full trading and property rights in the Protectorate. The restrictions are directed only against Asiatics, and this arouses much resentment among the Indian subjects of the Crown. There are millions of acres suitable to the production of the best kind of cotton. The soil of the country varies so much that every known product of the soil will grow. Already nearly 85 per cent. of the business of the Protectorate is in the hands of Indians, which makes the recent policy of the British Government the more difficult to understand, because one can hardly believe that they propose to set to work to uproot all the present institutions and to efface all the present characteristics of the country. From India the right kind of labour will readily migrate to East Africa, and Indian capital is also waiting at the door. But meanwhile, these regulations and the general policy of the British Government are preventing the natural flow of Indian capital and labour into the country. British East Africa is being run by the British taxpayer, who is, through this dog-in-the-manger policy, denied the proper return for his money. At the same time the British Indian feels himself under an injustice. He holds that this policy is a deviation from that freedom of trade and intercourse which is characteristic of the British system; that it is an exceptional measure directed against himself alone. It cannot be to the interest of the British Government either in East Africa or in India that this sense of injustice should be allowed to exist."—*India, Sept. 30, 1910.*

PLANTER AND LABOURER IN TRINIDAD.

In our issue of September, 23, we gave some particulars of a case in the island of Trinidad in which two Indian indentured labourers were shot on the Bien Venue Sugar Estate, the one being killed on the spot and the other dying next day in hospital. Owing to the alleged hushing up of the case by the police and

the enquiring magistrate, much dissatisfaction was created, and the East Indian National Congress of Trinidad took the matter up.

Our correspondent in Trinidad now writes to inform us that there has been a new development in the case. The ground for refusal to issue a warrant for the arrest of Arthur Sanderson, the overseer implicated, was that inasmuch as the coroner had given a verdict exonerating the accused, the magistrate could not go behind that verdict. This decision (says our correspondent) aroused great indignation. It was resolved to take concerted action, and an application was accordingly made to the Supreme Court of the island on September 12. After hearing Mr. R. J. Nanco and Mr. F. E. M. Hosein, barristers-at-law, Dr. Blackwood Wright (acting judge) granted a rule *nisi* upon the Magistrate of San Fernando to show cause why a warrant or summons should not be issued against Arthur Sanderson. The rule came on for hearing on September, 26 before the Acting Chief Justice and Dr. Wright, when judgment was reserved.

Our correspondent adds:—"Our people have suffered much injustice in the past at the hands of the planter, and the time has now come to make a bold stand. We have, in this case, the ready sympathy of the Press, the mercantile, and the other leading peoples of all classes, colour, and creeds in the island and the Congress is prepared to push it to the bitter end." *India, Oct. 21, 1910.*

INDIANS IN CANADA.

The extremely sensitive Oriental nature takes exception keenly to the treatment meted out to them as British subjects, which denies them entrance to British territory while permitting Japanese and Chinese, to say nothing of hordes of other non-descript foreigners, to come and go. A well-known and highly educated Hindu physician, who has graduated from the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in London, England, conversing on the subject, asked, "Why should 400 Japanese, who are foreigners, be permitted entrance and the Hindu totally barred, who is a British subject?" He expressed the opinion that the fact was due to the desire of the Government to conciliate a race who were backed by a powerful Government, while the Hindus are rejected because they are powerless to enforce their demands for fair play and equitable treatment. There is a good deal to be said for this view of a question, the satisfactory settlement of which will undoubtedly give the members of the Government some food for thought in the immediate future. Like other races, Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, and Brahmins have their idiosyncrasies and failings and their intermingling with white people in fields of business and labour may be undesirable from an economic point of view; *yet the sin of disloyalty, which has been ascribed to them, has to be substantiated*, and until something tangible in the way of evidence is forthcoming, common fairness demands that they be given credit for possessing one good point, which, though not thought much of in these days, yet serves to cover a multitude of defects inherent in their character.—*The Daily News Advertiser, Vancouver.*

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian Premier, recognized that the chief cause of opposition to the administration at Ottawa was in British Columbia, because of the Asiatic question, and recognizing that,

he devoted the greater part of his speech to this subject. His utterances were important as they showed that his position was not the result of coercion from the mother country but of his own free will.

"You look upon this Asiatic question from the standpoint of the laboring man," said Sir Wilfrid. "I regard it from the point of view of the British Empire."

"This time it was not Chinese nor Japanese; but this time it was an influx from a British country, from India. There was a new problem. The men who came here now were of the Hindu race; they were subjects of His Majesty the King. The same economic reasons which militated against the Asiatic labor coming into this country in the first place, applied to them as well. How were they to be treated? Were they to be driven back ignominiously and told that they had no right to land in this country—a part of the same Empire? Sir, I did not conceive, for my part, that that was the position to be taken towards men who are members of the same Empire and who are entitled to be treated as British subjects as well as we are. Could it be said that these men were to be turned back and to be treated with contumely, or with contempt—these men who, though they have not the same color of skin as we have, are British subjects, the same as we are, and some of them having had the honor of wearing the British uniform and of fighting in the British army.

INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN MAURITIUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "INDIA."

Sir,—We the undersigned Indians of Mauritius, residing at Quartier Militaire, beg to approach the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Labour and Liberal politicians of England through the medium of your columns, in order to educate public opinion in England and India for the redress of our grievances.

Though the "Planters and Commercial Gazette" of August 12, reporting the speech of Mr. J. A. H. Macnair (June 23), at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, at the forty-sixth ordinary general meeting of the Credit Foncier of Mauritius, Limited, says that "the Government have been somewhat misled by extremists and that the Indian labourers are very well treated, and the technical term 'indenture' is a misnomer in our case," we beg to say that the reverse is the truth.

The "Petit Journal" (local) of the same date reproduces the speech of Mr. Alexander Crighton, who presided over the annual meeting of the Anglo-Ceylon Company, Limited, at the London Chamber of Commerce, and says among other things that a certain section of the Press is creating bad blood between Indian labourers and their white employers. This certainly is an insinuation against the Indian organ, "The Hindusthani," of Port Louis, and its promoter, Mr. Manilal.

Now we beg to ask, how could anyone launch into such statements without considering the generally unsatisfactory nature of the system of indenture in Mauritius? We ourselves are an instance in point.

We had agreed to work for one year with Mr. Curreamjee Jeevanjee in April last. In July, Mr. Curreamjee sold his land to Messrs. Leclezio, Koenig and another. There had been an express agreement (verbal though it was) between us and Mr. Curreamjee's

representative that in case of the land being sold our indenture should come to an end. Mr. Curreamjee wanted to fulfil his promise, so he asked us to refund the advances and presents (bakshis) made to us on our engagement; we have paid back the money. The contract of service between us and Mr. Curreamjee is thus at an end to all intents and purposes. But Messrs. Leclezio and Koenig apply pressure to Mr. Curreamjee, and the Protector of Immigrants (Mr. Trotter) is too weak to protect us against Mr. Leclezio. So Messrs. Curreamjee and Trotter advise us to work for Messrs. Leclezio and Koenig as if we passed with the land like a herd of cattle. We are threatened with prosecutions and warrants and all sorts of things in case we hold out against this system of slavery. We are even asked to take back the bakshis and advances we have refunded to Mr. Curreamjee in order that the chain of slavery should tighten and that we should have no chance to escape.

With the advice of our legal adviser, Mr. Manilal, we have stood by each other for the last two weeks. But then we cannot remain in suspense like this very long. We must have our certificates of discharge in order to find work as day labourers elsewhere.

If we were to consent to our sale to Mr. Leclezio with the land, we are afraid we shall be constantly beaten, insulted, ill-treated, given bad rice and *doll* and persecuted in every way to make us re-engage at the end of the present indenture. We shall be set harder tasks than we can do in a day, and we shall be given credit for the number of tasks that we finish and not for the number of days that we work, thus marking us absent for days on which we have really worked. This furnishes the estate with an opportunity of prosecuting us for illegal absence or not finishing our tasks, etc., which charges are liable to be withdrawn if we consent to re-engage. This is slavery pure and simple, as the stipendiary magistrates, as a rule, related to the local planters, protect the planting interest, whilst our fellow labourers betray us or depose against us in order to curry favour with our masters.

We, therefore, in conclusion, appeal to you and the British and Indian public through your columns to do what you can to get this system of indenture slavery abolished in the colony.

(Signatures and crosses)

Tapsee	× Ragho.	× Swayambhur.
Rampersad	× Moonsaamy.	Sivanandan.
Perdeshi,	× Deerpaul.	Sukram.
Rattan.	× Bhugwan.	Tribhuwan.
Budram.	× Ojoni.	Hiraman.
× Dookhun.	× Rajcoomar.	

Port Louis (Mauritius).

[The correspondent at Port Louis who sends us this letter writes: "The accompanying document is a true statement of what the labourers have given me in their own handwriting, and an affidavit has been sworn by them as to its truthfulness. You may make any use of the document without fear of being challenged as to its authenticity or substantial veracity."—*Ed. India.*]

INDIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS.

The annual report for 1909 of the Superintendent of Indian Immigrants to the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States shows that 49,817 persons

emigrated from Southern India to Penang last year. Of these 4,119 were statute immigrants, 20,289 were free coolies with aided passage tickets, and 25,409 were classed as other immigrants. The number of Indians who returned to India from the Straits Settlements, namely, 30,284 adults and 1,090 children, was higher in the year under review than in either of the preceding years.—*India*, 4-11-1910.

COOLIE LABOUR IN BRITISH COLONIES.

THE EVILS OF THE INDENTURED SYSTEM.

The Rev. J. H. HARRIS writes in the "Daily Chronicle" of October 26, as follows:—

The report of Lord Sanderson's Committee upon coolie labour presents the British Government and people with an exhaustive survey of immigrant coolie labour into the whole of our Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The fruits of the committee's labours are contained in three documents—the committee's report, the appendices, and over 13,000 questions and answers, which together provide a mine of information for the student, the politician, and the humanitarian.

Of the 83 witnesses examined by the committee some 31 were Government or ex-Government officials, possessing no financial interest in either indentured or free coolie labour. There were also 11 magistrates, "protectors," and immigration agents. This leaves 41 unofficial witnesses, of whom no fewer than 31—including, unhappily, one Government official—have financial interests at stake.

With the report and the evidence the Government have ample material to decide whether the existing indenture system for Indian coolies shall be maintained, extended, reformed, or abolished—each of these demands was urged upon the committee. One thing is plain. If the British Government is to keep its administration free from the taint of slavery, it must lose no time in bringing about radical reforms, not only in the Colonies, but in the "recruiting" grounds of India.

The conditions under which the coolies leave India, the terms of the indentures, and the legislation of the colonies, combine to woe the coolie permanently from his Indian home. Consequently the "fittest" not only survive, but settle down to live in the colony of their adoption ultimately competing successfully with both the whites and indigenous natives.

THE BRIGHTER SIDE.

The material advantages reaped by the coolies during their period of service may be judged by their possessions in land, moneys in the savings banks, and remittances to India; also by plantations and mills now owned by free Indians. From the Federated Malay States there has been remitted to India something like half a million sterling annually; and £10,000 a year has gone from Trinidad over and above purchases of land in that Colony to the extent of 5,000 acres per annum. In British Guiana coolies have created the rice industry, and now possess 40,000 acres under cultivation, 15,000 head of cattle, and their taxed property is assessed at £142,000. The educational advantages received emphatic demonstration in the presence of one witness, the son of an indentured coolie, who announced that he had just been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. These, then, represent the brighter side of the system. Unhappily there is a darker side.

ABUSES IN RECRUITING.

The recruiting grounds of India claim first attention, for it is there that some of the most serious abuses are to be found. On this subject the Indian Government is strangely apathetic. It is surprising, having regard to the notorious evils existing, that the Government of India has not closed its ports long ago to the emigration of indentured labour. That such a step would be popular cannot be doubted. The villagers loathe the recruiters, the police treat them as the off-scourings of the earth. Some of the chambers of commerce have appealed to the Government to appoint a Commission to investigate the shortage of labour in India. Mr. Freemantle, a member of the Committee, stated that the Indian mines are very short of labour themselves. Sir J. D. Rees, M.P., the member for Montgomery, who is a director of several commercial concerns in India, "learns with dread any proposal to increase emigration," and Colonel Pitcher deplored the shortage of labour in the Punjab.

Every witness of experience in the methods of recruiting in India, called attention to the unsatisfactory character of recruiters. Mr. Warner, the Emigration Agent for Trinidad, gave the following evidence in reply to Sir George Robertson, who suggested that the recruiters were "rather doubtful people." "Unfortunately they are, very. They get so much a head, and that is one of the reasons why we do not get Santals, because the commission for coolies going to Assam is very much higher than the commission for coolies going to the West Indies." The most impressive evidence under this head was that given by Mr. J. A. Broun, an Indian Civil Servant of large experience, who appeared before the Committee at the suggestion of the Indian Government. Lord Sanderson asked him to give his impressions of the recruiting system to the Committee. "My impression," said Mr. Broun, "is that the recruiting staff is very bad; the recruiters are the worst kind of men they could possibly have. They are generally very low class men, and as far as I understand, they are paid by the results, by the number of emigrants that they get. The consequence is that they very often try to entice married women away from their husbands and try to get anybody they can."

HOW IMMIGRANTS ARE DECEIVED.

Evidence of deception practised upon the coolies in order to get them to sign an indenture is overwhelming. Mr. G. Fitzpatrick, an East Indian barrister, appointed by his people in Trinidad to represent them, stated in reply to Lord Sanderson: "I am sorry to say they (the coolies) complain that there have been misrepresentations; that they have been deceived in India; that they are never told that the work will be of that kind; but they are told that if they buy a piece of land and they just dig it they will find gold and things of that kind."

Mr. Robert Duff is the Protector of Immigrants in British Guiana, and has had twenty-seven years' experience. He admitted that the people are deceived by the recruiters' stories. The recruiter who tells the most lies gets the most coolies, a great many of whom are naturally discontented afterwards when they arrive in the colony by the contrast between the reality and the

'anticipation. "They tell the coolies lots of nonsense I am quite sure," said an estate manager, "because a coolie has often told me he was told so, and, in fact, he thought all he had to do was to lie on his back and the cocoa-nuts would drop into his mouth, and gold, and everything else."

AN UGLY POSITION.

In addition, we have the authority of two witnesses possessing incomparable facilities for studying the question of recruiting in its relation to the Indian Police. Colonel Pitcher, a gentleman who, "whenever he found such men (returned emigrants), was always . . . in the habit of asking them questions." To this officer Lord Sanderson put the question, "Do you think the recruiters are themselves unpopular?" "Undoubtedly," replied Colonel Pitcher, "particularly unpopular with the police in those days, in certain districts. In Lucknow and Cawnpore the police used to bully the recruiters. I have no doubt where the recruiters squared the police there was no bullying at all." Mr. W. Bolton, Assistant Emigration Agent, informed the Committee that: "...Undoubtedly he (the recruiting agent) suffers from a good deal of oppression at the hands of the subordinate police, and he has to tip them as he goes along."

This, then, represents the position in India, and a very ugly one it is. There are other features almost, if not quite, as serious, and the duty of the Government is to appoint a local committee in India, with terms of reference which will embrace the whole field of the recruiting operations.

WRONGS WHICH CALL FOR REDRESS.

Continuing his survey, Mr. Harris writes in the "Daily Chronicle" of November 2:—

The indenture term for coolies varies technically from 600 days in the Straits Settlement to five years in the West Indies. I say "technically" because the full period which a coolie must remain in the Colony is, in most cases, very much longer. One witness frankly revealed the desire nearest the heart of the planters. "Anything which would tend to keep in the Colony able-bodied efficient labourers who are already acclimatised, in my opinion, would be good."

The contract usually provides for maintenance and medical attendance; wages something under a shilling a day, or, as the labourer finds out when he gets to the Colony, per diem means "per task." This, in Trinidad, works out at about 4s a week. It also has some stipulation with regard to the return passage to India, but this is the most debated subject in every colony; it is, moreover, one of the weapons used for extending a contract, and provides a perpetual battle ground between the Government, the coolie, and the employer as to the relative incidence—each endeavours to make the "other fellow" pay.

HALF-FREE COOLIES.

The high-water mark in contracts was that by which the railway was built from the East Coast of Africa to Lake Victoria Nyanza. For this enterprise labourers were recruited by Indian Government officials, the term was for three years, maintenance was provided from the date of embarkation: a free passage was given from India to the colony and back again to the Indian home. The wages were Rs. 15 per month, freedom was at its maximum under

indenture, and, consequently, the death-rate was only 10 per 1,000. Even under these conditions, however, things were far from ideal.

The contracts for Fiji are for five years, but the labourer must work in the colony for another such period, making ten years, in all, before he is allowed a "free pass" back to his Indian home. For Jamaica, a still more extraordinary contract is imposed; the initial indenture is for five years; at the termination of this period the coolie, according to Dr. Edwards, a medical practitioner, is known as a "half-free" for a further term of five years. After having completed ten years, local munificence permits him to embark for his home in India, providing he pays one-third fare for his women relatives, and half for his own! The same condition now prevails, it seems, in British Guiana where, in this respect, the position of the coolie has become steadily worse during recent years. Indentured labourers introduced prior to 1895 were entitled to a free return passage, but those of a later date were obliged to pay, the men one-quarter and the women one-sixth. Again the screw was tightened by the Government and planters upon the unfortunate coolie, and from 1898-99 they have been compelled to pay one-half and one-third respectively of the passage money.

There are those who hold that the existing system of coolie labour is slavery; this it emphatically is not; but here and there the taint of both slave trade and slavery is very strong. The commissions allowed to the sub-agents and recruiters in India are most unfortunate, and lead to every kind of regrettable practice. Mr. Trotter, the Protector of Immigrants in Mauritius, informed the Committee that when a man is not fully able-bodied "we charge the planter a lower fee for him." Again, "... Supposing amongst the immigrants introduced there was a boy of twelve passed as an adult, instead of charging Rs. 150 for him I should charge a hundred . . ." Colonel Pitcher informed the Committee that when he was immigration agent there was a habit of "transferring coolies by one recruiter to another...and it looked to me rather as savouring of sale and purchase." Colonel Pitcher could not say what steps, if any, had been taken to abolish this practice, but someone must be asked when Parliament re-assembles.

INDENTURE AND SLAVERY.

Slavery means a surrender of personal liberty, the absence of right to a wage for labour given, no citizen rights, no rights of property. The indenture system in the British Colonies cannot be said to impose these limitations. Liberty is considerably restricted it is true; the wage is admittedly poor; but though punishments are administered with deplorable frequency, apart from deceptive promises by the recruiting agent the coolie enters into the indenture with no more compulsion than unfortunate circumstances impose.

How far the indentured labourer realises before he or she leaves India the difference of a day's work of six hours and an equivalent "task" is very doubtful. Beyond all question, the "task" allotment is the cause of frequent, and in some cases, serious trouble between the estate managers and the labourers. Mr. B. G. Corney, a medical officer in Fiji, informed the Committee that "there was a good deal of rivalry between the sirdars and overseers, naturally, to get

more work out of their gangs, and so get credit from their employers and stand better with the managers," and that "many of the quarrels have been due to that." The "task" being at the discretion of the employer, with power to prosecute under labour ordinances for "non-completion," is bound to open the door to serious abuses. Indeed, in Fiji one of the chief troubles of the Immigration Department is that of preventing the employers "over-tasking" the labourers. Mr. George Kirkpatrick affirmed that in Trinidad "in certain cases a man is given a task which he cannot complete in a day, and it takes him two days to complete it. In that way section 70 of the ordinance is undoubtedly infringed, because there are as many as 30 per cent. of the male immigrants who have earned less than the average of 6d a day minimum wages."

The most serious blot in the whole of the indenture system in certain colonies is that of the frequency of charges in the courts and punishments. These demand and must have the immediate attention of the Government. Indeed, British honour requires that Lord Crewe should speak upon this aspect at an early date, in a manner which will show the planters clearly that unless the present state of affairs is speedily rectified no more indentured coolies will leave the shores of India.

Lord Sanderson's Committee, in its report, says of British Guiana: "There is, however, one unsatisfactory feature of indentured immigration, which is at least as prominent in this as in any of the other colonies, and that is the extent to which the employers resort to the Criminal Courts in order to enforce the fulfilment by the immigrants of their statutory obligations."

The Committee was equally disturbed about Trinidad, and submits that "there are grounds for an enquiry on the spot into the working of the provisions of the ordinances which deal with the penalties imposed on the indentured labourer for breach of contract and absence from work." Much the same applies to Fiji.

A MILLION LOST DAYS.

The returns for 1907-08 show the extraordinary passion estate managers have for the Criminal Courts. In British Guiana, with an indentured population of 9,784 persons, no fewer than 3,835 charges were preferred against the coolies under labour laws. In Trinidad, out of 11,506 coolies under indenture, 1,869 were convicted; and in Fiji, with 11,689, some 2,291 were charged in the Criminal Courts.

Lord Sanderson's Committee condemns in uncompromising language the manner in which the estate managers perambulate their coolies to and from the courts, and there is, unfortunately, reason to fear that the object with some plantation owners is that an extension of the contract which conviction involves. In Trinidad in 1907, within the compass of one year, there were over a million "lost days"; it is, however, not clear what proportion represent "contract extensions," but that the bulk of them were devoted to such extension is not questioned.

The charges brought against the coolies are mainly under labour ordinances for so-called "malingering." Mr. Edward Bateson, a magistrate of wide experience in the West and East Indies, informed the Committee:—"Sometimes people were brought before me either

as vagrants or deserters, but the great majority of cases were idleness and alleged idleness, and it was impossible for me to ascertain really the merits of the case"; and, again "complaints by masters or mistresses of insulting conduct, or words, or gestures, and trumpery cases which ought not to have been brought into court, and which would not be brought in any other country before a Criminal Court."

It must be borne in mind that conviction carries with it not only an extension of the contract, but treatment as criminals. To quote again Mr. Bateson, when speaking of Mauritius: "I do not think that a person should be sent to prison—that is my view—for an offence which cannot properly be called criminal. It is a very painful sight to see people being taken in batches to prison handcuffed as if they were criminals, when they are not criminals in any sense."

Sir George Robertson asked Mr. Peter Abel, a planter from the West Indies, whether he thought it "fair that a man for some offence against the labour law should be sent to prison and put to hard labour with other criminals who have perhaps committed some serious crime?" This gentleman replied: "It would perhaps be a good thing if any other solution of the difficulty could be arrived at."

Here, then, is one of the most lamentable evils attendant on coolie labour, and one that calls loudly for redress.

INDENTURED LABOUR IN BRITISH COLONIES.

A GRAVE INDICTMENT.

In continuation of the articles on the report of Lord Sanderson's Committee on Coolie Labour in British Colonies, Mr. J. H. Harris writes in the "Daily Chronicle" of Wednesday last (November 16):—

Any system of indentured labour must expose itself to abuses of power, against which an independent judiciary is the only real safeguard. The evidence to Lord Sanderson's Committee by Mr. E. Bateson, a stipendiary magistrate, and Commander W. H. Coombs, Protector of Immigrants in Trinidad, must cause grave uneasiness.

The position of indentured coolies when charged in the Courts is at present hopeless—justice they get only by accident, they are "deterred from giving evidence themselves and...unable to procure evidence." Their plight is equally unhappy when bringing a charge for assault. Witnesses from the estates will not come forward "from fear," indeed, it is "practically impossible" to substantiate a charge against an employer—the hand of every man is against the complainant, and the police "are quite as corrupt" as in India.

A PROTECTOR'S DUTIES.

A Protector is not only the representative of British justice, but the guardian of British honour. It is not clear that all those on whom we rely to fight the battles of the coolies are over-zealous in their work. The task of "discovering" suitable Protectors is admittedly one of the most difficult problems which confront the Imperial Government. A "Protector" must not only be born, but trained to his work. At first sight managers, overseers, and planters would be regarded as hopeless for such position, yet by a strange paradox it was amongst these the Government once caught such a "tartar" that he became a

veritable terror to plantation owners. Mr. Heslop Hill told them they would get plenty of labour and good work if they repaid it with "a good management." The death-rates on some estates were so "terrible" that Mr. Hill "would not like to repeat the figures" to Lord Sanderson, but he told the planters and Government frankly that the "terrible" death-rates were unnecessary, that he would be "merciless to the employer who did not look after his people," and generally caused such consternation in the planter ranks that he "became unpopular," and was forced into resignation. He obtained compensation to the tune of £2,500—a cheap riddance so far as the estates managers were concerned, but what can be said of Imperial authorities for allowing themselves to be badgered into accepting the resignation of so valuable an official?

Judged by his own evidence, the Protector of Immigrants in Trinidad is a man of different type. Lord Sanderson asked Mr. Coombs to describe his modus operandi. It appears that he informs the managers or owners beforehand that he is coming on one of his inspections; he goes round the estate with the manager; he does not have the coolies called up before him because "it would disarrange the whole of the work of the estate." Can anyone conceive a coolie making a complaint under these conditions? But let us now see what happens if the indentured labourer insists upon his right to go to Commander Coombs to make his complaint. Says the Commander: "I take down their complaint, and I tell them plainly I do not believe them, but I will enquire into the matter."

"DEFENDER OF THE COOLIES."

Here, then, is the paid defender of the coolies meeting complaints, not sympathetically, but before making any enquiry whatever, saying he regards their charges as untrue. If they are not untrue, then they may be, in the opinion of this gentleman, "frivolous," and he tells us, "If the man comes to me and makes what I consider a frivolous complaint, and after enquiry into it I find it frivolous, then I give the manager a certificate to that effect so that he can prosecute him." Is it any wonder the coolie hesitates before subjecting himself to these intricate dangers?

If a manager or planter, however, makes complaint to this gentleman, his action is very different. In reply to Sir George Scott Robertson, M. P., who asked what action he took when the planters complained of any refusal to work, he said: "First of all I go to the estate. I have them (the coolies) up: I talk to them and tell them, 'That is what you are brought here for; you are breaking your contract.' I say: 'We will not stand any nonsense. You will either work for your pay on the estate, or you will work for Government for nothing in goal.' He goes to gaol, and he does work for Government for nothing and he comes back. He still demurs. Then we wait again, and we prosecute him again, and again he goes to gaol. The third time he comes back he starts to work on the estate."

Let us leave Mr. Coombs and turn to the question of who is to bear the cost of importing coolies. At the present time the incidence of cost may be roughly defined as one-third upon the revenue and two-thirds upon the estates. This incidence varies to some extent according to the colony. The most recent returns

from Trinidad give £62,056 as the total cost for the current year, of which no less than £16,458 is to be paid from general revenue. Over £32,000 is met from the "immigration tax," the incidence of which falls upon all estate owners, whether they employ indentured labour or not.

Those planters who refuse for various reasons to employ indentured labour protest without avail against being compelled to share the other man's wage bill. Lord Sanderson's Committee was given a striking example of the injustice of the existing incidence. Mr. Norman Lamont, whose family has for nearly a century carried on a successful sugar industry, informed Sir George Robertson that during recent years his share of the general tax for the indentured labour of other planters amounted to no less than £1,000 per annum; the effect of this was that the Lamont Company, unable to bear it, closed down. Sir George Robertson expressed the position in a neat sentence. "It really came to that, that you considered you had to pay £1,000 a year in taxes, which was in fact a contribution towards a fund to supply your rivals with labour?" Mr. Lamont replied: "Yes, you have stated the facts exactly."

IMMEDIATE REFORMS ADVOCATED.

In view of the fact that labour legislation, with the incidence of cost, is controlled by the Legislative Council, two conditions should rule supreme. First, that the unofficial element, appointed by the Governor, should be representative, and every effort made to safeguard the administration against a predominance of those who reap financial advantages from the legislation they voted in council. The second is still more vital—namely, that Government officials should keep clear of all financial operations in the colony. There are probably those who will look upon the second condition as being amply secured by Colonial Office Regulations—but it is not.

The Hon. C. P. David, who has been a member of this Trinidad Legislative Council for five years, stated that "the predominating element on the unofficial side is by a long way the employers' side of the matter," and that, with exceptions, "all the unofficial members are more or less directly connected with the sugar interest. Certainly a majority of them are representatives of English capitalists who have invested money in sugar." This, then, is the composition of the governing body. It is some small relief to note that Lord Sanderson's Committee has recommended that the balance shall be more evenly adjusted by giving the Indian coolies some representation on the Council.

Lord Sanderson's Committee recommended the appointment of local committees to enquire into the deplorable frequency of the charges made against the indentured coolies. These committees will probably be appointed, but the terms of reference should also cover the question of "task," the reason for "lost days," the wages paid to local coolie, and indentured coolie labour respectively, the facility for approaching the Protector. There are, however, reforms which the Imperial Government itself should be urged to institute without waiting for further reports from any committee. Recruitment should only be allowed for contracts limited to five years, with full passage allowance to and from the colony. In the event of a

coolie not wishing to return to India at the termination of his indenture, a lump sum of money be given in lieu of passage. Commutation at any time upon a fixed scale should be permitted at reasonably short notice.

Finally, only legally married women should be permitted to indenture themselves or accompany the coolies; and the recruitment and indenture of unmarried women should be made a penal offence.

The question of Protectors being of paramount importance, the Government should be urged to consider the advisability of filling future vacancies by appointing Indian civil servants, responsible to and paid by the Indian Government.

The present complicated proportion of cost should give way to a clear cut division of incidence. Let the Colonial Government assume liability for inspection, administration of justice, and the maintenance of law and order—in short, limit its responsibilities to the bare functions of Government and set its face steadfastly against any indirect bonus system.

Upon the estate owners must fall all the costs of recruiting, passages to and from India, maintenance and wages for the coolies whilst in their employ—in short, those estates which require indentured labour for their industries should bear the whole of their own wage bill and no longer be permitted to place any portion upon the taxation of the general community.

The majority of the planters will strenuously oppose many of these reforms, but there is not one which provides any real menace to the prosperity of the colonies affected.

[Mr. Harris's three articles dealing with coolie labour have been published on behalf of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S. W., from whom they can be obtained, price 3d.]

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

A CAMPAIGN OF EXCLUSION.

We have received a number of papers from the Secretary of the Hindustani Association of Vancouver (B. C.), relative to certain arbitrary action which has been taken by the Government of the Colony of British Columbia against certain Indian residents. It appears that Mr. Hiran Singh has been deported to Seattle, where he had previously been residing; and from which city he had come by sea to Victoria. He was not permitted, however, to land except under bond. From the local "Daily News Advertiser" we learn that Mr. Hiran Singh came to Seattle from Hong Kong in November, 1906. In the following October he crossed to British Columbia, and remained in Victoria for six months, after which time he took up a course of study in the Lincoln High School, at Seattle, spending the vacations at home in British Columbia. Finally, he settled in Vancouver City permanently, in February, 1910, and purchased a home, chiefly for philanthropic purposes, as a centre for the Hindu community. But advantage was taken of a temporary absence and return to refuse him admittance to Canada; and on claiming his right to enter, he was ordered to submit his case to investigation by a board of enquiry, consisting of one, the immigration officer, Mr. J. H. Macgill. At the conclusion of the enquiry Mr. Macgill decided that the applicant, not coming from the land of his birth and

having any previous residence of citizenship in the Dominion, was not entitled to enter the country. This decision was upheld on appeal to Ottawa, and Mr. Macgill immediately issued an order notifying Mr. Hiran Singh to leave the country inside of twenty-four hours.

A memorial of protest has been submitted to the Governor-General of Canada. It is acknowledged that in May, 1909, an amendment of the Immigration Act was passed which stipulated that no East Indian immigrant should be allowed to land in Canada unless coming direct from India with \$200 in his possession as against \$25 required of a Japanese. But it is pointed out that that amendment has no application to this case inasmuch as at the time it was made, Mr. Hiran Singh was already a resident and a property-holder in British Columbia. The memorial also states that during his three years' residence in British Columbia, Mr. Hiran Singh, who has served as a trooper in the Central Indian Horse, did much to alleviate the adverse conditions forced upon his countrymen by reason of the antagonism of the white labour organisations. He has a record of public activity to his credit in the shape of night schools, hospitals and similar conveniences which he has established without agitation or the engendering of ill-feeling of any kind.

The second case relates to Mr. Hoosein Rahim, a prominent Mahomedan, Manager of the Canadian-Indian Supply and Trust Co., Ltd., of 50, Hastings Street, a leader in the local Hindu colony, and well known in business circles, who was arrested at the instance of the immigration officer, Mr. J. H. Macgill and lodged among common criminals in the city gaol. The charge against him was that of being unlawfully within the Dominion, and an order of deportation has also been made against him.

The Hindustani Association begs us to represent the urgent need that exists in British Columbia for the services of an Indian barrister who knows both Hindi and English. The Secretary of the Association is Mr. Sundar Singh, of 1652, Second Avenue, Vancouver, (B. C.)

Mr. Sundar Singh has written to us also, enclosing a cutting from the Vancouver Daily News Advertiser relating to the case of Mr. Hiran Singh. He says in this letter:—

"There are about 5,000 Hindus in Canada and about 10,000 in the United States, but we cannot see each other. A Hindu cannot cross from one side to the other and if my brother is ill, I cannot go and see him in the U. S. A."

WAR ON WOMEN.

Since the celebrated Poonia case, nothing has happened during the memorable Transvaal struggle that should attract such world-wide attention as the pathetic case of Mrs. Sodha. Rambabai Sodha has entered the Transvaal, her husband—her natural protector—being in gaol, and having become reduced through the struggle to poverty, she has gone to the Transvaal with a view to remain at Tolstoy Farm. She has a baby in arms and another child under three years of age. All the facts were before the Immigration Officer. And yet word has gone forth that

Mrs. Sodha must be persecuted—we will not call this affair a prosecution—as being a prohibited immigrant. Why are these proceedings being taken? Not because Mrs. Sodha is an undesirable woman. Probably no purer-souled woman has trod the unholy soil of the Transvaal. Not because she competes with white traders. She knows nothing of trade. She wants to pass her time in peace at Tolstoy Farm. She has offered no opposition to the all-powerful Union Government, for she has entered after due notice. Nor is she the wife of an Indian who has never resided in the Transvaal. Mr. Sodha is a pre-war resident of the Transvaal. The only reason for warring on women is, so far as we can see, the vanity of Government officials who cannot brook anything like a dignified attitude on the part of Indians. Mrs. Sodha has not gone to the Government begging abjectly for a permit to stay temporarily in the Transvaal. Neither did Dr. Abdurrahman on a well-known occasion, when he paid a temporary visit to the Transvaal. But Captain Hamilton Fowle, who was a tactful officer, did not get angry and prosecute the Doctor. He promptly sent him a permit without his asking for it, and spared the Transvaal the humiliation of having to prosecute him. Those who are at present in charge will not perform a graceful act, even with reference to a woman whose condition would excite sympathy and pity in any other part of the world.

There is an Indian saying that the days of an individual or a government that would persecute innocent women are numbered. Will not the Union Government see to it that its infant career is not tarnished by the persecution of Indian women such as Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha?—*Indian Opinion*. 12-11-1910.

At a meeting of Indian women held at Johannesburg on November 19, it was resolved to protest against the persecution of Mrs. Sodha, the wife of a passive resister, residing in the Transvaal, who was arrested on the Natal border as she was proceeding to join him and lodged in gaol as a prohibited immigrant. A petition was made to the Union Government to withdraw legal proceedings in the event of the rejection of the appeal. The women at the meeting pledged themselves to seek every opportunity of imprisonment.—*India*.

THE TRANSVAAL QUESTION.

SOLUTION IN SIGHT.

LONDON, DECEMBER, 13TH.

Mr. Ritch, Secretary of the British India Committee

who has returned from South Africa, in an interview with Reuter said, there appears to be an earnest desire and indeed a definite intention in South Africa to settle the Indian problem. There is reason to believe that the Transvaal Law will be repealed and replaced by a law similar to that of Australia, applying equally to all races, which can be so administered as to exclude Asiatics. The Registration Law would also be repealed. This would be a perfectly satisfactory solution to the Transvaal Indians. The adoption of this policy, Mr. Ritch went on, must re-act healthily throughout South Africa and improve the position of Indians in the Cape and Natal. He mentioned incidentally that there was a deliberate movement on the part of the white traders in the Cape to refuse renewals of trading licenses to old established Indian shop-keepers. He concluded by detailing the sufferings of Indians who arrived on board the "Sultan." All were respectable Madrasis and were ordered back to India although it was subsequently shown that none ought to have been deported, nor would have been, if the Transvaal Government had taken the trouble to investigate their cases.—(*Reuter*.)

THE TRANSVAAL RELIEF FUND.

RS. 25,000 FROM MRS. R. J. TATA.

BOMBAY, December 12.

The Honorary Secretary announces the following further contributions to the Transvaal Indian Relief Fund:—Amount previously acknowledged, Rs. 1,09,315; Mrs. R. J. Tata (second contribution) sent direct to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Rs. 25,000; Thakore Saheb of Gondal, Rs. 1,000; Mr. Satynanda Bose, being the ninth instalment of Bengal's contribution, Rs. 500; the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Rs. 75; and various other contributions, bringing the total to Rs. 136,198.

Our advice to all our sisters and brethren everywhere is to educate themselves and all fellow-Indians, and stand up for their rights as citizens and human beings by all legitimate means.

It is also of the utmost importance for them and for us stay-at-home people to keep up communications with one another.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS ADOPTED AND THE RESULTS ACHIEVED IN THE MORE IMPORTANT NATIVE STATES IN INDIA

IT would be extremely interesting to compare the administrative methods pursued and the results achieved in the various important Native States in India.

There is very great diversity in these States in various matters; even in the elementary matter of the writing and the publication of the administration reports. In the pre-

mier State of Hyderabad reports have been written and published very spasmodically. The first general report which would appear to have been ever written or published was for the Fasli year 1294. Then there was no report for three years; and the next one was for 1298 Fasli. Then after a lapse of four years another was written for 1303 Fasli. The next report was for the quadrennial period 1304—7 Fasli; and the last report which appears to have seen the light of day was for the five years 1308—12 Fasli, corresponding with the period from the 7th October, 1898 to the 6th October, 1903. This report was presented to H. H. the Nizam in June, 1907; and was published sometime during that year. The writer states with a certain amount of naïvete that great delay and difficulty were experienced in obtaining from the various offices the necessary materials in regard to a period which began to run seven years or more previous to the writing of the report. He does not, however, vouchsafe any reason why the preparation of the report was not begun earlier, or why materials for a later period, which would appear to have been more easily obtainable, and which would undoubtedly have proved more interesting and useful to the general public were not collected. It is interesting to note that some statistics were ready only just before the presentation of the report, and the ecclesiastical department, it is said, remained recalcitrant to the last and submitted no returns at all.

In Mysore and Baroda the administration reports are annual, and are published with great regularity. The Government of Mysore is extremely expeditious in the matter of the writing and the publication of its reports. The report for the year 1908-09 (year ending 30th June, 1909) was signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government, on the 8th December, 1909, within six months of the end of the period to which it refers and appears to have been published very soon after. The Baroda Administration Report for 1908-09 (year ending 31st July, 1909) was presented to H. H. the Gaekwar in February, 1910 and was published shortly after.

It would be better at the outset to compare the areas, the populations and the financial resources of the three States. Hyderabad has an area of 82,698 square

miles. The population according to the Census of 1300 Fasli was 11,537,040; but according to the Census of 1310 Fasli it was reduced to 11,141,142. This reduction of 3.43 per cent. in the course of ten years has been attributed chiefly to a succession of bad years, culminating in the famine of 1310 Fasli, and it is said partly perhaps to be due also to more careful enumeration at the more recent census. The chief sources of revenue appear to be Land Revenue, Excise, Customs and Forests. The average Land Revenue collections of recent years have amounted to 218 lakhs; but in 1312 Fasli they were only 209 lakhs. The Excise Revenue of 1312 Fasli amounted to more than 43 lakhs and a half; the Customs to 53 lakhs, and the Forest revenue to a little more than two and a half lakhs. There was also the annual receipt of 25 lakhs from the British Government on account of the lease of Berar to that Government in perpetuity. The total resources of the Government may, therefore, be put down at 333 lakhs.

The area and population of the Mysore State and some other important matters connected with it have not been given in the Administration Report for 1908-09. For these things the reader has been referred to the report of the preceding year. This appears to be an unwise economy of space. However, the area appears to be about 29,000 square miles, about a third of that of Hyderabad and about three and a half times that of Baroda. The population is a little more than five and a half millions, more than double that of Baroda and about half of that of the Nizam's Dominions. The land revenue demand for 1908-09 was about 116 lakhs, out of which 89 lakhs were collected and 3 lakhs remitted, and there was a balance at the end of the year of about 24 lakhs. The collections of the year were, however, less than those of the preceding year by more than 14 lakhs. The other sources of revenue were Mining Royalties nearly 16 lakhs, Forest Revenue about 18 lakhs, Excise Revenue 43 and a half lakhs, Stamp Revenue nearly 8 and a half lakhs and other miscellaneous receipts. The total revenue came to about 200 lakhs; less than two-thirds of that of Hyderabad; and nearly double that of Baroda.

. The area of the State of Baroda is in round numbers 8,000 square miles, and the population is about two millions. The former is therefore less than one-tenth the area and the latter less than one-fifth the population of Hyderabad. The land revenue collections amounted to a little over ninety lakhs in 1908-09 against only seventy and a half lakhs in 1907-08 when they were very low, owing to the untimely cessation of the rains. The increase in 1908-09 was due to good rabi crops and also to greater care in realising arrears. There was also a local cess collected which yielded a little less than six and a half lakhs, and a little less than a lakh was collected in the shape of Income Tax. Thus the total revenue may be put down at 97½ lakhs. Besides this, a little less than 20½ lakhs was collected under the name of joint revenue in 1908-09 from Customs, Excise and Opium. The revenue under these heads shewed a slight falling off of about half a lakh that year, as compared with the preceding year, there being a decrease of about 79 thousands in the profits from the sale of opium at Bombay, which was partly counterbalanced by slight increases under the other heads. The total resources of the Government for 1908-09 may be put down at 118 lakhs and for ordinary years at 100 to 110 lakhs in round numbers. The resources of the Baroda State are, therefore, about one-third those of the Nizam's Dominions and about one-half those of Mysore.

We have now compared the areas, populations and resources of these three States. It would be interesting to note their expenditure on the various branches of the administration. We would, however, attempt in the first instance to describe the systems of public instruction in vogue in the three States. There can be no doubt that it is the system of public instruction which is the surest index to the enlightenment and far-sightedness of the administrators of a State, and that an enlightened and well-considered system of education is the surest and most solid foundation for its future greatness.

It cannot, unfortunately, be said that education has made much progress in the Nizam's Dominions, or that any great effort has been made either during the quinquennium with which the report is specially

concerned, or at any previous period to advance its cause. It is stated in the report that the number of school-going children in the State is 17,82,583 and of these 16,87,604 or nearly 95 per cent. received no kind of instruction for the very simple and sufficient reason that there is no kind of school within reach of them. Then although it is stated that there are altogether 2667 institutions and 94979 pupils attending them we can get detailed information only of the 861 public institutions, and of the 56912 pupils who attended them. Of the 1806 private institutions and the 38067 pupils who belong to them, we get no information at all.

Of the 861 public institutions 3 are colleges, 15 high schools, 58 middle schools, 137 upper and 638 lower primary schools and 10 special schools. Of the three colleges the Nizam's College at Hyderabad was maintained at an average annual cost of Rs. 22604. It passed 71 students at the B. A. and 34 at the F. A. Examination of the Madras University during the five years. The disproportion between the number of students passed in the two examination deserves notice. The second college located at Aurangabad has a very small attendance and succeeded in passing only one student at the F. A. Examination during the five years. The average annual expenditure on this very inefficient college was Rs. 1,786. The third or Oriental College is not affiliated like the other two to the Madras University; but to the Punjab University. It was apparently the most popular of the three institutions, the attendance during each of the five years being over a hundred; 205 passes were secured during the five years. The average annual expenditure on this college was Rs. 8,738.

The average number of pupils attending the High Schools was 4,224 and the average annual cost to Government towards the maintenance of these institutions was Rs. 1,33,335. Judged by the results at the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University, these schools cannot at all be considered to have been efficient. During the five years 343 candidates were sent up of whom only 63 or about 8 per cent. passed.

The average number of pupils in the middle schools was 8,788 and the annual

expenditure incurred by the State, towards the maintenance of these schools was Rs. 94,724. The results of the middle school examinations were better than those of the Matriculation Examination, as out of 3,173 candidates 993 or about 31 per cent. passed.

On an average 38772 boys and 3937 girls attended the primary schools and the annual expenditure on these schools from Government funds amounted to Rs. 94349.

Besides the 3937 girls mentioned above 675 other girls attended one high and three middle schools, and one special school for training female teachers. The average number of female pupils attending the various classes of schools was 471 higher than the average number of the preceding five years. The average annual expenditure on female education was Rs. 83,055 of which Government contributed only Rs. 27,134. 127 girls competed in the middle school examinations during the five years of whom 63 or nearly 50 per cent. passed. This result may be considered to be satisfactory; but it should be noted that nearly all the successful girls were Christians or Parsis; only three Mahometan girls passed in 1312 Fasli.

It is scarcely necessary to give any detailed account of the special schools as they cannot be considered to be part of the general scheme of education. It may however be mentioned that there was a normal school for male teachers, an engineering school and two industrial schools under Government management. There was also an aided normal school for female teachers, an aided Sanskrit school, a law school, a technical school, a police training school, a forest school and an agrihorticultural school. Some of the figures about the schools are curious and appear scarcely to be correct. The Government expenditure on the police training school in 1312 Fasli is said to have been Rs. 5,000. On the other hand the total expenditure on tuition in the forest school is said to have been Rs. 197 only, while the fees collected amounted to Rs. 1,536.

The average annual expenditure on scholarships during the five years amounted to Rs. 113,194 out of which Rs. 27,298 was spent on general scholarships and may be considered as part of the expenditure on the general educational scheme of the State.

Rs. 1,012 was expended on scholarships tenable in the forest schools and Rs. 79,393 on English and Rs. 5,496 on miscellaneous scholarships. The former, of the two last-mentioned amounts was spent on students who were sent to Europe to complete their education and may scarcely be considered to be part of the legitimate educational expenditure of the State, though it may be justified on political and other grounds. All these students were Muhammadans. During the five years with which the report deals four of them came back after completing their education. One of them has received the appointment of an Inspector of Schools; another in the irrigation branch of the Public Works Department; the third as a Civil Surgeon; while the fourth did not get any appointment up to the end of 1312 Fasli. Some of the scholars did not make satisfactory progress; one scholarship had to be discontinued in 1310 Fasli and several others in the following year.

On an average Rs. 13,471 per annum was spent by the Education Department in the construction and repair of school buildings and Rs. 3,597 on school furniture and the Public Works Department spent Rs. 22,000 on school buildings during the first four years or on an average Rs. 5,500 a year. It is admitted that nearly 80 per cent. of the schools are without decent buildings.

Rs. 2,897 was spent on an average every year on the physical education of the scholars.

Though the expenditure on libraries, and on the encouragement of literature hardly comes within the scheme of public education, yet it may be here mentioned that on an average Rs. 7,939 was spent annually on the State Library at Hyderabad and Rs. 1,306 on seven libraries attached to schools and other institutions. Both the amounts spent and the results achieved compare very unfavourably with those in the smaller, but more enlightened State of Baroda. The Mysore Report appears to be silent on this subject. The sums spent on the encouragement of literary work appear unfortunately to have been disbursed with very little discrimination and to have been productive of little or no results. An establishment was created in 1305 at an annual cost of a little over Rs. 10,000 for

the translation of scientific works. It is not clear whether the establishment is still working, or whether it has done any work at all; but it appears that there has been a great deal of discussion as to whether it should be maintained at all; and if so, under what rules it should work. One committee was appointed in 1311 Fasli, but it was unable to carry on its investigations; another committee was appointed in 1313 Fasli and its report with the recommendations of the financial department was awaiting the orders of Government when the administration report was written. Sums of Rs. 13,000 and Rs. 7,950 were spent respectively on a compilation of the history of the Crusades (it is not at all clear, why, of all others, this particular subject was selected) and on a history of the Nizam's dominions; but, as the report mournfully states, without any tangible results. Rs. 89,000 more was spent between 1300 and 1314 Fasli on the translation of rare Arabic works on literary, scientific and religious subjects; and it appears that in this case the expenditure has resulted in the publication of about 30 old works. It appears also that there was a project for the compilation of the sayings of the Prophet; but the report is silent, as to whether any money was spent on it, or any tangible result was achieved.

It is gratifying to turn to the Mysore Report, which shows sustained and well-directed efforts to improve the system of public instruction in vogue in the State. The number of public schools increased from 2366 in 1907-08 to 2367 in 1908-09 and of private schools from 1780 to 1943 and the number of pupils in the two classes of schools from 101674 to 11351 and from 21492 to 25757 respectively. The percentage of attendance in the former increased from 73.75 to 75.5. The percentage of attendance in the private institutions has not been given. There was one school to every 6.8 square miles of area and to every 1264 of the population of the State. The percentage of male and female pupils to the population of school-going age rose from 25.2 to 28.4 and 4.72 to 5.3 respectively.

"These statistics", the report triumphantly states, "are a record of the most rapid progress made during any one year in the State, which now holds a pro-

minent place in the front rank with the provinces of British India in point of the numbers both of institutions and of pupils."

The increase in the number of pupils occurred chiefly in the Anglo-vernacular middle schools for boys and in the primary schools for boys and girls, and was mainly due to the abolition of fees in the primary classes of all Government schools. In explanation of this statement it may be mentioned that school fees were abolished during the year in the IV and V classes of village elementary schools, in the upper and lower primary classes of Taluk vernacular schools and from the second class downwards in all Anglo-vernacular schools. By this arrangement primary education which was already free in the village elementary schools was made free in all the schools of the State.

The following table shows the various kinds of public educational institutions and the number of pupils attending them classed according to sex.

Class of Institutions	Number of Institutions for male pupils.	Number of Institutions for female pupils.	Number of male pupils.	Number of female pupils.
Colleges	6	1	591	2
High schools	14	2	3571	27
Middle schools	206	51	26638	5488
Primary schools	1801	215	59385	14692
Normal schools	3	2	212	26
Industrial schools	19	1	1074	124
Sanskrit schools	41	0	1276	2
Commercial schools	2	0	68	0
Engineering "	1	0	42	0
Schools for the deaf & the blind	2	0	26	0
Total	2095	272	92883	20368

Besides these there are 1943 private institutions for pupils of both sexes with 24687 male and 1070 female pupils.

The report gives the nationality of the pupils. It is not necessary to reproduce the details; but it is noteworthy that compared with the population of the respective communities the percentage of pupils of both sexes was 2.27 in the case of Hindus but it was 6.70 in the case of Mahometans, which shows that in Mysore at least, contrary to what is to be found in most other parts of India the Musalmans are far in advance of the Hindus in point of education.

Detailed accounts of the institutions of the various classes have not been given in the report; but it appears that out of the six colleges for males three imparted instruction in English and three in Oriental languages. From the English colleges 67, 45, and 67 candidates were sent up for the B. A. Degree Examination of the Madras University in the English language, second language and science branches respectively, and of these 36, 37 and 33 passed. In the Vidwat examination for high proficiency in Sanskrit 12 passed out of the 15 presented, 5 from the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore and 2 from the Bangalore Sanskrit College, the other 5 being private students. 3 out of the 4 sent up passed in the Moulvis' examination and one out of the two candidates sent up for the Kannada Pandit's examination passed. One lady student of the Maharani's College passed in the B. A. Examination in the English language division. In the F. A. Examination out of the 131 candidates sent up 69 or 52.6 per cent. passed and in the matriculation examination out of 302 candidates 151 or exactly 50 per cent. passed.

The total expenditure on the colleges and schools for the education of boys amounted to Rs. 9,69,547 and that on those for the education of girls to Rs. 201,834. Besides this a sum of Rs. 4,45,939 was spent on direction, inspection, scholarships, buildings, furniture, apparatus, &c. Of this total expenditure of Rs. 16,17,320, Rs. 8,94,052 or 55.28 per cent. was contributed from the State funds.

It appears that in this State there are separate schools for separate sections of the community, *viz*;—6 schools for Europeans and Eurasians, 37 and 11 Anglo-Hindustani and 179 and 68 primary schools for Musalman boys and girls respectively and 81 schools for the depressed classes, besides 11 schools for Lambani. For the Hindus there were altogether 2022 schools for teaching Sanskrit, Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu, and Marathi. In the case of the Musalmans there were no schools for girls above the middle standard and for the Hindus none above the primary standard.

Besides these there were night schools for illiterate artisans and unaided village indigenous schools. The number of the former decreased from 80 to 73 but their

strength increased from 1947 to 2670. The number of aided village indigenous schools and their strength decreased respectively from 138 to 135 and from 2883 to 2716. The unaided village indigenous schools did not follow the departmental curricula of studies.

There were three normal schools for school masters and 2 for school mistresses, one of the latter being under private management. The number of school masters and school mistresses under training rose from 187 to 212 and from 13 to 26. There was a farm attached to one of the normal schools. There were 20 industrial schools with 1074 male and 124 female pupils. 4 of these were weaving schools, and in the rest, as would appear from the account given of the Mysore industrial school, pottery, smithy-work, carpentry, machine-work and rattan-work were taught and some of the pupils learnt drawing as a special subject.

The expenditure on scholarships granted for technical and special studies outside the State was Rs. 24,125 out of which Rs. 7,312 was paid to students engaged in medical studies and Rs. 1,833 to those studying forestry in Europe and Rs. 3,940, Rs. 1,300, Rs. 4,079, Rs. 199, Rs. 4,170 and Rs. 867 to those studying medicine, engineering, technical arts, agriculture, forestry and sanitary science respectively in India and Rs. 423 to students under training in teacher's colleges. A unique feature is the award of scholarships to widows. 37 State scholarships of the aggregate value of Rs. 2,324 were awarded to widow pupils in Government and aided institutions in addition to those paid from the Desraj Bahadur Charity Fund. Two of these were held in High School classes and the rest in Anglo-vernacular and Vernacular schools. Another notable feature, specially in the case of a Hindu State, is the grant of scholarships to Mahomedan pupils. 35 such scholarships were awarded, of which 6 were held in colleges, 28 in High schools and one in a middle school. There were 6 Musalman students receiving special scholarships of Rs. 25 each per mensem in the Aligarh College; and a scholarship of £250 tenable for three years was awarded to a Mahometan student to enable him to enter the Cambridge

University and qualify himself for the bar.

Rs. 8,000 was sanctioned for building and furniture grants of which Rs. 7,950 was paid for buildings. It is not clear from the report whether the balance of Rs. 50 was not disbursed at all or whether it was spent on school furniture. The Education and Public Works Department spent Rs. 68,765 on Government Educational Buildings.

If we turn now to the last of the three States referred to, that of Baroda, we get an equally bright and hopeful picture. There were altogether 1267 schools under the control of the Education Department against 1280 in the preceding year. The small decrease was due to the fact that some institutions which had been opened at the time of the introduction of compulsory education were amalgamated during the year with the neighbouring schools. English was taught in 27 of these and education was imparted in the vernaculars in the remaining 1240. The total expenditure on these institutions and on scholarships awarded to students studying in Europe and America and in different parts of India outside the State for the year 1908-09 has not been mentioned in the report for that year. The expenditure for the preceding year amounted to Rs. 9,70,122 and the total receipts to only Rs. 92,855 against Rs. 7,94,299 and Rs. 96,030 respectively in 1906-07. The increase of Rs. 1,75,823 in the expenditure which took place in 1907-08 was due to the opening of new schools and the strengthening of the inspectorial agency, and the small decrease in the receipts was due to a falling off of the profits of the State workshop.

There is only one college in the State, which is affiliated to the Bombay University in the faculties of arts, science and law. There was a small increase in the number of pupils during 1908-09; the number on the rolls at the end of the year being 225 against 212 in the preceding year. There was, however, a considerable falling off in the number of pupils sent up for and passed in the various University Examinations, as only 155 students were sent up for the previous, the intermediate arts and science and B. A. and B. Sc. examinations of whom 99 passed, while

in the preceding year as many as 194 candidates were sent up for the examinations named above as well as for the first LL. B. and M. A. examinations and of these 111 passed. The results for 1908-09 have been pronounced in the report to be generally satisfactory; but they can hardly be considered to be so. Only one out of the three candidates presented for the intermediate science examination passed, and only two students were placed in the first division. The residential quarters attached to the college contained accommodation for 110 students and one of the professors occupied a bungalow, which had been erected in the preceding year for the Residential Professor, and was made responsible for general supervision over the boarders. Another bungalow which will be occupied by another professor is under construction within the college compound. The total expenditure on the college amounted to Rs. 65,839, whilst the amount received from fees amounted to Rs. 12,193. The increase in the expenditure was due to the appointment of the professor of physics. The tutorial system which had been introduced in the college in the year 1906-07 has as stated in the report for 1907-08 developed kindly relations between the professors and the students. It was also stated in the report for 1907-08 that during that year for the first time a number of students of the junior B.A. classes visited various places of interest in Northern India under the guidance of a professor and it was hoped that such tours would be made annually and would have the effect of broadening the outlook of the students and of awakening new interests and tastes in them. The report for 1908-09 is however, silent on these very interesting points.

In 1907-08 a scheme on a somewhat large scale for putting scientific education on a sound and practical basis by providing large and well-equipped laboratories which had been under consideration for several years was finally matured and the erection of the laboratories at an estimated cost of Rs. 300,000 was sanctioned about the close of the year. The report for 1908-09 does not shew that any very material progress was made in this matter during that year. It would appear that the scheme was afterwards referred to the education commission

which was appointed towards the close of that year.

It will be seen from the above that collegiate education is already established on a sound basis and every effort is being made to improve it on thoroughly enlightened and effective lines.

Besides the College, English is taught in 26 other institutions, 6 of which are High Schools, 3 maintained by and 3 receiving grants-in-aid from the Government and 15 Government and 5 grant-in-aid Anglo-Vernacular Schools. The number of students attending these has increased from 3456 in 1905-06 to 4888 in 1908-09 or by over 38 per cent. in the course of three years. 175 pupils from the High School, were sent up for the Matriculation and 35 for the school final examination against 173 and 40 in the preceding year and of these 77 passed in the former against 62, while the number of passes in the latter was 15 in both years.

The total receipts and expenditure in English Education rose from Rs. 34,739 and Rs. 157,015 in 1905-06 to Rs. 37,414 and Rs. 187,705 respectively in 1908-1909. The receipts and expenditure increased by 8 and 19 per cents. respectively.

Vernacular education was imparted to 104,275 pupils in 1908-09 in 1240 schools against 99,768 pupils in 1,241 schools in 1906-07. There was thus an increase of 4.5 per cent. in the number of pupils in the course of two years. The increase, however, occurred almost wholly in 1907-08 in which year there were 104,180 pupils, only 95 less than in the following year. Of the 1,240 schools which were all under the control of the Education Department 860 were boys' and 330 Girls' Schools maintained by the State and 50 other institutions. The total expenditure on the Government schools amounted to Rs. 6,31,952; the average expenditure on each school being Rs. 530 against Rs. 500 in the preceding year and Rs. 408 in 1907-08; the increase which occurred in 1907-08 was ascribed to the provision of a more efficient teaching staff and to the supply of furniture, books and other educational appliances. Nothing has been said in the report for 1908-09 to explain the increase which occurred that year; and it has been observed that as most of the schools are of the primary class, the average expenditure of Rs. 44 a month is

very high. There were 30 schools under private management which received grants amounting in all to Rs. 1,684. It was explained in the report for 1907-08 that the number of these schools is steadily decreasing as they cannot compete with the more efficient schools maintained by the State, and it is anticipated that they will before long cease to exist.

Besides the schools under the exclusive control of the Education Department, there were 1,573 village schools teaching 60,991 pupils which were managed by the Local Boards. The number of these schools decreased by 12 while the number of pupils increased by 701 during 1908-09. The control of the inspecting agency of these schools has been transferred from the District Boards to the Education Department from the 1st October, 1908. The total number of schools for Vernacular education in the State during 1908-09 was 2803 and the total number of pupils attending them was 165,266. It appears that every town and every village containing over 1,000 inhabitants possessed the advantage of Government schools, whilst the smaller villages had schools managed by the Local Boards.

There was a male training college and at the end of the year there were 204 students in it against 107 in the preceding year. The period of study was raised during the year to three years.

For female education there was a female training college in which there were 39 scholars during 1907-08 against 28 in the preceding year and the cost of maintaining which rose from Rs. 7,925 in 1906-07 to Rs. 10,568 in 1907-08. No figures have been given in the report for 1908-09, but it has been stated that the question of the boarding house for the scholars has been to some extent solved, in as much as the department has been able to procure for temporary use a spacious bungalow with a large compound which was formally opened at the beginning of the new official year. Twenty-four scholars have, it is said, come forward to live in it. There was also a girls' High School affiliated to the University of Bombay and a number of girls' schools. Where no separate girls' schools are provided, girls' are up to a certain age allowed to attend

boys' schools, and whenever the number of girls attending such mixed schools rises to 30 a separate school is opened for them. During 1908-09 there were altogether 31,262 girls of different ages attending the schools maintained by the State against 31,057 in 1907-08 and only 12,170 in 1905-06. The increase in 1906-07 was more than 135 per cent. and in the following year nearly 9 per cent, but the increase in 1908-09 was insignificant. There were also in 1908-09, 13,625 girls learning the rudiments in the village schools; so that altogether 44,887 girls were receiving some kind of instruction in the various classes of schools. It was mentioned in the report for 1907-08 that although there has been a decided advance in the number of girls attending schools, the returns do not disclose any desire on the part of their parents to continue them at school for a longer period than before. The maximum age of the girls studying in the regular schools is 13 in the case of Hindus and 15 in the case of Parsis. Although the Government is not satisfied with what it has achieved, it may be mentioned that in Bengal very few girls of 12 or 13 attend any school, except those which have been established for the specially enlightened and cultured sections of the Hindu community.

Four Zenana classes were held during the year as in the preceding year for teaching such women as could not owing to the pressure of domestic duties or advanced age attend schools, in the elements of reading, writing, keeping accounts, needle work and embroidery. The attendance in these classes has increased from 104 in 1905-06 to 166 in 1908-09 and out of 126 of the pupils who appeared at the annual examination as many as 96 passed. The report for 1907-08 stated that an afternoon lace class was opened as a temporary measure during the year in one of the most thickly peopled parts of Baroda City and was fairly attended, but the report for 1908-09 is silent about it.

The State of Baroda is in advance of the rest of India in respect of the introduction of compulsory education which was inaugurated in the taluka of Amreli nearly 20 years ago, and which is now in force in almost every village in the State. During 1907-08 there were 26 compulsory schools in

Baroda City and 650 outside of it, and the total number of pupils attending them was 33,937, so that on an average there were about 50 pupils in each school. It would appear from the report for 1907-08 that there were separate schools for boys and girls belonging to the various communities residing in the State, *viz*; for Gujrati, Marathi and Antyaj (*i.e.* the low and untouchable castes) boys and girls. A fourth class has been described as Urdu boys and girls which apparently means boys and girls of the Musulman community. The Gujrati schools were exactly half the total number and the pupils attending them formed about 63 per cent. of the total number of pupils. The girls' schools for this community were nearly double the number of those for boys and the girls outnumber the boys in the proportion of nearly 13 to 8, which shews that there was greater need for compulsory education for the girls belonging to this community than for the boys. The Marathi schools were very few in number, there being only 5, all confined to Baroda City with a total of 378 pupils. It is not clear why there were no schools for this class outside Baroda City as the report does not show whether there are any Marathas in any part of the State outside the capital, though one would imagine that there would be a great many. For the Musalmans or Urdu speaking people there were 7 schools with 721 pupils in Baroda City and 37 schools with 2,428 pupils outside of it. Of the 7 schools 4 were for girls with 403 pupils and only 3 for boys with 318 pupils and of the 37, 24 were for boys with 1,571 pupils against only 13 for girls with 917 pupils. It would appear from this that compulsory education was necessary even for the boys of this section of the community and that outside Baroda City it had not made as much progress among the girls as among the boys. The same was the case in a more marked manner among the low caste people, for whom there were 3 boys' schools in the capital with 221 pupils and no schools at all for girls and outside the capital there were 282 boys' schools with 8,446 pupils against only 4 girls' schools with 239 pupils. It is clear that although some progress had been made in inducing members of this community to send their

boys to the schools very little had been achieved to induce them to send their girls. The report for 1908-09 does not give figures for the various communities except the Antyaj or lower classes, with respect to whom it is said that there were 299 boys' schools with 10,099 pupils and 5 girls' schools with 340 pupils making a total of 304 schools with 10,448 pupils against 315 schools and 10798 pupils in the preceding year.

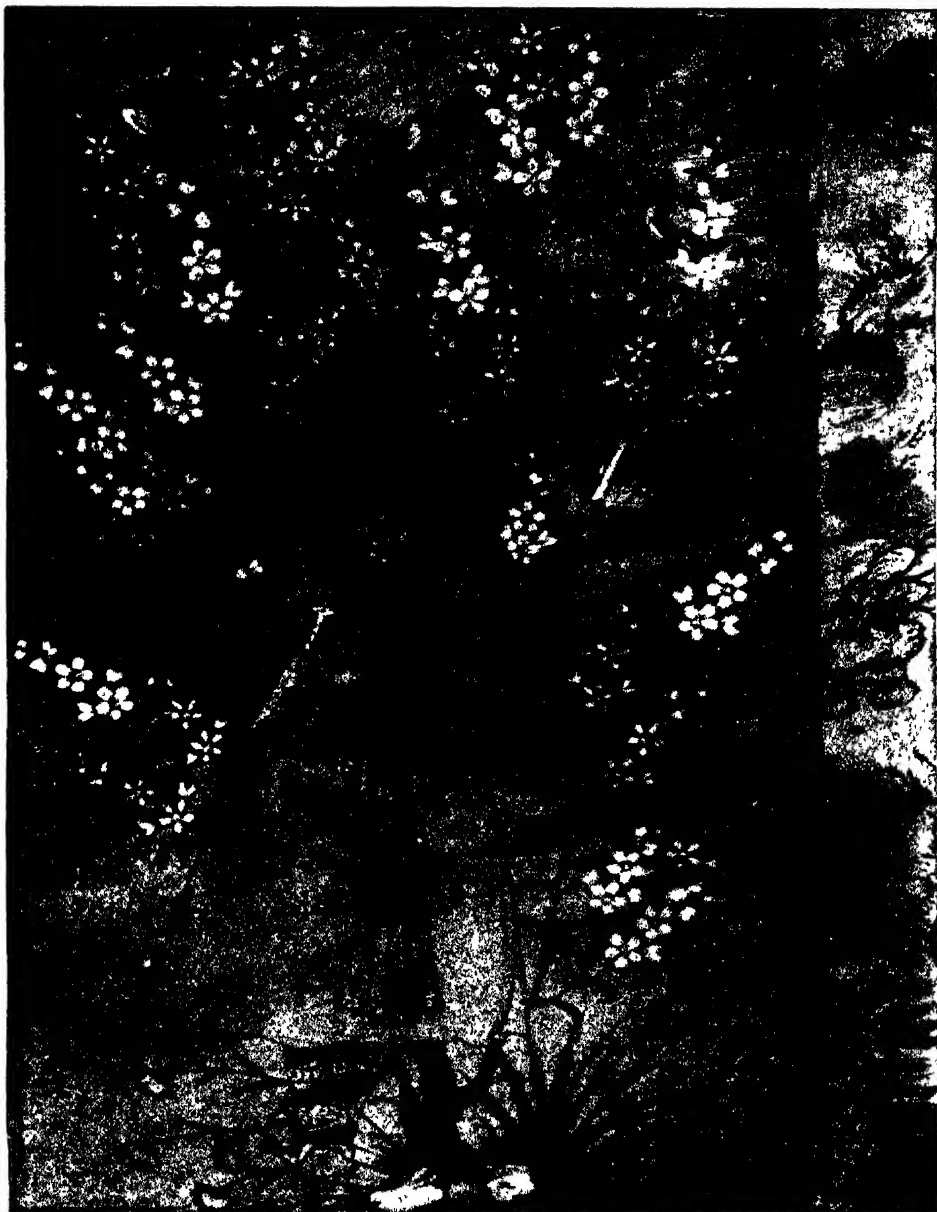
Although much remains yet to be done to make the system of compulsory primary education a complete success, there can be no doubt that a good deal has already been achieved and that it is being carried on with great zeal and much careful thought. It appeared from the report of 1907-08 that the age limit for compulsory attendance has been fixed in the case of boys from 7 to 12 years, and in the case of girls from 7 to 10 years. Careful rules have been framed for exemption in certain cases and for granting permission to be absent in others. Up to 1907-08 the standard of compulsory education was the third, but it was mentioned in the report for that year that it was not intended to rest contented with the three standards, and it was also intended to give a practical turn to the education imparted. The enlightened ruler of the State is fully aware of the responsibility entailed upon the State by the introduction of the system and has directed that adequate funds are to be provided for all necessary expenditure, and the necessity for such funds will have priority of attention to all other except the most important claims on the finances of the State. An annual sum of over a lac of rupees has been sanctioned for the construction of new school buildings; and the training college for teachers has been re-organised and provided with specially trained teachers who have received their degrees in pedagogy in English and American Universities, and its scope more than doubled, so that the complaint about the poverty of trained teachers will soon be diminished and will ultimately disappear. The total amount expended on those compulsory schools during 1907-08 was Rs. 1,79,720 against Rs. 95,198 in the preceding year showing an increase of over 88 per cent. The report for 1908-09 how-

ever contains no information on these points. What is being done in this respect in this State is deserving of all praise and should be carefully watched by educationalists in all parts of India. If we venture to point out one or two blemishes, we do not do so with any desire of carping at a thoroughly beneficent measure, which is being carried out with earnestness, zeal and statesman-like wisdom; but simply with the object of having them rectified. It appears to us that the compulsory attendance of girls at these schools from their 7th to their 10th years is insufficient. It has been found in European countries that a 3 or 4 year's attendance produces no permanent result; and it is therefore necessary that the attendance of these girls in the schools, if it is to be productive of any beneficial results, should be extended to 5 years. There are, of course, difficulties in the way, but as the maximum age for Hindu girls for attendance in schools other than these compulsory schools is 13 years there can be no insurmountable difficulty against the extension of the compulsory attendance to 12 years. The other criticism which we have to offer is about minor details. It appears that permission to remain absent is granted to children (1) who are ill (2) or whose presence is needed at home (3) or who have to go on leave. As regards the first of these reasons there can, of course, be no question; but if every child whose presence is needed at home or who has to go on leave is allowed to be absent, it would be difficult to compel the attendance of any pupil at all. It is to be hoped that there are strict rules laying down the nature of the necessity which would keep the pupil at home and the nature of the business on which he would be allowed to go on leave; but these have not been mentioned.

There are besides the schools already mentioned other schools for special classes; but it is not necessary to give details of them.

Physical education was duly attended to; the Kindergarten system had been introduced into every school and the subject of the introduction of moral text books was under consideration.

The Government made a grant of Rs. 30,000 for the diffusion of knowledge by



POETRY & FLOWERS.

Persian School.

To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

means of libraries. There were 72 Government circulating libraries, 100 Mitra Mandal Libraries i.e., libraries established by friendly associations and 50 reading rooms in the State during 1908-09 and books of the value of above Rs. 18,600 were bought for these institutions of which Rs. 3,705 was contributed by the people and Rs. 10,548 by the State, while Rs. 4,357 was obtained as discount on the purchase of books. Besides the money grant from the Government each library got a set of translations published by the State and valued at Rs. 1251. There were about 40 other libraries established by liberally disposed people which were quite free or levied small fees.

Technical education was imparted in 9 schools (for architecture, art, chemical technology, commercial training, mechanical technology, pedagogy, artisan training, watch-making and weaving) all grouped together under the name of Kalabhawan. There were altogether 570 pupils in 1908-09 against 661 in 1907-08. The decrease is fully accounted for by the separation of the school of pedagogy and the abolition of that of watch-making. These schools

had contained 107 and 12 students respectively in 1907-08.

We have attempted in the above paragraphs to describe the educational systems and institutions in three of the most important native states in India. We may briefly sum up the observations by saying that in Hyderabad very little interest has been taken in the matter, and the results are consequently extremely disappointing. In Mysore a great deal is being done in a systematic and efficient manner; but there is a want of the close and sympathetic supervision by the Ruler of the State, which one notices with so much pleasure in the case of Baroda. Unfortunately however even in Baroda the year 1908-09 was not characterised by as much progress as the years immediately preceding it and for some unknown reason the report does not contain any of those sympathetic statements about the details of the work already done, and the work which remained still to be accomplished, which made previous reports such interesting reading and made one so hopeful about the future of the educational work in the State.

B. DE.

ON MUGHAL AND RAJPUT PAINTING*

(ABSTRACT OF A LECTURE TO THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART.)

AFTER the first great period of Indian painting, of which the painted chaityas at Ajanta are witness still, we have to face an almost entire absence of actual remains, until we reach the middle of the sixteenth century. We know, of course, from literary references and other indications, that the art was continuous. But no mediæval wall paintings are preserved, though a few Buddhist painted book covers are found.

It may be remarked that there are three ways of using painting, other than the merely decorative ornamentation of the smaller articles of industrial or cultural

value. The noblest of these ways is that art of wall painting in which the Italians and the Ajanta artists alike excelled. There is then the Japanese method of painting pictures on cloth, pictures that are carefully put away, and only taken out one by one and hung singly in a room, otherwise almost bare of furniture or decoration: the room is filled by, and dominated by a single picture, which the spectator can appreciate without distraction or disturbance. (Contrasted with this is the modern inartistic fashion of hanging many pictures, more or less incongruous, and none of them designed for the place they occupy, upon the walls of rooms already overcrowded with furniture and knickknacks. Thirdly we have portfolio paintings, which form a unity in themselves apart from any direct relation to an architectural environment.

* Described in a previous article as Mediæval Indian Painting.

To this last class belong most of the Indian paintings (with a few exceptions of paintings on the walls of palaces) of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are also various book illustrations, illuminations, but this is more characteristic of Persian than of Indian art. The Indian portfolio paintings are not to be dismissed as decorative art: indeed, inasmuch as they are entirely independent of environment, no kind of painting could be less accurately defined as 'decorative' in a depreciatory sense. They are most varied in treatment and the range of subject matter is equally great. They reflect both the life and the ideals of men with extraordinary intimacy,—the actual and the dream-world of two great Oriental cultures at the most dramatic moment of their contact.

Indian portfolio pictures are not a branch of Persian art nor an importation of the Mughals. Only certain elements in this art are Persian and Mughal (*i.e.* Turki or Mongolian). Persian art is essentially one of book illustrations in which brilliant colours and much gold are used. It has small variety of content. Fighting, drinking and flirtation are the usual motifs. Other elements—such as portraiture (where it occurs)—are due, as in India, to Timurid (Mughal) influence. Persian painting is pretty, even beautiful, it is graceful, lyrical, exquisite in colouring and design, but it is never passionate. It tells us of magnificent adventures and of scented gardens, not of the love of God or the infinite joy and sorrow of the loves of women or men, nor does it reveal to us the character of men or the souls of animals and trees and mountains. Its types are conventional rather than ideal, and one wearies of the languid mannerism, notwithstanding its marvellous charm.

The Indian art is essentially one of picture paintings. Book illustrations are few, and with some exceptions, unimportant. There is immense variety and depth of content, humanistic and religious. The pictures fall into two groups, Rajput and Mughal.

The Rajput paintings are specially serious, epic and romantic. They often express a profound sense of sympathy for all natural life and a sense of the fundamental unity of all created things. The religious symbol-

ism is sometimes mythological, sometimes humanistic. The types are ideal rather than conventional. The Rajput painting represents the remains of mediæval Hindu painting, almost entirely free from foreign influences.

The Mughal art is characterised by its profound interest in individual character. It is analytic rather than synthetic in method. Its types are neither ideal nor conventional but rather, realistic, or to use a more expressive term, actual. It is an art that is concerned with the doings of kings and courtiers more than with the visions of saints or the lyric symbolism of an agricultural race. Yet by the middle or close of the seventeenth century these two arts, the Rajput and Mughal, had fused to form one self-complete and exquisite new art, neither wholly Rajput nor Mughal, but Indian.

Moreover much that we find striking in seventeenth century painting is of contemporaneous, autochthonous development: this is specially the case in respect of two characteristic features, the representation of night scenes with dramatic contrasts of light and shade, and the exquisite drawings of women.

One further difference between the Rajput and Mughal art may be noted: the former is an art in its old age, beyond its time of most supreme achievement (which may have been in the 8th or 7th century, not far from the latest painting at Ajanta)—the latter is an art in the full vigour of youth, with infinite courage for experiment, and the conditions for almost over-rapid evolution. And indeed, its flowering time was short. Its zenith belongs to the times of Jahangir and Shah Jahan—a builder-artist unsurpassed, like Richard Coeur de Lion who built the Chateau Gaillard.

Its decline, its loss of spontaneity and observation, begin in the time of Aurangzib, and in succeeding reigns of the eighteenth century it loses almost all its character and interest. The much older Hindu art, having developed so much more slowly, changed slowly too, and in some places, especially the Kangra Valley, survived in considerable vigour well into the nineteenth century. There may be even now some surviving artists of the Himalayan schools



THE SPEAKING BUFFALO.
Indo-Persian School.

To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

whose work has something of the old spirit : but the Mughal artists are represented only by the Delhi painters of ivory miniatures for tourists.

• THE RAJPUT SCHOOLS.

I shall now describe the Rajput schools in greater detail. Abul Fazl, the court-historian of Akbar, wrote of the Hindu painters that "their pictures surpass conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them". The pictures that he admired deserve to be better known.

We have seen that Hindu painting, by the sixteenth century, was an art no longer in its youth, but past its middle age. It has the corresponding qualities of seriousness, experience and facility. Its conventions are magnificent, and its idealism quite uncompromising. It is fundamentally religious : by which I do not mean that its subject matter is always mythological, but that it selects and emphasises the most permanent and most universal things, and cares little for the study and emphasis of individual character.

The whole is an art more deeply rooted in the national life than the courtly secular art of the Mughals, for all its exquisite beauty and refinement, ever was or could have been. For the Mughal courtier, life was a glorious pageant : for the Rajput and the Brahman, life was an eternal sacrament.

The Rajput paintings geographically considered, fall into two related groups, the Himalayan schools and the schools of Rajputana. The Hindu painting of southern India is of a different character : it may fairly be called decadent and is almost exclusively mythological. The Himalayan style is most typically represented by the peculiar Kangra Valley type, those of the plains by the artists of Jaipur. It is, at least, in the Kangra valley and Jaipur that the old traditions have longest survived.

The Kangra Valley paintings are mythological, epic, and lyrical. The purely mythological pictures, like modern images, are seldom artistically attractive, but rather crude in character.

The strength of the Kangra school lies in the Vaishnava paintings, with their burden of love and their lyric humanistic

symbolism. They tell of Rama's wandering in the forest : we see Him with Sita, guarded by Lakshmana : we see the bears and monkeys building Rama's bridge and storming the citadel of Lanka, and these things live for us as never before, because we are made not merely aware of them but made to feel them. The pictures reveal to us the life of Krishna as a child, as a boy and as hero. All love human and divine (for India these are one and the same) are told of in the herd-girls' adoration of Him. This Vaishnava art is an idealisation of love in every phase of its expression, a very consecration of humanity. Animals are in the bond ; and as it is written in the Ramayana, the trees themselves bend towards the Lord as He passes.

Nor does the value of this art depend solely upon its subject matter,—its wonderful idealisation of pastoral life, its selection of what is most noble and enduring,—or solely upon the fact that it speaks a language which is the mother tongue of all those who adore the Bhagavata, 'the Adorable'. For the way in which these things are told of is intrinsically lovely : this art is nowhere excelled in purity of colouring and mastery of design, or in the power of rendering movement.

Amongst the Kangra pictures are many uncoloured drawings of great delicacy. Some of these are portraits or portrait groups, which have a character of their own, distinct from the Mughal. A group of goldsmiths in the Lahore Museum is a particularly fine example. The pictures of the Jaipur school are somewhat harder and less accomplished than those of Kangra. But amongst them are some of exquisite perfection. Of the Rags and Raginis, personified musical modes, there are particularly fine examples in the Calcutta School of Art Collection. This collection, and that at Lahore, are the only public ones of any importance in India, or indeed in the world at present, though an exhibit of Indian paintings is to be arranged at the Louvre* next year.

* A special feature of the Allahabad Exhibition is the series of Rajput and Mughal paintings which are shown in one part of the Oriental Art Society's room. The remainder of this room contains magnificent copies of the Ajanta frescoes and modern works of the Bengal School and a small collection of fine old brass and silver.

Besides the lyrical Rag Malas above referred to, there are romantic subjects of the Jaipur school, such as the pictures of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati riding at night; visits to hermitages and to saints; picture of Chand Bibi; and all kinds of mythological subjects.

Besides these Rajput pictures, definitely Hindu in subject and technique, we have to remember that the source of at least half the fully developed Mughal style is Hindu. The names of three-quarters of the Mughal painters known to us are Hindu, and though, as we shall see, they at first copied for Akbar the work of Persian painters, they soon created a new mixed style, definitely Indian, but different from anything which came before. Much of this work is purely Hindu in content, though not identical in style with earlier Rajput paintings.

THE MUGHAL SCHOOL.

The Mughal schools in India cover a period of barely two centuries, during which the art grows up, flourishes and declines. It is an essentially Indian art, although unlike the Rajput styles, it owes very much to foreign sources. The most important of these foreign elements is that of the schools of Turkistan (Bokhara and Samarqand), the home of the Timurids, who became the Great Mughals of India. These Timurids were great patrons of literature and art. In Babar's memoirs we find in the midst of accounts of adventures and campaigns, delightfully simple references to flowers and painters. Akbar's patronage of paintings is too well known to need description here. But of all these Shah Jahan was the greatest artist. He himself was an expert calligrapher. In his reign Mughal painting and architecture reached their zenith, and exhibited that combination of grandeur with feminine elegance of detail, which characterises, for example, the great Fort at Agra. Akbar seems at first to have employed a number of Hindu artists to copy illuminated pictures in the Persian Shah Namahs and similar works. These book illustrations, in what may be called the bastard Persian style, have singularly little interest, or value. We find, however, by the close of Akbar's reign, a truly 'Indo-Persian' school in existence, which though it soon gave place to a more

completely Indian style, produced some exceedingly beautiful and interesting works. The Persian influence appears in the scenery and in some details of the drawing, and also in the fact that this Indo-Persian or early Mughal art is mainly one of book illustration.

Certain Indian books such as the Yoga Vasishta, Kalilah and Diminah, Suz-u-Gudaz, etc., translated into Persian for the benefit of Akbar himself and others like him unfamiliar with Sanskrit gave to the Indian painters the opportunity for self-expression which the imitation of Persian pictures denied to them. In such books we find illustrations wholly Hindu in sentiment and subject matter, and exceedingly accomplished in execution.

Portraiture, however, is the essentially Mughal contribution to Indian art, though as we have seen it is not wholly unknown to the painters of the Himalayan schools. The schools of Turkistan are strongly influenced by Chinese art, and it is interesting to reflect that the debt which China owed to India for her Buddhist art from so long ago, she partly repaid through the hands of the Mughal invaders of India. The Mughals during the seventeenth century continued to import from Bokhara and Samarqand the illuminated books and to patronise the famous artists of their ancestral home.

A magnificent portrait of Tamerlane in the Bodleian library shows how great was the attainment of the school of Turkistan in quite early times; and a drawing such as the portrait by Muhammad Nadir of Samarqand shows that the central Asian school of portraiture continued to influence India even in the seventeenth century. The Durbar of Shah Jahan previously reproduced shows the more definitely Indian style of portraiture.

Most remarkable are some of the minute heads, wonderful studies in character, often less than an inch in diameter, yet bearing easily an enlargement to one or two feet when exhibited upon a lantern screen. The larger portraits are of no less interest. It has indeed been well said that India possesses, for the period of two hundred years under consideration, a gallery of historical portraits such as no other country in the world can show.



UMA WORSHIPPING SIVA.

To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta. •

With the advent of Aurangzib, puritanical and indifferent to art, began the decline of Mughal painting. Yet very splendid things were produced even so late as the earlier part of the eighteenth century. After that we have only the much less

spontaneous and accomplished art which flourished at the courts of the later Nawabs of Oudh, gradually replaced by a bastard school of European oil-painting, and the Delhi trade in ivory miniatures.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

MEN I HAVE SEEN—V

THE PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF AHAR I DEVENDRA TH TAGORE.—I

IN using the title Maharshi before the name of the great Brahmo leader, I am conscious that I am exposing myself to the sneers and taunts of some outside critics who do not see the propriety of using such a title before his name. What has Devendra Nath done, say they, to deserve such a high title? To them my reply is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, if any man in modern India deserves the title of *rishi* or spiritual seer it is certainly Devendra Nath Tagore. And in as much as his seership, if such an expression is allowable, consisted of the loftiest and purest vision of the Supreme Truth, he can justly be regarded as the Maharshi or great seer of the age. However, that is a matter of individual opinion with which men may not agree, and I leave them to their conclusion, clinging to the title of honor which the members of the Brahmo Samaj have conferred upon him.

In commencing my reminiscences I must once more ask the reader to look to other sources of information for the facts and incidents of his remarkable life, and specially to his wonderful autobiography, in which is recorded his spiritual history. My object is not to present a connected account of that life, but only to record such facts and incidents as linger in my memory.

I do not recollect the exact time when I was introduced to the venerable sage, nor by whom. It could not have been earlier than 1865 or 1866, when I began to feel earnestly about religion and was attracted towards the Brahma Samaj, and the introduction must have taken place through my late cousin Pandit Hem Chandra Vidya-

ratna, formerly one of the translators of the Mahabharat under Kali Prasanna Singh, and latterly the editor of the Tattwabodhini Patrika.

But long before that I had heard of the great leader of Brahmoism from my father, who is a warm admirer of him from the days of his great renunciation, in 1846, after the death of his father in England in that year. My father, who is an orthodox pandit, says even now, that during the long course of his experience he has known few other men who were so *fearlessly honest* and so *scrupulously truthful* in their dealings with others, as Devendra Nath Tagore. That warm admiration of my father had taught me to honor the sage's name, from early boyhood, which sentiment was further strengthened by what a number of Brahmo young men of my village said about him.

I grew up with the notion that he was one of the truly great men of Bengal. After this when residing at Bhowanipore during the years 1861 to 1865, I was drawn, on several occasions, to meetings held in the local Brahmo Samaj, when the expected visits of Devendra Nath would be announced. On all such occasions his venerable appearance, as well as his inspiring utterances, would excite my admiration, and fill my heart with a warm regard. But that warm regard did not lead to formal connection with his movement till 1865 or 1866. It was at that time that religious consciousness was awakened in me and I began an earnest search for spiritual truth. When I opened my mind to my late cousin Hem Chandra Vidyaratna, he gave me a warm reception

and began to take me to the services of the Brahmo Samaj, and must have introduced me to the revered leader. I approached him with a reverent spirit and the eagerness of a loving disciple; and my expectations were more than fulfilled by what I saw and heard.

I do not exactly recollect what transpired at the first meeting. Nor was it followed by other meetings within a pretty long time. He seemed to be too high for me, a boy of eighteen and nineteen at that time, to be troubled by frequent visits, and I kept away from him, admiring from a distance and feeding on his words. Besides after the schism of 1866 he began to keep away from Calcutta for long intervals, spending his time on the hills and in other lonely places, in giving himself to thought, study, meditation and prayer. The schism had given such a shock to his feelings that thenceforth he ceased taking an active part in Samaj work, leaving its management to his children and friends, and spending much of his time in solitude and silent communion. Consequently though introduced to him, I had no special personal contact with him for several years.

Up to 1868 my sympathies were rather with the Adi Brahmo Samaj than with the Brahmo Samaj of India of Keshub Chunder Sen. One reason for this was, perhaps, the attitude of hostility that my uncle Dwarakanath Vidyabhusan, the editor of the *Somaprakash*, assumed in his paper against the progressive party for their introduction of the practice of *sankritan* in Vaishnava fashion, in their religious gatherings from 1867. Born in a *Shakta* family, accustomed to *Shakti* worship from childhood, I had an inborn repugnance to the Vaishnava *khol* and *kartal*, the musical instruments of *sankirtan*. My uncle strengthened that prejudice and made me shun the progressives in disgust. The influence of my cousin Hemchandra Vidyaratna on my mind also seems to have been predominant.

A change came upon me in that respect, when in 1868 my friend and class-fellow Bijoy Krishna Goswami, a missionary of Mr. Sen's party, drew me into that section of the Samaj. I was initiated by Mr. Sen into Brahmoism in August 1869 on the occasion of the consecration of his Mandir. Strangely enough my relationship with

Devendra Nath became closer after that event. In spite of the fact that I had gone over to the opposite camp, he received me warmly and began to unfold to me his spiritual experiences. They are certainly very wonderful to relate. The following is the story of his conversion as related by him. As a boy he had been brought up by his grand-mother, whose influence on his life and character was very great. Under her care he became a staunch believer in idolatry, so much so, that every morning he would bow before the *Siddheswari Kali*, of Thunthunia, on his way to school, to have her blessings in the matter of his class lessons. But quite unexpectedly there came a change. The silent observation of the stars one evening filled his mind with wonder and impressed it with the thought that the grand universe he saw before him could not have proceeded from any finite being. This thought, though momentary, was sufficient to disturb his old notions. After this the hold of the traditional ideas on his mind was weakened. An event happened within a short time which landed him in another conviction.

His grand-mother died and he had to accompany her corpse to the cremation ground. Whilst seated there he was for the first time in his life face to face with the vanity of worldly pleasures. As the son of Dwaraka Nath Tagore, a rich and influential citizen, he had been brought up in the lap of luxury and ease, and as the first-born of the house was daily courted by the numerous visitors, suitors, parasites and priests who frequented that house. He had never witnessed ere this a scene like the one in the midst of which he was on that occasion placed. In the cremation ground he found his friends and relations seated on a bare mat, and smoking from the ordinary poor man's *hookka*, made of a cocoanut shell. The contrast struck him, and, as its first effect, filled his mind with a sense of void in the midst of which he fell into deep musings. From these musings his soul was roused and flooded with a kind of unutterable etherial joy by the vision of a Reality that far out-weighted all worldly pomp and power. This he described to me as *man-ananda* or mental bliss, never experienced before. He returned home with that etherial joy and so great



MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE.

was his absorption and his rapture, that he not only rose above all pangs of sorrow consequent upon the loss of his grandmother, but he considered that inward vision more real and more valuable than all the wealth by which he was living surrounded. His joy was so great that where people saw only darkness in a room after nightfall, he beheld light.

But for some cause which he could not discover, this glorious vision was, in a short time, withdrawn from his sight, filling his mind with deep despondency. Then commenced a period of earnest longing and anxious search. His misery was very great. He neglected his ordinary daily avocations; shunned the company of his friends; shut himself up in his room, lying motionless on a couch or moving to

and fro for hours together. In this state his agony and his absorption were so great that he forgot to take note of events. He was called away for instance, for his breakfast or dinner while lying in his couch. He went and took his meals and returned and lay on the couch as before; but after two or three hours he asked a passing servant, why they had not called him to his meals. In this state of extreme misery he would at times fly from Calcutta to the Botanical Gardens, to spend a day in solitude. Whilst there his agony at times was so great that he saw darkness instead of light in the rays of the mid-day sun.

Whilst thus occupied and pacing up and down in the veranda of his house he noticed one day the stray leaf of some book flying past him, carried forward by the wind. He stooped and picked it up; tried to read but could not, because it was written in the Sanskrit language with which he was till then unacquainted. Those who knew better advised him to apply for explanation to Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, the minister of the Brahmo Samaj. With

the latter's help that leaf was found to contain the opening verse of the *Ishoṇishad* which says:—

"The Supreme Being is immanent in all that lives and moves in this world; enjoy therefore without being attached; covet not wealth belonging to others."

When apprised of the meaning of this passage young Devendra Nath took that to be a message for himself. He laid it to his heart and began to ponder over it day and night. That properly speaking was the commencement of his spiritual life.

The Maharshi told me that he had made that message the principal help of his life-long *sadhan* or spiritual exercise. First, he had tried to realize the immanence of the Supreme Being in matter and mind; secondly, he had tried to live detached in

the midst of his wealth; thirdly, he had never coveted wealth belonging to others. And his actual life also bore living testimony to the progress he had attained in these respects. After this he founded the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* and was initiated into Brahmoism by Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, the minister appointed by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, in 1843. How faithfully he tried to carry out the principles stated in the above passage, will be best manifest from the following description of the manner in which he tried to keep faithful to one of its teachings—namely, *covet not wealth belonging to others*. His father the late Dwaraka Nath Tagore died in England in the year 1846 leaving behind him debts amounting nearly to a crore of Rupees. But previous to his death he had set apart as trust property a sufficiently large portion of his estates for the maintenance of his family. Now came the question, what was Devendra Nath to do to satisfy the claims of his father's creditors. To him it was a palpable truth that in the presence of such immense debts all the property that still belonged to the family was *wealth belonging to others*. How could he covet all that in the face of the message received by him on the day of his conversion? If was the greatest of problems to him during that period.

As he slowly worked up towards the decision to place all the property left by his father at the disposal of the latter's creditors, he was face to face with a tremendous difficulty. His uncle the late Roma Nath Tagore, as well as all the other members of his family, were dead opposed to the idea of placing all his property in the hands of his father's creditors. Before he made out a correct list of all property both movable and immovable left by his father and placed the same before a Court of Justice for disposal by his creditors, there went on interminable discussions and dissensions in the family circle, to prevent such a catastrophe. He remained firm, the message conveyed to him on the day of his conversion crying to his ears—*covet not wealth belonging to others*. At last the eventful day arrived—he must go to Court to place the list before the Judge and his creditors. Fortunately his own brothers supported him in this heroic act. With

the list in his pocket and accompanied by his brothers, as he issued out of the inner apartments of his house, after breakfast, on the appointed day, there was loud wailing inside the house, raised by the female inmates, as if some one was dead. They were afraid of being shorn of all dignity and honor in process of time and of descending into abject poverty from a position of affluence and ease. As the ladies of the house were thus rending the skies with their cries, Babu Roma Nath Tagore, who had called sometime before, to try his final appeal on his nephews, gnashed his teeth in rage, and drove away from the house, with stern injunctions never to molest him any more about the internal affairs of the family.

One can easily imagine the condition of Devendra Nath at that critical moment. I relate it as he described it to me. The situation was too painful for him to reflect upon. At that critical moment, from man he turned to God, and prayerfully resigned himself to Divine guidance, choosing to do the right thing, leaving the consequences in the hands of God. Earnest prayer brought him strength, he felt some power within him which lifted him above all selfish calculations. Calm and majestic, serene and undistracted, he approached the Judge and presented his list. The effect was instantaneous and electric. The judge admired him and recommended him to his creditors for consideration; one of whom was so far over-powered that he began to sob like a little child.

Moved by his courage and uprightness his creditors refused to put up his estates to auction, and forthwith entered upon an understanding with him, which he faithfully kept through a long course of years till every rupee of his father's debts had been paid; so much so that the lakh of Rupees, which his father had promised as donation to the District Charitable Society at the time of its foundation, and of which the latter gave up all hopes after his death, was paid with interest accumulating from the day of his father's signature. One cannot forget the thankfulness and joy which lighted up the eyes of the old sage as he related the story to us.

How he acted up to another part of the message received on the day of his

conversion is also significant. A part of that message was to try to realize the presence of the Supreme Being immanent in matter and mind. How he endeavoured to realize this truth, he has tried to relate in his wonderful autobiography, which I recommend to all Bengali readers, which they will certainly read with pleasure and profit, even merely as a literary study; for that book is fit to be classed amongst the remarkable literary productions of the age.

Properly speaking the realization of the truth of the immanence of the Supreme Being in matter and mind furnishes the key to the spiritual life of the sage. For that he staked every thing and on that his spirit fed throughout his life. Silent meditation became the habit of his nature and he loved to dwell in solitude. Even in the crowded city of Calcutta, in his house, situated in one of the most crowded parts of it, he would be shut up for hours upon hours in his study riveted to his seat, lost in contemplation, with servants posted at the door, with strict orders not to allow any one to have an access to him. And so that he might gain opportunities for silent meditation, he would constantly retire from Calcutta for months and years, spending his time in inaccessible parts of hills or forests, or in boats in the large rivers.

As far as I have been able to understand after repeated conferences with him, the thing that formed the secret of his spiritual life, from which he drew his spiritual sustenance, and by which he always regulated his conduct, was contained in the three words *Brahmajnan*, *Brahmadhyan* and *Brahmanandarasapan*, i.e., (1) to be deep in the knowledge of the Infinite, (2) to meditate on the nature and the presence of the Infinite, (3) to be steeped in the joy of communion with the Infinite. These words he always loved to repeat and to enforce on our attention. His aim in life was to be always steeped in the joy of communion. Anything that promoted that joy he hailed as a blessing and anything that clouded it he shunned as poison. Nay even the ordinary daily duties of life he tried to judge by that one question,—will it promote or mar that joy of communion? Purity and peace of conscience he sought because he had found such purity and peace to be essential conditions of that joy of

communion. His love of solitude was also due to his desire for that joy of communion. He found solitude favourable for devotional exercise and the close examination of spiritual truth, and also for meditation and communion. How far the sense of the presence of the Supreme Being in the soul became habitual with him will be best shown by the narration of a few incidents, which were related to me by him and of some of which I was a personal witness. Some of them will show that his habit clung to him not only in moments of health and comfort, but also during moments of disease and prostration. The earnestness and constancy, the faithfulness to his inward light, that were visible during the great struggle that followed the death of his father, were the distinguishing features of his character throughout his life and in almost every case they sprang from the same source, his fidelity to the indwelling presence. How that indwelling presence surrounded his soul in all moments, how it engrossed his thoughts and colored his dreams, I shall now proceed to relate.

On one occasion he had retired to the Murrhie hills, in the Panjab. I am relating it as I heard it from him. On that occasion he had purposely taken very few servants with him and had selected a lonely and retired spot on the hills, to be free from molestation. The servants looked after his immediate wants, and were told to leave him alone at all hours. He had two main occupations: first, to wander about in the solitary by-paths of the hill feeding his eyes with natural beauty and communing with the Divine Presence; secondly, to sit in his room for hours upon hours, lost in devotional study and in thought and meditation. Whilst thus employed his health unexpectedly gave way and he was laid up with fever. His illness in the course of a few days became very serious and his servants did not know what to do and where to look for aid. In their anxiety they wanted to run to some city in the plains, to call in a doctor; but he had issued strict orders never to disturb themselves. At last the symptoms became so serious that he himself began to apprehend the worst consequences. His condition was too low to

enable him to stir from his bed. With closed eyes he lay stretched on his bed and hourly expected to depart. But strange to say even his hard breathing he converted into a means of spiritual communion. He had sufficient consciousness to feel life ebbing away and his mind was steeped in a sense of the Divine presence. Then happened a curious state of things. He directed his attention to the process of exhalation and inhalation going on. With every breath that he exhaled he silently uttered. "Tumi" or "thou art" and with every breath he inhaled he heard, as it were a voice calling "ami" or "I am". This "thou art" and "I am" went on with every breath, till he lost all sense of his malady and the voice came to him—"thou shalt yet live, for there is work for thee." Soon after he revived, asked his servants to hold him up in his bed, where he sat up and began to repeat passages from the *Upanishads*, his whole soul melting away in loving communion with the Supreme.

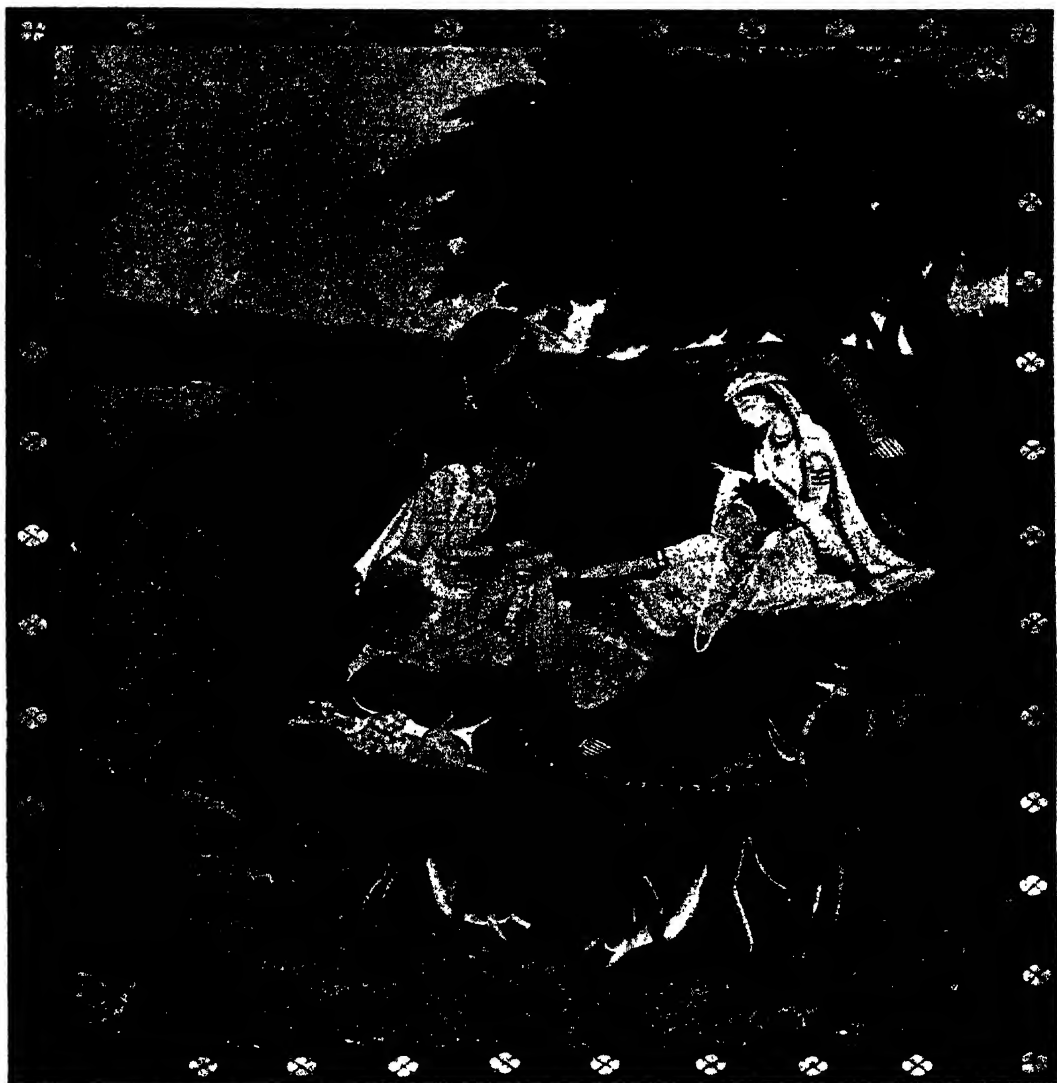
He had seldom experienced such ethereal bliss in his life, he said. A similar incident happened some years before his death. It occurred at Chinsurah, where he was residing for sometime. The condition of his health was so bad at that time that for a number of days we were daily expecting to hear the fatal news. A large number of Brahmos from Calcutta, both men and women, assembled in the yard of his house one afternoon to present to him what they considered to be their farewell address. He was carried to the meeting on servant's shoulders and gave us his parting blessings. After that men went on calling from Calcutta at the Chinsurah house every day to inquire how he was. One evening his case became so serious that the attending physician left with the injunction to keep the closest watch over him for that night, which, to all appearance, seemed to be the last night of his life. Hour after hour passed in anxious watching; he was lying low apparently unconscious, but inwardly engaged in rapt spiritual communion, as it came to be known to have been the case afterwards. To the wonder of all in the midst of his rapt communion he looked up and wanted to be lifted up in his bed. He sat up as if nothing had happened, and in a short time after dictated some lines for transmis-

sion to me. Those lines told me of the ethereal bliss that he felt when lying low.

Just think of the habitual spiritual disposition of that soul, to which even serious illness was a stepping stone to loving communion with the Supreme. Indeed, silent communion was a passion with him. To that he bent all his efforts. There was a memorable instance when that fact was brought very prominently to my notice. At the invitation of the late Babu Shib Chunder Deb of Konnagore a number of Brahmos had gone to his village house to take part in the anniversary festival of the local Samaj. I was one of the party. In the evening we were expecting Maharshi Devendra Nath to come and conduct the service. He came in due time accompanied by Dwijendra Nath, his eldest son, and by the late Babu Rajnarain Bose.

After the service and the love-feast that followed when Devendra Nath got ready for departure, his companion Rajnarain Bose stole away from his presence and lying down by my side in my bed whispered in my ears asking me to go to Maharshi and get him discharged from the engagement to accompany him on his return journey. I did so, I went up to Devendra Nath and asked for his permission to allow Rajnarain Babu to stay with us for the night.

When the father and the son had left, Rajnarain Babu related to us the manner in which they had come to Konnagar. From Calcutta to Konnagar, it was the journey of a few hours only by boat; yet Devendra Nath had started in the boat, after breakfast, the day before, that is, Saturday. Within an hour or so after starting, there came the order to the boatmen to stop and Maharshi closed his eyes for communion and spent hours in prayer and meditation. The whole night was spent by the side of a garden house, where the sage spent hours upon hours in solitary meditation. The whole of next day was also spent at that slow rate of progress, intermingling pleasant conversation with the two companions, with hours of silent meditation. One can easily fancy how very tiresome it must have been, to wait speechless for hours together, to his two companions, who were well-known amongst their friends for their joviality and good humour. After the



RAMA, SITA AND LAKSHMANA.
Rajput (Kangra) School.
To illustrate Dr. Coomaraswamy's article on
"Mughal and Rajput Painting."

first two days' experiment Rajnarain Babu had no disposition to repeat it.

The sage's passion for solitary meditation was so great that when thus disposed he would not permit even his best friends, or persons whom he truly loved to be with him. On another occasion it had been arranged that Maharshi Devendra Nath would preside at a meeting in the Konnagar Samaj, where I was the speaker. He came in time to perform the function. After the meeting I accompanied him to his boat, where he quietly took his seat on the roofing of the boat and I sat by his side. It was nightfall and the beautiful full moon was rising in the east flooding the waves of the river with melted silver. The scenery was calm and beautiful. I was longing to listen to words of wisdom falling from his lips. But he was otherwise disposed. His soul was longing for solitude and silent meditation. In a few minutes he stopped the conversation and asked me to leave him alone. I silently withdrew from his presence.

On another occasion my late friend Ananada Mohan Bose and myself paid a visit to the *Sânti Niketan* at Bolpore where the sage was then residing. After dinner in the evening we naturally wished to spend sometime in his company, but he ordered us to leave him alone and go downstairs to our bed chamber. We did so. It was a beautiful moonlight night. We sat talking for a long time and then retired to our beds. All that time the Maharshi was walking alone on the upper *varenda* before his room. At about 2 or 3 A.M. I woke up and roused my friend from his sleep, to enjoy together a walk in the garden in that beautiful moon-light. To our great surprise we found Devendra Nath walking to and fro on the *varenda* even at that late hour of the night.

It was his habit to ponder over for hours together spiritual truths, that he came across, in reading some saying of some great teacher or some passage of some book, or that occurred to him during moments of reflection, diving deep beneath the surface, and trying to fathom the depth of meaning hidden under them till the whole thing was clear to his spiritual vision and he realized their importance in the presence of the Supreme Being. Thus meditation fed and strengthened his soul

and wonderfully brightened his spiritual vision. After that the realization of those spiritual truths was so vivid and so real that his whole nature, nay even his whole frame, would be roused up as it were, when repeating or expounding those truths. Once on the Himalayan hills, when repeating a well-known passage of the Upanishads to me, where the Supreme Being is described as *Satyam* or the truth, his whole countenance became aglow with emotion and the hairs of his head stood on their ends. I beheld him with wonder and amazement. Finding me thus looking at him he said, "You daily utter these words, and they have become old things to you, but you do not know what unfathomable depths I realize in them. I have no words to express all that I feel." On another occasion he was expounding to me a passage of Hafiz the Persian poet. So great were his absorption and his rapture that he got up from his seat and exclaimed "I am unconsciously Hafiz himself. This peculiar dress of mine I wear to be nearer to Hafiz." One day I devoutly uttered in his presence a familiar spiritual truth giving my exposition of it. His joy was so great that he suddenly rose from his seat, clasped me to his bosom and exclaimed, "Whoever can say such a thing makes me his slave thereby." Let the reader just fancy the deep emotion of which such an exclamation is proof.

Indeed, his spiritual vision was deep and unfathomable. Shortly before his death he told me one day, "My case is like that of a man who has launched into the sea, but has no sight of the shore on the otherside;—new truths are dawning before me, which I know no words to adequately express".

As he laid great insistence on meditation and communion, he attached equally great importance to the cultivation of the habit of daily devotion. In all seasons and all climes, unless positively incapacitated by illness, he was seen daily devoting the first hours of the morning to thanks-giving and prayer. Even on the day before his death, mistaking the evening hours for the morning through failure of his eye-sight, he caused himself to be carried to the terrace of his house, on his couch, to perform his morning devotions before the rising sun, as he supposed,

He always pressed on our attention the duty and necessity of domestic devotion. He had set apart the Durgapujah Hall of his house as a domestic chapel where he would make the members of his family daily assemble for the worship of the One True God. On one occasion he asked me if I had made it a rule in my family for its members to daily assemble for prayer. When I told him that in our family there was such a rule and we considered it wrong to live in the world and to enjoy all its blessings without thanking the Hand from which they came, the venerable sage was so far moved that

he sprang up from his seat, clasped me to his bosom and said—"You are doing my work, you are doing my work." Alas! what words of mine can express the depth of that sentiment! He was a true worshipper of the Supreme Being. To him religion was a living reality. His spirit as naturally moved in it as birds fly in the air or as fishes move in the sea. To him to breathe was to live in God. I must stop here today, taking up his other traits in the next article.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

THE UNITED PROVINCES EXHIBITION

BY AN ENGLISH VISITOR.

IT is too soon to write a critical account of the United Provinces Exhibition. Some Courts are not yet open to the public; the guide to the Exhibition is still in the press; and the whole scheme is so immense that all one can do during the first week of the Exhibition's existence is to briefly describe what there is to be seen.

The objects of the Exhibition were explained on the opening day, (December 1) by Mr. Justice Richards, Chairman of the Executive Committee, in the address which he presented to His Honour, Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces. He said:—

"Encouraged to meet in a spirit of generous emulation, East and West now display before agriculturer and manufacturer, before producer and consumer, before all classes in one small cosmos what Eastern experience, hoary with the wisdom of centuries can suggest, what Western science rejoicing in the energy of highly-trained brains can evolve, and the golden heights to which the combination of these two forces can elevate mankind.

Your Honour reminded us that our primary duty was to exhibit the products of our own Provinces and to arrange for the collection and the explanation of all mechanical processes and machinery likely to be useful in turning out those products. We believe we have fulfilled our duty. Agriculture, the importance of which all who live in these Provinces must recognise, holds the foremost place in this Exhibition. The court has been so organised that processes and products are arranged side by side. Water to the agriculturist is often more precious than gold. Hard by the Court the Committee have placed a lake with

water lifts and irrigation pumps of all kinds at work to enable the agriculturist to appreciate the capabilities of these lifts. A set of measured fields has been set out in immediate proximity, and the actual area of land irrigated by each pump—whether bullock, hand or engine—can at once be ascertained. From the fields and the water supply it is a step to the dairy farms. In this simple and practical way the producer is assisted and brought into touch with the consumer. The agriculturist is enabled to see all possible improvements upon the method at present employed by him in his village home, and to examine at leisure and with the aid of demonstrations how far manufacturers and dealers in machinery can help him. The merchant who deals with the products has the opportunity of ascertaining and estimating the capacities of the producer.

The principle on which I have acted in the arrangement of the Agricultural Court has been maintained and kept in view as far as possible in the arrangement of the other Courts. In the course of your tour of the Exhibition you will also see the Forestry, Textile, Engineering, Hygienic, Arts, Wood, Stone and Metal Industry Courts, Indian States and Education Courts."

Mr. Justice Richards did not speak of the amusements provided, or rather that will be provided, for visitors, such as Flying Ships, Polo Tournament, Poultry Show, Grand Oriental Pageant, Hockey and Tennies Tournaments, Boxing Tournament, Military Assault at Arms, etc., to say nothing of a theatre within the Exhibition grounds, a Bioscope, Scenic Railway, Laughing Gallery, etc. etc.

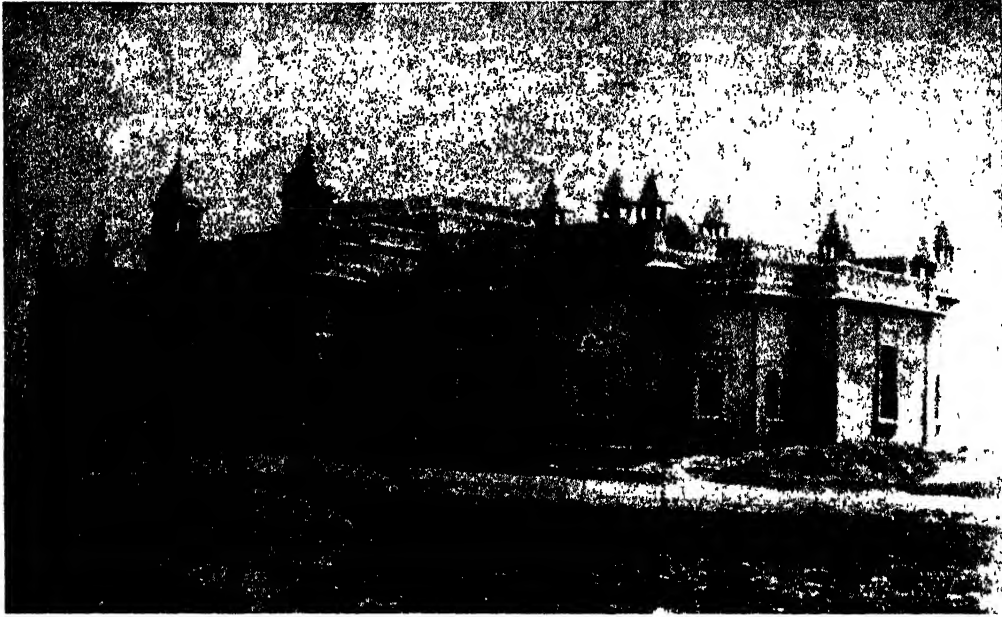
The site chosen for the Exhibition is

unique, being on the bank of the Jumna, near the ancient Fort, where is a pillar of the great Asoka, a temple as ancient as Allahabad itself, and an undecaying banyan tree that people from all parts of the world visit. The ground is flat and there is plenty of space for the large white Courts that hold the exhibits. Some people call the Exhibition the white city, but the golden city would be nearer the mark, for by day it is bathed in golden sun-shine, and at night it is lighted by numberless electric lights. A tall clock-tower near the centre of the grounds is delicately marked by innumerable little electric lamps and the entrance has the same fairylike appearance. From eleven in the morning until eleven at night the Exhibition is open, and a week is all too short a time in which to see all the exhibits.

Entering the tall gateway, Indian visitors hear familiar music, for an Indian band plays above the entrance on the tom-tom, cymbals and other instruments. The first people that attract notice inside are the working artisans, who have been brought from all parts of India to show indigenous industries. Three sides of the first quadrangle are lined by no less than one hundred and ten little rooms, and in these rooms, which are eight feet wide and eight feet broad, and have a *verandah* of seven feet in front, men may be seen working at the trades Indian men worked at for hundreds, perhaps thousands of years. A whole day might be pleasantly and profitably spent in watching these workmen and talking to them, for they are not too busy to explain their trades and are anxious to sell the articles they make before the eyes of visitors. Blankets made in Meerut and felt rugs used in Bahraich are to be seen, Carpet-makers from Agra, Benares, Mirzapur, Jaunpur, and Amritsar are busy. Cotton weavers from places as far apart as Madras and Rai Bareilly are weaving with antique looms, slowly passing shuttles while they gaze at visitors. Wax-cloth made at Peshawar in the North Western Frontier District is shown, also cotton printing as done in Lucknow, Sitapur and Bulandshahr. Agra workmen embroider with gold and silver on silk foundations; and men from Lucknow do wonderful *chakan* work. From room to room the visitor passes, admiring and

wondering, glad to find in such a small compass the work he has rarely seen but has often heard or read about. Benares looms are too large to work here, but can be seen in another part of the Exhibition; and specimens of Kassi silk with gold or silver on a silk foundation call for special notice. Ebony carvers from Nagina show work that is done nowhere but in their own country; and even little boys may be seen making the beautiful ebony articles that are found in oriental shops in Calcutta and other cities. Fretwork from Saharanpur, Tarkashi work from Mainpuri, papier-mache from Jaunpur and ivory carving from Hoshiarpur in the Punjab are shewn in course of construction, and one wonders greatly to see such beautiful things produced with such simple instruments. Toes and feet which play such a small part in manufactured articles are almost as useful as hands to these artisans, and one thinks of the generations that have lived and died, father handing down to son dexterity of finger and toe as well as skill and knowledge. Makers of lacquer pictures on wood, marble carvers and inlayers, workmen making ornaments from the agates and moss stones found in the bed of the river Ken at Banda, workers in brass, silversmiths, makers of bangles and arm ornaments, and scent manufacturers can be visited and watched while they work, and one leaves the scent-sellers' rooms perfumed with Otto rose, Atta rose, Kera water, Goolab and Chameli, and thinking how much stronger and more enduring Indian scents are than scents made in Europe.

In the same quadrangle are the two Courts devoted to the Fine and Applied Arts. In these Courts everything is Indian with the exception of some European jewellery. A great deal of the space is devoted to merchants who display and sell beautiful jewellery and silk wares; but some ancient things may be discovered by those who look carefully for them. For instance, Indian sculpture is shewn, being divided into early Buddhist B. C. 250—A. D. 50, Graeco-Buddhist A. D. 50—300, Gupta A. D. 300—600, Javanese Buddhist A. D. 650—1400, Mediaeval Buddhist A. D. 850—1400, Nepalese Buddhist 850—1910, Late Hindu A. D. 1400—1900, and Anglo-Indian A. D. 1800—1900. The early



WELCOME CLUB, ONE OF THE EXHIBITION BUILDINGS.

Buddhist and Gupta periods are shewn by photographs; but the Graeco-Buddhist period is illustrated by casts from the Lahore Museum and Major B. D. Basu's collection. The whole of these exhibits are extremely interesting for students. Then ancient painting, drawing and calligraphy are exhibited; and these are divided into two periods, the first being represented by Cave paintings of Ajanta none of which are later than 630 A. D.; and the second by Rajput paintings of the 16th, 17th, 18th centuries. Mughal art is shewn by translations made for the Emperor Akbar by Hindu translators of Hindu books, and the illustrations for these are in Indo-Persian style.

Passing to modern things, the visitor sees wood, stone, and metal block engraving; and then the encrusted gem jewellery of Southern India and the wonderful enamels of Northern India. The great variety and beauty of design, the patient workmanship of these things will be appreciated, more especially in the delicate necklaces designed in flowers and fruit. Wonderful textiles will afterwards be noticed, the "woven air" of Dacca, flowered muslins of Benares, lacelike work in cotton, silk and applique—in fact the whole is a bewildering

display of Indian art, taste and habit. Passing to the Photographic Saloon, which is a part of this Court, one finds photographs from Austria-Hungary, Hamburg, Australia and London as well as India. Messrs. Raines of Ealing, London, exhibit enlargements in bromide, platinotype and carbon which will greatly interest Indian photographers. A series of photographs shewing Halley's comet is important for students as well as photographers. Some of the enlargements of Himalayan scenery are very beautiful and excellently accomplished. The great want of this section is a guidebook. The Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta has an interesting section in the Fine and Applied Arts Court.

On one side old Indian paintings are hung and on the other modern Indian pictures which shew how greatly the West has influenced and is influencing Indian taste. The colouring of some of these modern pictures is soft and pleasing; but it cannot be said that they shew any new or striking features or anything remarkably nationalistic. In the Ladies Court there are, also, some very nicely executed water colours by Indian ladies.

The Ladies Court is near the Jumna and has a fine view from the roof which

has been made purdah for the convenience of Indian Ladies.

The Court is open to the general public except on Tuesday afternoons when it is made putdah. In this Court Indian and European ladies meet and to it is attached a charming purdah club where afternoon tea is served. The Indian ladies exhibit lace and embroidered-work, needle-work, dressed dolls and toys, basket and bead-work, and artificial flowers. The work of Convent, Mission and European schools has also a place in the Ladies Court.

We now come to the most important Courts so far as the development of the United Provinces on English lines is concerned, namely the Agricultural, Forestry and Education Courts. These three Courts have the support of the Government of the United Provinces and are certainly the best as regards arrangement. Moreover, in these Courts persons will explain the exhibits and it is possible to understand what is shewn. Unfortunately the Agricultural Court lies far from the entrance and there is so much to look at in the other Courts that visitors are often too tired to find their way past the Welcome Club and the Ladies Annex to it. There is a short cut to it, over a bridge, but as no sign post says where the bridge leads to, few people cross over in the great heat. Our greatest need of the Exhibition at the present time is Guides and Guide Books. People who live in Allahabad have no doubt heard so much about the Exhibition that they can find their way there, but for visitors it is exceedingly difficult. Very little advertising is done locally. Messrs. Wheeler sell a list of events for the day inside the Exhibition grounds and the local newspapers sometimes insert the same list in their columns; but what people want is some reliable programme for the week. Large placards at the Central Station at Allahabad stating what is going on would be a great help. Now visitors from Europe and various parts of India express annoyance because it is so difficult to obtain information and people who have business to do at the Exhibition and who find their requests for information ignored are not in a good temper. There is no doubt that unless guides, guide books and large sign posts are available before Christmas there

will be confusion and cause for complaint.

The Agricultural Court is lined on two sides by sheds in which are manufactured articles used by agriculturists, such as pumps, ploughs, harrows, etc. Machinery for rice mills and every variety of farm implement is exhibited, and agriculturists can compare prices and choose what suits their pocket. In the centre of the Court is a large pond where pumping is carried on and here agriculturists can test machinery and have everything explained before buying machinery. Cotton is shown growing, also in the pod and when ready for use. All cereals grown in India are shewn as they grow, in course of manufacture and ready for the market. It is the same with jute, sugar cane, linseed, etc. Pests and parasites are shewn, also the latest methods for getting rid of these insects, and we make the acquaintance of sugarcane-borers, cotton-leaf-rollers, mustard-sawflies, and many timber and fungus parasites. Messrs. Lawrence and Mayo show an interesting collection of butterflies and moths and everything connected with the capture of these things and their preservation. Among the moths the elephant, hawk, garden-tiger and swallow are the most curious. The Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, has a wonderful collection of wasps, bugs and insects and in the Forestry Court shows some fine specimens of butterflies and moths. Stuffed birds are shewn and the things they feed on and the birds are classed as useful or injurious. We pass on to a model dairy, with cows and calves and churns and separators, and watch butter being made in a cool clean place; and looking through the windows of the dairy, we see men busy with garden mowers, harrows and other things, waiting for visitors who wish to be instructed or to purchase. Then we come to the Irrigation Department and see the use to which the Ganges and the Jumna are being put in the United Provinces. Everything is shewn by models,—dams, aqueducts, drop-gates, weir sluices, lifting gear, etc. Real grass is growing in the tiny fields and little wooden men drive ploughs and show the benefits of progressive irrigation processes. There can be no doubt that this Court must instruct the agriculturist; but so far few have been to see it. Later

on more visitors are expected, and it is said that parties of working men will be brought to the Exhibition and have everything explained to them. In the Forestry Department we find specimens of coal, and every variety of timber. Jungle scenes have been arranged with stuffed lions and tigers; and on the walls are the skins of wild beasts that have fallen to the gun of Sir John Hewett. Everything that can interest and instruct the hunter is here displayed, and by means of photographs the forests of the United Provinces are shewn to dwellers in town and to visitors from other parts of India. Lastly we come to the Education Court, for space will not allow of notices of the Engineering, Textile, and Hygienic Courts. The arrangement of the Education Court is curious, for many things have been brought from England, and the work of English and Indian schools is placed side by side. Thus we see how entirely the Government scheme of education in the United Provinces is based on modern education in England. The languages are different; but the processes are exactly the same. A careful examination of this Court will show that Indian children are good copyists, and that their work is as good in many respects as that of English children. The Indian girls show a love of bright colours, and some originality in sewing. The English girls excell in plain needlework. As to painting, there is little to

choose between the Indian and the English exhibits.

The Training College, Lucknow, has an interesting display of Homemade Scientific Instruments, among which a photograph-camera made out of an ordinary chalk-box and a bazar magnifying lens is perhaps the cleverest. The Industrial Section of this Court shows boys at work with the lathe and making a variety of useful articles, in wood and iron.

In contrast with these things is a small section devoted to the education given in bygone day in India, and we here see that time was of little consequence then to masters and students. Thus we find two Persian books inscribed on a piece of paper no bigger than a modern postcard and so carefully done that each latter can be read with a magnifying glass. The Education Court is the only Court that has a Guide book.

In conclusion it must be said that Hindu and Mahomedan visitors will find accommodation at reasonable rates in tents outside the Exhibition grounds and many restaurants and boarding houses have been opened in the neighbourhood for Indians. The exhibition is well worth a visit. In it the educationalist will find much that is valuable, and the agriculturalist will learn many things that will benefit him in the market. For the ordinary visitor there is a great deal of general instruction combined with a good deal of amusement.

A NEW YEAR THOUGHT

INDIA'S woes press upon the Indian's heart. But the crown of thorns often times turns a crown of roses. There is a glorious sunrise behind the terrible hailstorm that beats fast and fierce. But conditions must be fulfilled ere it takes place.

Amid the din of sects, parties and creeds the real voice of India is drowned. Like unto the piteous moans of nightly blasts the voice rises by day and by night. The voice is a voice of message, solemn and

distinct, and we heed it not. But India knows no bafflement.

No land carries the blot of infamy so thick as India. Her diadem is laid in dust. Her robes are worn and tattered. The very cravings of her appetite are denied their due morsels. She wears a lean and beggarly countenance. But there rings a message in her voice.

Europe in the height of her glory finds it hard to believe that things other than the embellishments of earthly renown can

level a people up into power. If there exists any evil of success it is this that success often blinds our sense to the forces which failure breeds. The mighty pageants of civilisation—wealth hoarding upon wealth, pomp gathering over pomp, luxury floating high in a ravenous greed and power raising aloft its proud head—indeed, constitute the stupendous marvels of the age; but is there nothing wondrous in the spectacle of a lean throat lifting up its strange voice against the too familiar notes of the world? Poor and depressed though India is, she smites upon a lyre which gives an unknown music.

As the year opens in all its superb wealth of golden promises and as the civilised world flaunts its gay and pompous gifts of civilisation I behold India shining bright in sacred pilgrim's weeds. Upon a pilgrimage hallowed by holy quest and holy longings, upon a pilgrimage, wedded to issues of perennial interest, has India started in all the fervour of a divine zeal. The homely garb of pilgrimage attracts few. The lowly gaze of the pilgrim overawes none. The soft music that cheers the toils of travel is counted as the timid tones of supplication. Flesh and blood cannot reveal the mystic mission of the pilgrim.

But amid all the burning glare of civilisation and the deafening shouts of arrogant prosperity India raises a voice she raised at a time when the silver beams of enlightenment had not yet shone upon the sable savageries of the general mass of mankind—a voice that will ring clearer and fuller as days roll by. I find the greatness of India, the mysterious nature of her imperial message nowhere more amply indicated than in the strange query that was asked on a golden day several thousand years ago in a holy hermitage of India. Householder though Saunaka was, he could not be satisfied with the little occupations of domestic life and his subtle mind would fain penetrate the veil that screened the mysteries of creation. Rich in the earnestness of an ardent inquirer he interrogated the holy hermit Angiras कश्चिद् भगवो विज्ञाने सर्वमिदम् विज्ञानं भवतीति—Sir, what is that on knowing which all this becomes known?

No voice of the past seems more pregnant with significance to me at the commencement of the New Year than the noble query

of Saunaka, the householder. India must perforce know that on knowing which she will know things essential to her internal composure. We are raising a vain wail in the world; for our miseries shall know no end until we acquaint ourselves with the things tending to the loosening of our bonds. We do not know our relations to our fellow-countrymen who have been condemned to a life of joyless servitude for years that form no inconsiderable portion of the entire term of our national existence. We have been for several hundred years indifferent to the corroding griefs and shameful disabilities of those whose sweet motherly and sisterly affections make the savour of our lives and whose vigilant tenderness sustained us when we lay helpless in the cradle. We do not know that love is a fertilising stream with the benevolent power of soothing the heats of life, that the wife is an object of respectful affection, that an unfeigned admiration and a genuine union of the spirit between a young man and a young woman must come to pass ere the twain become one flesh, that the girls must have ripeness of judgment ere they enter upon the married life and that the boys should not be employed as cruel instruments of extortion of whatever spare gold the daughter-burdened parents have laboriously hoarded. We do not know the several other woes that are a perpetual affliction to this holy land of the *rishis*, and, above all, we do not recognise the stern fact that the only panacea for all the various ills that sicken and torment India is *respect for man, reverence for the indwelling spirit in man*.

But this reverence for the indwelling spirit is an impossibility unless we learn to revere the indwelling spirit within ourselves. True happiness accrues from this and this alone—from the fact of knowing the self that lives in us. There is an unseen halo of glory about the personality of each man. Let it not be destroyed on any account. How true is the saying "Unless above himself he can erect himself, how poor a thing is man!" Let us not be vainglorious about the past of India but let us try to understand by study and meditation what that past meant. The greatness of India was the outcome of the greatness of each individual person.

So far as India was able to prove the intrinsic supremacy of each individual spirit, so far was she great as a nation. A modern civilised nation is great collectively, great as the natural sequence of the many-sided activities of the entire people but, India appealed to each man, to each individual soul and hence it is that sitting as I do under the sacred tree which held its leafy canopy over the head of one who used to spend long hours of meditation beneath it, who though possessed of immense wealth was not satisfied but by *deep, constant* and *sweet* communion with the Author of his being and whose saintly life demonstrated to the world that India in spite of strange vicissitudes of fortune still retains something of that spirituality, of that direct communion with God which once secured her a crown of matchless splendour, I hear

the solemn pronouncement striking full upon my ears—

य वै भूमा तत्सुखम् नाल्पे सुखमस्ति ।

"He alone is bliss Who is Great, there is no joy in the little."

Young men and young women of India should attempt to realise the spirit of this ancient land on the opening day of the New Year; for however afflicted they may be by adverse circumstances and however humble the stations of life they may occupy in the avocations of daily existence, peace and power shall never forsake them if they know where peace and power come from. And there is a crying need of peace and power in the present state of the country.

C. M.

Bolpur, Santiniketan.

RANDOM REFLECTIONS ON WESTERN POLITICS

BEFORE these lines are printed, the United Kingdom will pass through another General Election. Two General Elections in twelve months shows the confused state of British politics. Whatever the professional politician might say, to the onlooker who stands outside the arena of Party politics, politics not only here, but almost all over our modern civilisation, seems to be a very mean thing indeed. We are proud of our advanced political institutions. We are loud in our praise of the glorious heritage of the modern democracy. But strange to say, we have not developed in Europe a decent system of political philosophy almost since the days of Plato. Most, if not all, of our political thinking is as yet entirely empirical. Politics, therefore, is with us essentially a matter of mere expediency. We are continually trying to perfect the machinery of our State, but we pay little heed to the ultimate end which these perfected machineries are to secure. The tendency of our modern civilisation seems everywhere to be to lose consciousness of the end in the maddening pursuit of the

means, which have their value not in themselves but in their capacity to realise the ends sought for. And in ignoring the ultimate end of politics, we are perpetually degrading it to a mere pursuit of some immediate and ephemeral good.

This fact comes out very prominently during all our election campaigns. What, for instance, are the main issues over which the present General Election here is being fought? The Liberals loudly declare that there is only one issue before the country, that of the House of Lords. Yet that issue had been already decided less than twelve months ago, by the last General Election. The complaint against the House of Lords is undoubtedly a real complaint. But it is the complaint really not of the country but of one great political party. Liberal legislation, it is openly said, has no chance of passing and Liberal measures being introduced as long as the House of Lords, constituted as it is, of an enormous majority of Conservative peers, continues to enjoy and exercise the right of veto. All this is true. But the great bulk of the people in this country are

really neither Liberals nor Conservatives. They are by turn Liberals and Conservatives both. They are Liberals when the leaders of the Liberal Party can successfully appeal to their passing interests or prejudices. They are Conservatives when the Tory leaders can make a successful appeal to them upon similar matters. During the Boer War and for some years previous to it, ever since, indeed, the fall of the last administration of Mr. Gladstone over the Home Rule Controversy, the bulk of the British people voted Conservative. The reason was that the conservative leaders were able then to play cleverly upon popular passions and prejudices. Twelve years ago, under the last Salisbury Administration, the Tories exploited the conflict with the Boers in their own Party interest, and appealed with tremendous success to that particular type of jingo patriotism of which Rudyard Kipling acted for a time as the high priest. The luck of the Liberals was down then. Liberal meetings were broken up by rowdy mobs. Liberal leaders were hooted and hunted whenever they appeared before the public. The close of the Boer War and the consequent subsidence of the patriotic fever which was helped very materially by the imposition of new taxes for meeting the War Bill, brought on a reaction, and in the course of three or four years, there came a great change over the political opinions of the masses. The General Election of 1906 brought the Liberals back into power with an overwhelming majority. The General Election of 1892 gave the Liberals with their Nationalist allies, a majority of 42. The General Election of 1895 resulted in a Conservative majority of 152. Five years after, at the next General Election, the Conservatives had a solid majority of 143. The General Election of 1906 gave the Liberals the enormous majority of 354; leaving the Nationalists out, who are practically a permanent quantity and who have for many years past uniformly sided with the Liberals, and also without counting the Labourites, who numbered 53, the solid Liberal majority over the Conservatives was 218. At the last Election, the Liberals polled 275 seats against 273 of the Conservatives. I recall these figures to indicate the fickleness of the British voter. And these fluctuations completely dispel the

notion that the British elector takes an intelligent interest in the political affairs of his country or is guided in the exercise of his vote by any sort of informed and well-considered convictions.

Indeed, one has simply to glance over our election literature to see how votes are secured. An election campaign is a most degrading thing from every point of view. Take the present election, for instance. Both parties are trying to lead the people to believe that they are in the right and their opponents are in the wrong. If they tried to do so by citing facts, producing evidence, or by other reasonable means, appealing to the intelligence and good sense of the community, no exception could have been taken to their methods. But instead of arguments, we have from both sides abuses, instead of facts we are treated to fictions, and in every Committee Room, in every advertisement and poster by which votes are sought to be caught, we are treated to what Lord Curzon, in his innocence, characterised as Oriental imagination. A reproduction of just a few of the election posters would show the character of our political campaigns. I am trying to collect a few of these, which I shall, D. V., present to the reader on a future date. I may, however, cite just one or two to show the nature of our political activities. One of the posters just lying before me presents the Prime Minister of England as a bull-dog owned by Mr. Redmond. In another we are told that the present dissolution has been brought about by Mr. Redmond's American dollars. In a third the Chancellor of the Exchequer is presented as a robber, robbing the landlords. I have not before me at this moment any Liberal poster, and I cannot say whether the Liberals quite equal their rivals in the exhibition of these political vulgarities. All these are evident attempts to appeal to the prejudices of the people, to rouse their passions, and thereby to catch their votes.

As a matter of fact, self-government is as much an unrealised ideal in England or America as it admittedly is in Afghanistan or India. In England, people are coming slowly to recognise that they no more govern themselves, in spite of their franchise, than do the Hottentots or the Zulus. In the old despotisms a single tyrant oftentimes

conducted the affairs of the State according to his own whims and fancies, or in the pursuit of his personal interest and ambition. Modern democracies are not ruled by individual despots. This much only is true. But it can hardly be held that even our most advanced democracies do govern themselves in any real sense of the term. They are governed by a ruling class who constitute a microscopic minority of the people, and who wield their powers not through the tyranny of brute force but through the more subtle but therefore, none the less real, tyranny of political Caucuses. In America, when the Republicans are in office, it is the Republican Caucus which actually rules. The people in general as well as individual republicans are completely at the mercy of this Caucus. In England, it is the Party organisations that practically control the political activities of the people. Party politicians cannot claim an individual conscience, and yet continue in politics. Every member of Parliament must give his vote upon all important questions according to the command of the Whip of his party. If he refuses to do so, he must be prepared to find himself without a seat at the next election. Even the youngest of the political parties here, the Labour Party, would not tolerate freedom of opinion and action in their comrades in the House of Commons. Mr. Victor Grayson, though a prominent figure on Socialist platforms, practically committed political suicide about two years ago, by claiming the right to speak and act according to his own light, in the House of Commons, regardless of the wishes and commands of the leaders of his party. Indeed, until a few weeks ago, every member of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, had to sign a pledge promising absolute obedience to the dictates of his party in the discharge of his duties in the House. This condition has only been recently removed under the pressure of the complications that have arisen in the affairs of the Party, through what is called the Osborne Judgment, by which British Trade Unions have been prevented from devoting their funds to support Parliamentary representation. The Liberal Party, it is notorious, is ruled practically by a small clique; and the Tories are governed by their own

Caucus. The people no more govern themselves in the true sense of the term, in England or America, than they do in Afghanistan or India. They have a vote, no doubt, but do they exercise this right of voting with intelligence, guided by informed and considered convictions? The vast majority cannot even be said to possess any such convictions. And even the few that do have political convictions of any kind, are rarely able to act according to them. In the vast majority of cases, votes are given under some kind of pressure, whether direct or indirect, from the outside. The workman voter cannot afford to displease his employer, and wherever the employer is a keen party politician, he manages to secure the vote of his employees for his own favourite candidate, whatever may be the personal ideas and convictions of the voters. Trades people have oftentimes to consult the wishes of their clients and constituents, while exercising their right of franchise. Instances have come to light where tradesmen have lost profitable custom by voting according to their conscience and against some favourite candidate of their patrons. Tenants are oftentimes threatened with eviction if they refuse to vote in favour of the candidate set up by their landlord. Where then is the freedom of franchise even in England or America? After every General Election the papers are crowded, week after week, with complaints of undue pressure exercised by different politicians for their friends, upon the electors directly or indirectly under their control. It is not one party only which exercises this control, and applies this kind of pressure. The Liberals and the Tories both equally play the game, and it is doubtful even if influential Socialists and Labourites shrink from such pressure for securing votes for their own candidates. In spite of all loud talk to the contrary it is impossible to hold that the British or the American voter is more intelligent or better informed or has more considered political convictions than the voiceless and voteless millions of India. A large proportion of men care really little about politics. They have really little interest in political fights and elections. About one man out of every ten does not attend the polls at all.

A very large percentage of the remaining nine would not do so if they were not coaxed and cajoled or threatened and terrorised to do so. Many people attend the polling booths for the fun of riding over long miles in well-appointed motor-cars. It is a loud complaint with the Liberals that they lose a large number of votes at every election because of their inability to provide as many motor-cars to take their constituents to the polling-booths as the Tories are always able to provide. And all this shows what the real character of the kind of self-government which is enjoyed by the people of this country, actually is.

The fact of the matter really is that in the whole range of our modern western social philosophy, there is a very feeble grasp of the ultimate ideal-end of social life and institutions. As a rule even our highest idealism rarely goes beyond the æsthetic and the ethical plane. And the result of it naturally is that we generally judge of everything by their material values. Governments are judged thus by what outer advantages they are able to create for the physical life and enjoyments of men and women. All political values are measured and judged by economic standards. If a Government is able to reduce taxation, increase trade, secure larger physical comforts to the nation, it is at once voted to be the best of Governments. And consequently, the fundamental question in politics is not self-government, but, good government. People here in general no more care to rule themselves than they do in any of the older Asiatic countries. Sometimes we have worked up fearful revolutions in Europe for securing political freedom, no doubt, but at the root of all these revolutions there has always been some conflict of class interests. Our usual plea for revolutions has been always the tyranny of some individual sovereign or some privileged class or classes. And as soon as we were relieved of these we lapsed back into the old ways and did not refuse to be governed once more by a new class of rulers. And it is not at all surprising that this should be so. Because it is only a clear perception of the ultimate ideal end of political life and institutions that can create among people a keen desire for real self-government. Even our rage for

freedom has not helped us to a clear realisation of this ideal-end. Freedom with us has always meant a negative something. It is the absence of restraint, the denial of outside control. But we have never, so far, thoroughly grasped the true contents and the positive elements of the ideal of freedom. Freedom, therefore, has, with us, very frequently, run into license. Indeed, in our ordinary conceptions of it, the difference between freedom and license is practically a difference in degree, and not one of kind. We have never as yet completely risen to the conception that freedom does not mean absence of restraint, but really self-restraint, and that independence is not the negation of dependence, but self-dependence. Nor have we that grand, lofty and universal conception of the Self which has been developed in your higher Indian philosophies. Our Self is individualistic. It is a particular something, standing in a relation of perpetual competition if not of perpetual conflict with other individuals and particulars. This conception of the Self lies really at the basis of all our individualistic ethics, and supplies the substratum to our commercial and complicated civilisation. The highest word of this civilisation is Right. And Right, as Mazzini pointed out, is a formula of resistance, and not of association. Right is the soul of modern Western democracy. It is the last word, so far, in our politics. And the result is we are in almost every department of our life in an almost perpetual state of mutual rivalries and conflicts. Right, to quote Mazzini, can but organise resistance; it may destroy, it cannot found. Right is derived only from the human will.

"There is nothing, therefore, to forbid a struggle against Right: Any individual may rebel against any Right which is injurious to him; and the sole judge left between the adversaries is Force; and such, in fact, has frequently been the answer which societies based upon right have given to their opponents."

The truth of these remarks is seen in our present political life, even in such advanced countries as England or America. We do not have frequent recourse to physical force in the determination of our political disputes. But the reason of it is that we have, in the first place, less fatal means of settling these disputes, and in the next place, our keen commercial instincts perpetually warn us against physical disturbance and disorder

as calculated to bring about serious trade depression and economic ruin. Few people seem to realise to what extent our modern commercialism, far more than our morals or humanitarianism, is responsible for the preservation of both internal and international peace in Europe and America. But though we do not rush to serious physical conflicts, the mental attitude is by no means peaceful. The threat of physical force, as the ultimate arbiter of political issues, is always present, if not in our conscious, at least in our sub-conscious, political life. Our industrial conflicts are increasingly developing all over Europe and America, the conditions of a fateful physical conflict. Strikes and lock-outs are both at the final analysis, instruments of physical force. And when strikes are sought to be settled by calling out the military, as is being increasingly done, specially on the Continent, the seeds of revolutionary violence are being widely sown. In our political life, there is always a more or less emphatic physical side presented by all our elections. These election riots are a proof of it. Already, even in sober England, which claims the proud privilege of being the oldest of modern free countries that has developed a constitution slowly from precedent to precedent, that has harmonised freedom with peace and order with progress, even here in this twentieth century, people do not shrink from applying more or less organised physical force, if not to realise, in any case to emphasise their

political opinions. The suffragettes are openly in for a physical fight, not with revolvers and rifles, but with their legs and umbrellas, with their political opponents. During this exciting time, even innocent little babies of guilty Ministers of the Crown are not considered safe from molestation and injury from the political enemies of their parents. And the little child of Mr. Winston Churchill has, therefore, to be perpetually guarded by detectives lest it should be kidnapped by the suffragettes. The week before last, another Minister of the King, Mr. Birrell, the Secretary for Ireland was forced by a few suffragette kicks, to cancel his public engagements and keep himself in bed, and take the "rest cure" for a few days. Nor is this all. The prospects of Home Rule in Ireland, which is considered as sure to follow the destruction of the Lord's Veto, in the next session of Parliament, have so far outraged Unionist feelings in Ireland that the Council of the Ulster Unionist Association, which met last week, under the presidency of Lord Londonderry, openly adopted a resolution for offering physical resistance if Home Rule was granted to Ireland, and £1,000 were subscribed on the spot for buying arms and ammunition for this purpose. That such things should be openly done by civilised peoples, engaged in a Constitutional struggle, shows the inner soul and character of our civilised politics.

E. WILLIS.

CURRENT LITERATURE: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MAGAZINES

ON THE EVE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION.

ALL the more important English Reviews naturally devote considerable space to the consideration of what is characterised by the Tory press as the present crisis. In the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. W. S. Lilly discusses this subject under the heading of the Question of the House of Lords. In the *Contemporary*, Mr. Harold Spender has the place of honour and considers "the issue." In the *Fortnightly*, Mr. J. L. Garvin has his

say on the same subject, which is headed "The Crisis and the Nation", and is followed by Mr. Sydney Brooks, who in a more sober manner points out the defects and shortcomings of the Liberal policy and programme. Mr. Garvin is most universally admitted to be the great intellectual force in present-day Toryism. He is, as you know, the editor of the Sunday paper,—*The Observer*. And his weekly articles in that paper are regarded as something

like the gospel of modern Toryism by a large number of British Jingoës. As soon as the Conference of the leaders of the two parties over the question of the House of Lords was dissolved, Mr. Garvin came out in war-paint in the columns of the *Observer*.

THE RELATIVE STRENGTH AND POSITION OF THE TWO DOMINANT POLITICAL PARTIES.

In the *Fortnightly*, however, Mr. Garvin appears in more sober garb. All these are tactical necessities. A war-paint fascinates a certain class of readers, and before them one has to affect a certain amount of blood-thirstiness to catch their fancy and their vote. A soberer appearance only is likely to appeal to another class, and in appearing before them one has to cultivate some degree of sobriety. This is how Mr. Garvin in the *Fortnightly* is somewhat different from the Mr. Garvin of the *Observer*. But the spirit is the same in both. To the student of contemporary British politics, Mr. Garvin's *Fortnightly* article is interesting as presenting from the extreme Tory point of view an estimate of the relative strength and position of the combatants in the present Election. Mr. Garvin points out the obvious fact that the majority of the present Government in the House of Commons is not a compact majority. The Liberal Party cannot stand by itself against its opponents, the Unionists. The present Government is supported by the Nationalists and the Labourites. At the last election, the real Liberal majority over the Conservatives was only two. Consequently, Mr. Asquith's Government is completely at the mercy of its Labourite and Irish allies. On the other hand, the Unionist Party is homogeneous and free. As regards the issue itself, Mr. Garvin thinks, as do all Unionists, that Lord Lansdowne, having openly offered a remarkable scheme for the reform of the House of Lords, the gravamen of the complaint against the Upper House has been really removed. There is even a desire, at least among a section of the Unionist Party, to arrive at a settlement by consent of the Irish problem, by granting some sort of Home Rule to Ireland. Of course, neither the reform of the House of Lords as proposed by Lord Lansdowne, nor any possible scheme of Home Rule that

will be acceptable to the Unionist Party, will satisfy the fire-eating Radicals or the rebellious Irish. And the question before the country is, says Mr. Garvin, whether the House of Lords is to be demolished involving in its ruin the Crown itself, and Ireland to have the kind of Home Rule that Mr. Redmond demands, leading to the breakup of the Empire. This, Mr. Garvin says, is the real issue before the electorates. And he appeals to them to save the Constitution and the Empire. But I had better allowed him to speak for himself, and I quote here the two most important paragraphs of his article, as revealing the hopes and fears of the Unionist Party, and as showing the spirit in which it is carrying on the present fight:—

The Unionist party, on the contrary, is, in the first place, homogeneous and free. It is to a man satisfied with the memorable reform of the House of Lords proposed by Lord Lansdowne. Even its 'federalists,' who desire a settlement by consent both of the Constitutional problem and the Irish difficulty, are the most resolute of all in resisting every attempt on Mr. Redmond's part to extort extremist Home Rule by pressure upon the House of Commons and by destruction of the due Constitutional powers of the Second Chamber. In the next place, the Unionist party is dominated by moderate persons and by moderate aims. Even the fiscal policy, associated with Mr. Chamberlain's name and advocated with admirable clearness and cogency by Mr. Balfour at Nottingham, contemplates the lowest tariff yet adopted by any great commercial nation—a tariff far below what is desired even by Democrats and Insurgents in the United States. Thirdly, and above all, the Unionists believe that it would be an infinite evil to involve the Crown in any way in one of the bitterest controversies ever waged between parties; that it would be an inexpressible disaster to make the Royal prerogative the instrument of a Parliamentary *coup d'état* effected by a Government under the orders of the dollar-fed faction and of the Socialist obstructives. A Unionist victory at the polls—even the gain of twenty or thirty seats by the opposition would be sufficient for the main purpose—would compel a settlement by consent, would protect the Crown from the approach of pressure, and yet would give the country an Upper House of incomparable dignity and authority, half-selected from its own best elements, half-elected by the nation—a Second Chamber keeping touch with a great historic tradition yet strong in its modern character and thoroughly fair as between parties. This not only ensures the Unionist party the support of every man who voted for it at the last General Election, but gives it such a claim as it had not possessed yet upon numbers of moderate men throughout Great Britain who have never given a Unionist vote before.

It would be useless to attempt any of the ordinary operations of electoral arithmetic. They are delusive at the best. On this occasion recent by-elections afford none of the ordinary data on which the

Babbages of political calculation are accustomed to base their forecasts. A few weeks ago the Ministerialists were tolerably confident, resting their estimate upon the state of trade and upon the disturbing advocacy of "Federalism" by Unionists who, in their desire to secure the success of the Conference, made on its behalf bolder exertions than any coming publicly from the Ministerial side. The Opposition for similar reasons were for the most part depressed. But a single week after the breakdown of the Conference made an extraordinary transformation in the psychology of the Unionist party. The circumstances in which the election was forced; the sense of the magnitude of the issues at stake; the folly of Nationalist menaces that this Government must "toe the line"; the proclaimed omnipotence of the two hundred thousand dollars; the exultations of Mr. Patrick Ford upon the failure of the Conference; Mr. Keir Hardie's attacks on the Monarchy; the instinct of national revolt against Mr. Redmond's domination—these were things fairly rousing feelings, passions, which had slumbered in our domestic politics for half a generation. The margin of doubt is, of course, narrower than usual. The opportunities for the transfer of seats are more limited. As the closest calculations stood a few days ago, it seemed unlikely that the Ministerialists could win more than a dozen Opposition seats, that Unionists could win more than forty Coalition seats, or that more than from twenty-five to thirty seats net could pass to the opponents of the miscellaneous revolution. That would be quite enough to do the business that moderate men have at heart, and it seems still the more likely issue of the conflict, though some Radical experts think the net result will be just the other way. But Unionists have undoubtedly a more popular cause than last time, and the Coalition a less popular. Views like these are matters of feeling. They rest upon no evidence that can be measured and weighed. In this, as in all elections, the unexpected may happen. We shall soon know.

In the *Contemporary*, Mr. Harold Spender puts clearly and concisely the case against the House of Lords and the Tories, before the readers. The present General Election raises, he says, the greatest issue in British politics since the great Civil War of the seventeenth century. The question of that War was whether this country should be governed by arbitrary and absolute kings ruling the people without parliaments and taxing them at their pleasure. The final result of the war and the changes that followed was to substitute for that ideal of absolute kingship a constitutional monarchy which has gained in affection what it has lost in power. Two centuries of fidelity to the great final contract of the Act of Settlement has left the modern British monarchy the strongest in the whole world, firmly based upon the loyal passion for our loyal kings.

Those who look far enough ahead may see in prospect a time when the British aristocracy, after all its storms, may reach the same safe anchorage. But that time is not yet. This is the moment of test and trial. It is not all institutions that share the good fortune of the British monarchy. In France, both the monarchy and the aristocracy went under. They resisted too long. They missed the golden hour of compromise. Will the British aristocracy make the same blunder?

If we may judge from the latest exhibitions of their temper, it looks very much as if they would. They seem at present to have forgotten the lesson of 1688 and to be courting the fate of 1789.

Having thus sounded a note of warning, the writer tries to defend the present dissolution, and points out what it proves. It proves, he says, that there is an absolute deadlock between the peers and the commons. To allow this deadlock and in the face of it, for the House of Commons to continue its work, would mean for the Liberal Party—

PLOUGHING THE SANDS.

Suppose that this House of Commons were to go on. It could not be expected to proceed without some attempt to pass some of those greater measures on which it possesses a majority of over a hundred—measures like Irish Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, Scotch Land Reform, or English Electoral Reform. But it is a notorious fact, agreed upon by all the parties that the House of Lords absolutely refuses on any condition to pass any of these measures.

To pass them, theretofore through the House of Commons, with all the labour and toil necessary to that process, would be a mere useless expenditure of public energy. All these Bills would be rejected with contumely, and the Liberal party would be once again subjected to the ignominy of "ploughing the sands." No reasonable man could expect that the party could go on in that way. Indeed, the ridicule of the Tory party has in the past been its best and final condemnation.

Mr. W. S. Lilly's article in the *Nineteenth Century* approaches the question from a loftier standpoint. He discusses the question of a Second Chamber in the light of some of the loftiest generalisations of European political philosophy. It throws incidentally considerable light upon political speculations in European thought. As such it is the best contribution on the subject, but it raises such large issues that I should prefer to consider them in an independent article for

which I have neither time nor space in the present issue of the *Modern Review*. I intend return to it on a future date.

HOME RULE.

The question of Irish Home Rule is discussed in an independent article by An Outsider in the December *Fortnightly*. In view of the fact that the problem of Irish Home Rule will be the most living problem in the near future in British politics, this article is of great interest. The writer is a Federalist and he sees in a well-considered scheme of Imperial Federation the only right solution of the Home Rule problem. Home Rule, he says, is not dead. At the last General Election three main issues were submitted to the constituents: The limitation of the Lords' Veto, the Budget, and Home Rule. There was a substantial British majority in favour of all three. But the largest composite majority was in favour of Home Rule, for on that issue alone, not merely the Liberal and Labour Parties, but the entire Irish Nationalist representation of eighty-two members, orthodox and independent, are pledged to vote as one man. As matters now stand, Irish Nationalists are the supreme arbiters in the making or unmaking of British governments. They can give the Free Traders a majority of one hundred and twenty-two, or the Tariff Reformers a majority of forty-two just as they please, and their absolute and uncontrolled choice of a Government and a policy for Great Britain is confessedly determined, not in the smallest degree by Great Britain's wishes or needs, but by what they deem most expedient for Ireland. This curious situation is one of the by-products of the continuous refusal of Home Rule.

The writer soberly considers, however, the objections against Home Rule. The chief objection was, of course, from a section of the Irish people themselves. The Irish Unionists, however, the writer thinks, would not keep up their opposition to Home Rule if the British Unionists accepted it. As regards the Orangemen, who trot out arguments about the intolerance and injustice to which they would be subjected under Home Rule, that objection is absolutely selfish and baseless. As a matter of fact, what the Irish Orangemen desire is not

fair play but the continuance of their supremacy. This is the same Party who threatened to "Kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne" if the Irish Disestablishment Act was passed, who so bitterly opposed the removal from the King's Coronation Oath of the gross and gratuitous insults to his Catholic subjects against which he and his illustrious father had protested, and who are now prepared to line the ditches of Ulster with riflemen if Home Rule becomes law. But no one in Ireland takes these blusterings seriously. "Ulsteria" as it was happily called by Campbell-Bannerman, is a noisy and troublesome disease but it is not dangerous. When Home Rule is actually carried, the Orange Party will accept it as placidly as they accepted Irish Church Disestablishment, and make the best of it.

THE ARGUMENT FROM RELIGIOUS DIVISION AND SECTARIAN STRIFE.

The idea that there would be anything like religious intolerance under a Home Rule Government is considered by the writer as too absurd to deserve serious thought. In the three provinces where the Irish Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, bigotry is unknown, and there is always a hearty welcome in the Irish Party for the Protestant Home Ruler. The phrase "Home rule means Rome rule" is an utter fallacy. It is not merely untrue; it is the reverse of truth.

It is quite true, and, indeed inevitable, that under existing conditions Catholics and Protestants should, for the most part, be divided into opposing camps; though even this is not, as we have seen, universally true. At the recent election in North Louth the Protestant electors combined with his Eminence Cardinal Logue and his Grace Archbishop Walsh to give Mr. T. M. Healy a majority of ninety-nine in Catholic constituency, which is resolved to reverse the result at the next election. But in spite of all that has been said or written on the subject, the Irish priest is not desirous of an active participation in secular affairs. He very cheerfully acquiesced in his own exclusion from election and administration under the Irish Local Government Act. In the great majority of cases, however, he is an Irish Nationalist as well as a priest, and a welcome and valuable ally in the great battle for Home Rule he is naturally forced into political prominence, his influence and authority being in exact proportion to his zeal in the National cause. The few Catholic priests and bishops who are not Home Rulers, though respected and obeyed in spiritual affairs, are wholly destitute of political influence. Nothing can be more certain

than that priestly activity and authority will be diminished, almost to disappearance, by the concession of Home Rule.

THE ESSENTIAL DEMANDS OF THE HOME RULE PARTY.

But while favouring the Federal idea, the writer thinks that whether Ireland has her Home Rule under a Federal scheme or not

the minimum Irish demands are (1) An Irish Legislative assembly; for the making of Irish laws and the control of Irish finance and (2) an Irish Executive dependent upon that assembly. Any federal arrangement that will meet these demands will be acceptable to the Irish nation, nothing else will.

N. H. D.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space.

We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

The Ramayana and the Jatakas.

Many thanks, at the very outset, to Sardar Madhao Rao V. Kibe Saheb, M.A., for the trouble he has taken to criticise the article on the above subject. (Modern Review, October, 1910.) But, in spite of his vigorous onslaught, it must be confessed, that his arguments are far from convincing.

Mr. Kibe first asserts that the story in the Jatakas contains a greater element of the marvellous and grotesque than "the basic story of the Ramayana." Does he mean to say that he can point out or indicate with any degree of definiteness, the whole of the basic story of the epic with all its details? This is absurd on the face of it, and what we can do is simply to guess the outline of such a story. So he has no right to say that the original story of the epic had less of the marvellous and grotesque considering that the present form of it contains so much of them. But the very dictum that the presence of these elements indicates posteriority is a very questionable one, because it goes so much against what common sense and literary history all over the world teach us, and we wonder where Mr. Kibe got it.

Then, again, let us grant for once, as Mr. Kibe would have us believe that "the basic story," by which he must mean the earliest literary form of the Ramayana, was earlier than the Jatakas. He must then also allow that the cult of Rama had already been widely accepted and taken a firm hold upon the popular imagination. Now, was it possible for the Buddhists to take up such a well-known and important story and dovetail and reconstruct its parts in a way so different from the original and accepted form, merely to serve their own purposes, and, moreover, without any intention of distorting it? We mean that if there had been on their part any intention of distorting it, as, indeed, they really did in some instances, they could have made any changes to that end. But it appears that this has not been done in the present case. Again, we ask, was it possible for them to disfigure the picture so much as to make the hero of this popular story, painted as an ideal

man, marry his own sister, and then also to leave out the most interesting part, *viz.*, the expedition to Lanka? Mr. Kibe says that this part was not necessary because the story in the Jataka was meant to serve some other end. He is but betraying a sad ignorance of the Jatakas, a look into which would show him that the story-tellers there very often pay little attention to their professed purpose, and also they never fight shy of length. Therefore, we maintain that it was not possible to change the form of such an important story in such a monstrous manner, and we should like to see any one try the experiment by giving to the world a different rendering of the epic under discussion, thus palming it off on those who know the original. This shows that it is difficult to believe that the Jataka story is later than what Mr. Kibe calls the basic story of the Ramayana.

In this connection we may note that the theory that Rama's marriage with his sister has been introduced in the Jataka, "perhaps, to justify the Buddhistic legend that one of Buddha's ancestors was an offspring of a similar alliance" seems to be sheer nonsense, because in the whole Jatakas the Buddhists have nowhere tried to whitewash anything concerning either the Buddha or his ancestors, and there is no reason why they should do so only in this case.

As for the second part of Mr. Kibe's argument, where he tries to prove that the present edition of the Ramayana is not the original one, and that "there appear to have been several editions of it prior to the one now extant," we have to say nothing but that it needs no ghost come from his grave to tell us that! Our argument was based not on the present form of the epic but upon the original form as far as we could guess its outline.

On coming to his third point, we are at a loss to understand what he means by saying that the "forms Kausalya and Kaikeyi are explained in the Sutras of Panini," for whom he has very liberally given us the modest limits of six centuries, *viz.*, 1200 to 600 B.C. The forms are there, indeed, but does their existence prove that they refer to the persons

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

of those names in the Ramayana? Surely he is not going to make that awkward assertion, because there could be any number of persons bearing these names before and after the formation of the Ramayana. As for the names of the cities and the other details pointed out by Mr. Kibe, we are not at present in a position to say anything with certainty, but we may point out that the Buddhists and the Hindus have all along been so jealous of their respective traditions that a thousand reasons and one might be adduced for their keeping themselves aloof, each to his own sphere of traditional geography and politics. Besides this, in these investigations we have to keep such a wide margin for probable political and geographical changes that we can scarcely assert anything concerning them confidently.

It is needless at present to say anything for or against the historic existence of "a hero of the name of Rama." Mr. Kibe is at liberty to place him in any century he likes, provided he gives us sufficient ground for doing so. We welcome also the happy

news that a critical study of the epic has made it clear to him that the episode of Rama's invasion of Lanka "contains very little exaggeration." We shall wait for the publication of these important "conclusions" with breathless expectation.

One word more: What does Mr. Vaidya mean by speaking of the Ramayanic civilisation, society and religion as "*uncontaminated* by feelings and ideas which had their rise in Buddhism?" This shows which way the wind bloweth, and we must say this is not the language of an impartial student of history.

However, we speak with the confidence of a knowledge of what we say, that, as far as can be judged now, there does not seem to be any possible doubt as to the Jataka story being earlier than the original Ramayana one. Finally, we may add, neither the Sanskrit nor the Buddhist literature can be sufficient by itself in unravelling the ancient history of India, but they must join hands in order to solve not only this, but many such other mysteries.

"CHRONOS."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Caste System: by Ganga Prasad, M. A., M. R. A. S. Second Edition. To be had of Braja Nath, Secretary, Arya Tract Society, Muradabad, U. P. Price annas six only. 1910.

This is a nicely printed quarto pamphlet of 83 pages divided into four main chapters headed (1) caste system not ancient (2) origin and growth of caste (3) evils of caste system (4) suggestions to remedy the evils of caste system. The subject has been dealt with almost exhaustively under the above headings, and the Shastras, from the Vedas down to the Puranas, have been liberally quoted from. Long extracts from the writings of Mr. R. C. Dutta and Sir Herbert Risley have been given, and the writer has conclusively shown that Sir Henry Maine was not far from the truth when he said that a system of hereditary caste is "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions"; that the system as it now exists has no sanction in the older Shastric authorities; that the process of caste formation is still going on; that reformation to be effective must proceed from within; that the various caste conferences nullify the little good they do by advocating minor reforms in that they tend to strengthen caste prejudices; and that reform should, for the present, be directed towards the fusion of the sub-castes of the four main castes which is not antagonistic to the teachings of even the later Shastras, and to mass education. Intermarriage between the main castes is not allowed among Hindus under Act III. of 1872, and it is only after the numerous subdivisions of the four main castes have been welded together that Government may be asked to give its legislative sanction to the intermarriage of Hindus belonging to different main castes. It lies with the Hindus to falsify Sir Herbert Risley's dismal anticipations, that all low-born

Hindus will some day realise that the shortest road to success in life lies for them through the portals of Islam and that nothing short of a great accession of strength to either Islam or Christianity will materially modify the caste system of the Hindus. If the Hindus are convinced of the necessity of modifying caste, it will be sheer folly for them not to grasp the problem boldly and try to avert the catastrophe foreshadowed by Sir Herbert Risley while there is yet time, instead of waiting to do so till compelled by some great national loss. The book is highly interesting and deserves the widest possible circulation. It puts the whole case for the reform of the caste system in a nutshell, and the cheap price at which it is being offered for sale should make it available to everyone interested in the subject.

Sanskrit Learning in Bengal.

The Present State of Sanskrit Learning in Bengal: by Vanamali Chakravarti, Vedantatirtha, M. A., Professor of Logic and Philosophy, Cotton College, Gouhati. Published by Bhattacharyya & Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta. Price Eight annas: 1910.

We have gone through this booklet of 68 pages with pleasure and admiring surprise. We hardly expected to find so much breadth of vision in a Sanskrit scholar, whose English, moreover, is as pure and faultless as the object with which the brochure is written is noble. The following is a brief resume of the contents of the book: The *alumni* of the indigenous *tois* were confined to *Gurus* (who studied a few of the Tantras), *purohits* (who studied the ritualistic portion of some of the *smritis*), *pundits* who earned fees on ceremonial occasions, e.g., *Naiyaikas* and *Smartas* (who studied neologic and Hindu law as embodied in the *Smritis*), *Kavirajes* (who studied the *Ayurveda*), *pathaks* (who studied the Purana, chiefly

a portion of the *Srimadbhagabat*,) and *ganaks* (who studied astrology). Poetry and poetics (Kavya and *Alamkara*) were only studied as a preliminary course before the more serious subjects were taken up and so also grammar, which was however studied much more thoroughly. Thus the *tol*s had degenerated into mere professional schools and were no longer temples of learning where knowledge was imparted for its own sake. The *tol* pandits were nevertheless men of vast learning, but they were wanting in culture; the system was "founded upon cram and tended to dull the intellect; it meant death to all independent thinking." "The vast erudition and deep subtlety of the Indian Pandit, as well as the critical acumen and the historical spirit of the Western *savant*, must meet in the *alumni* of the Calcutta University." Taking up the subjects of study one by one, the writer demonstrates, with a convincing wealth of illustration, that the time had arrived for introducing Vidyasagar's method of studying Grammar in the Sanskrit *tol*s to be followed later on by a course from the original masterpieces, and that language should be studied along with Grammar. As regards poetry, the writer says that literary criticism showing the mind and art of the poet and having for its object the interpretation of poetry, on the lines of Max Muller, Weber, and Macdonell, should be introduced. The commentaries correspond with the period of intellectual vassalage and the decay of original thinking, and the students should go to the original sources wherever that is possible; this applies specially to the new-ritualists like Raghunandan, who lacked the historic sense and failed to recognise that every code was meant for a particular epoch and particular locality. The author prescribes a suitable course of studies for the *Smartas* students of the University, and says: "With a set of *Smartas* educated on the lines indicated above, it would be quite possible to compile a new code of the Hindu religion which would unify all the diverged sects of the great Hindu community. The age of Raghunandan is gone. Let the *Smartas* try to produce a new code, a code that would be in keeping with the liberal spirit of the ancient scriptures, a code that would effectively enlarge the roomy fold of Hinduism and include in it such sects as the *Brahmos* and the *Arya-Samajists*. Hinduism has survived many rude shocks, because it has always known how to adapt itself to its changed environment. Is it too much to expect that the future *Smartas* would be able to compile a code that would effectively contain all that is good in the new religions?" (pp. 37-38). The School of Navya-Nava (neologic) had its origin in Nadia, but it has only led to verbal ingenuity and wordy disputation, and its only value lies in the fact that it is a good intellectual discipline; the higher schools of the Sankhya and the Vedanta are just beginning to be appreciated in Bengal. The *Tirtha* title examination is the highest in Hindu philosophy under the Government, but it is of an elementary character and there should be post-*tirtha* classes for the best students who should be supported by liberal scholarships. The author's reflections on the present condition of philosophic learning deserve quotation: "He (the student of the *tol*) regards it a sacrilege to question the truth of the teachings of the infallible *rishis*. That indispensable condition of all philosophical training—Doubt—never is allowed to enter into the *tol* pandit's consciousness.

Philosophy is a thinking consideration of things. The *tol* student crams into his memory the thoughts of others, and seldom attempts to organise them into a system. Thus the land of philosophers is now absolutely devoid of all philosophy. We respect these pandits, we wonder at their mastery of commentary-lore, but we cannot subscribe to the opinion that they should be taken as the ideal of the future pandit. The future *tol* philosopher must be a thinker above all. He should be taught to care more for *truth* than for opinion. He should be critical." (pp. 48-49). The indigenous medical studies should be placed on a scientific basis by opening an Ayurvedic College, and an observatory should be opened in connection with the Hindu College for the study of Hindu astronomy. *Tol* students appearing at the Title Examinations should be examined in elementary geography, history and mathematics. "To rightly educate the pandit, to teach him gradually to separate the essence of the *Sanatana Dharma* from its excrescence, to instil the historical sense into his uncritical mind—this is one of the hardest and withal most beneficial tasks that the Board of Sanskrit Examinations can legitimately undertake." An M.A. in Sanskrit is given a lower salary than his equals in other subjects on the supposition that he replaces a *tol* pandit on Rs. 30, whereas the others replace European professors on Rs. 500. This entirely inadequate notion should be dispelled, and M.A.'s in Sanskrit should be treated on equal terms with the other professors in respect of emoluments if Sanskrit learning is to be encouraged. "Provision should also be made for teaching German and French to the students of the Sanskrit College, for without a knowledge of them it is not possible to carry on higher research in Sanskrit."

A refreshing breath of candour and sweet reasonableness pervades the writer's learned disquisition, and we gladly recommend this highly suggestive and exceedingly well-written pamphlet to those who are interested in the promotion of Sanskrit learning in Bengal, both among students of the *tol*s and the University.

Suggestions for Social Helpfulness: by Rev. D. F. Fleming, M.A., M. Sc. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Both the subject and the method of treatment are somewhat original, and the book is brimful of excellent suggestions for the student or the man of the world who wants to devote a portion of his time and activity for others. The Indian youth, burning with a noble zeal for serving his motherland, will get from this book many practical hints for making himself useful outside the sphere of political agitation. It is excellently printed and nicely got up and is priced at annas twelve a copy.

Tyaggyar: A study, by C. T. Naidu, M. R. A. S., Madras, 1910: Price annas 4.

This is a short sketch of the life and works of the greatest musical composer of Southern India. Books of this kind mark a new departure in India, where music and musical criticism are alike neglected. The writer has performed his task with great ability and succeeded in bringing out the peculiar characteristics of Tyaggyar's music. We wish educated men of the type of the writer of this neatly got-up booklet

were to enrich our musical literature by similar researches carried on in every part of India.

X.

Two essays on General Philosophy and Ethics by Babu Hira Lal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Krishnath College, Berhampur. Second Edition, Pp 172, published by Babu Srish Chandra Gupta: The Eastern Publishing Company, 9-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

"This little book was first published nearly twenty years ago under the title of Two Essays on Theology and Ethics. Since then my views," says the author in the preface, "have undergone further development, not contrary to, but strictly along the line of what I set forth in it. But I find it impossible to incorporate my present thoughts in this essay without entirely re-writing and greatly augmenting it. I, therefore, republish the essays as they were written with such additions and alterations as seemed to be called for. If any reader is curious to know the direction in which my thought has developed I refer him to my essay on Hegelianism and Human Personality, published by the Calcutta University."

The first essay treats of "The Rational Basis of Theism" and the second, of "The Rational Basis of Morality." Both the essays have been clearly and carefully written. The book is an excellent introduction to the Pro-Hegelian Philosophy of Great Britain. In writing this book the author has steadily kept in view the central conception of the Idealistic Philosophy, of Green and Caird. It should be in the hands of every graduate of our University.

The get-up of the book is excellent and does credit to the Lakshmi Printing Works where it was printed.

Selections from the Koran compiled and translated from the original Arabic by Mirza Abul-Fazl, Editor of the Moslem Review. Pp. xviii+342. Published by Messrs. G. A. Asghar & Co., Allahabad. Price Rs. 5.

In this book the author has brought together all the important verses of the Koran with suitable headings. He has not disturbed the order of the Surahs, but has only omitted those verses which may be considered to be of minor importance to the readers. Short notes have been appended to elucidate the meaning of difficult passages. It is hoped that this book will give a fairly correct estimate as to the tenets of the Koran. The book contains a valuable introduction.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Edward the Peacemaker: Part II, London, Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row. Price seven pence net.

This is a beautifully illustrated quarto volume issued serially in parts giving in popular language the story of the life of King Edward and his Queen. When completed, it is likely to be an excellent prize book for our boys, the cheap price being an additional recommendation.

King Edward: by Hall Caine. London, Collier & Co., 2, Tudor Street, E. C. 1910. Six pence net.

This is a handsomely bound reprint of a penportrait of our late King-Emperor from the *Daily Telegraph* of London. It is illustrated with four beautiful

photographs which may be detached from the book and preserved in an album. The proceeds of the publication will be devoted to Queen Alexandra's charities. Mr. Hall Caine gossips delightfully about his personal impressions of King Edward and his verdict is summed up in the words 'a Prince and a great man'.

The Fatal Garland: by Srimati Swarna Kumari Devi: Translated by A. Christina Albers. S. K. Lahiri & Co., 54, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2. (with four illustrations and a photograph of the authoress).

This is a translation, originally published in this magazine (of which however there is no mention in the book), of the authoress's well-known Bengali novel *Chhinnamukul* into idiomatic English. The plot is laid in the district of Dinajpore in those troublous times when Shekander Shah was the Sultan of Bengal in the 14th century of the Christian era. The incidents are highly romantic and a *deus ex machina* saves the situation too often to give an air of reality to the story, nor can the plot be said to be well-developed. Of the characters only one, Sakti, seems to have been finely portrayed, and as might be expected, the authoress has shown her keen power of observation in describing the workings of the female mind. Here and there we have exquisite touches of nature-painting. The translator truly says in her introduction "It is remarkable how little even Englishmen who have lived for years in this country in many cases understand Hindu thought. The Hindus have struggled for many centuries and under different foreign rules, and they have maintained their originality under the greatest difficulties and hardships, a little of which this book shows. We further see by it that the martial spirit, which is now almost entirely lost, was very strong in those days." Here is a passage from Chapter xxvi in corroboration of the last sentence: "In those days the Bengalis were a fighting race, they had not then come to their present state of helplessness, in which the people of Bengal have retained naught but their ideals, which, thanks to the Great Preserver, are still strong enough to point the way to higher realisation and a future to equal the past." Translations of books like these may in some degree help to bridge the gulf between the East and the West and are therefore to be welcomed.

X.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol V, Part II. The Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana with the commentary of Baladeva, translated by Babu Srish Chandra Vasu and Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. 97-212. Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 12. Foreign £1. Single copy Re. 1/8.

In this part the first chapter of the Vedanta Sutras is completed. It contains, as in the first part—

- (i) Sanskrit Texts of the Sutras.
- (ii) Meaning of all the words of the Sutras.
- (iii) English translation of the Sutras.
- (iv) Translation of Baladeva's Commentary.
- (v) Sanskrit Text of the passages quoted by Baladeva in his Commentary on the Sutras.

We once more draw the attention of our readers to this series which is being excellently edited and translated.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

Mahatma Bijoy Krishna Goswami Jiban-brittanta. By Bankabihari Kar. Printed at the Bharat Mahila Press, Wari, Dacca. Price Re. 1-8. Cloth Bound Re. 1-12.

The life of Bijoykrishna Goswami is a marvel in the world. There was nothing he could not do for the sake of religion. Bijoykrishna Goswami was actually mad with the love of God. The present reviewer intended recording a number of thoughts and sentiments which crowded upon his mind as he was going through the book but silence is more commendable when the deeper problems of the inner life are within sight and when what is preached remains to be practised. Suffice it to say, that the world has seen few such saints and blessed were they who had the noble privilege to touch the dust of his feet. May his departed spirit daily inspire us from the world beyond the grave and support and strengthen our trembling steps.

But it would be unjust to remain silent about the immense and successful labours the author of the book has bestowed upon it. If humility of spirit be one of the several qualifications needful to the biographer of a man like Bijoykrishna who was a type of meekness, the author of the publication lying on our desk may safely be congratulated upon possessing it in an ample measure. If fervour of devotion forms one of the necessary qualifications of the biographer of a saint like Bijoykrishna Goswami, the book under review is replete with the clearest evidences of a fervid warmth of spirit on the part of the writer which must have largely influenced him in undertaking it. In addition to all this, the author commands a chaste and lucid style, and a moderation of expression and catholicity of views reflect great credit upon him. We have, therefore, no hesitation in commending this valued production to the esteem and acceptance of the general public and we hope that ere many months are past a fresh edition of the work will find the joyful greetings of the country.

CHUNILAL MUKERJI.

Nal-Damayanti: by Revati Mohan Sen. Published by K. V. Sen and Brothers, Calcutta. 1317. Price Re. 1.

The silk binding, excellent letter press and beautiful illustrations at once captivate the heart of the youthful reader for whom this book is mainly intended. The subject is one of the noblest to be found in the great epic of India, and it has been treated in a manner worthy of the occasion. The story closely follows the classical translation of Kaliprasanna Sinha, and now and then we come across a well-chosen extract from the immortal Kasiram Das, which heightens the effect of the story. The get-up of the book has reached the highwater mark of Bengali school publications and it deserves the extensive patronage of students and teachers alike.

Bidhabar Bibaha (Remarriage of widows): by Maharaj-Kumar Sailendra Krishna Deb. 25, Shyampukur Street, Calcutta. Price 0/8/0, 1910.

This pamphlet derives almost all its value from the high social position of the author, for the only readable portion in it is the Appendix composed of extracts from the writings of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Akshay Kumar Dutta, and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. The object of the writer is noble, viz., to prove the necessity of widow marriage in our society, and some of the arguments advanced by the writer are sound, though the manner in which they have been set forth is indifferent. We wish the subject had been dealt with by a worthier hand, for surely it is one which deserves the attention of our best writers and thinkers.

Q.

GUJARATI.

Sanskrit Bhasha Pradip, by Thakordas Jamnadas Panji, Printed at the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Printing Press, Bombay. Thick Boards. Pp. 264. (1910). Price Re 1-0-0.

This is an original work in Gujarati on Sanskrit grammar, which it claims to have treated in such a simple way, that one can study it by oneself without any extraneous help. The author is a private gentleman who has an abiding love for this noble language and has been at pains to teach it to his young children of both sexes from their very infancy. It is not a manual but a book of considerable size and in every line displays the deep erudition of the author. It opens out various vistas of utility, but circumscribed as we are, in respect of both our primary and secondary education, we doubt if it can secure extensive patronage. It is rare to find such devotion to Sanskrit amongst non-Shastric or non-Brahmin classes in Gujarat, like Mr. Panji's, though it is the other way with the men from the Deccan; and all honor to him therefore for the creditable efforts he has made to thus introduce, facilitate and popularise the study of Sanskrit amongst Gujaratis. We wish him success.

Nario nun Nitya Vachan, by Natwarlal Kununjalal Vaishnav, Typist. Printed at the 'Yeshwant Printing Press, Jamnagar. Pp. 36. Paper covers. (1910). Price 0-2-6.

A small booklet, giving in simple language the duties of a Hindu woman, in her several capacities as wife, mother, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, &c. Its perusal is not surely calculated to be considered a waste of time.

Hridaya Parikshanu or Niti Tattwa Vichar, by Nandnath Kedarnath Dikshit, Principal, Baroda Training College, Scholar, King's College, London, &c. Published by Mohanlal Mansukhram Shah, Baroda. Third edition, Pp. 110. Cloth bound. (1910).

An original work (we mean not a translation) on the abstruse science of ethics. Mr. Dikshit has made the subject as easy and interesting as possible. It is a lucid composition, interspersed with principles and instances, culled from the everyday literature and habits of our people, and hence while reading it we hardly feel as if we were being introduced to or told about a science, which has been developed in

recent times to a large extent by foreigners. The great beauty of the book is that the subject is presented in such an attractive shape and style, that one forgets that one is being treated to a subject, dry and abstruse and one in which the ordinarily educated class take hardly any interest. Mr. Dikshit should, therefore, have the satisfaction of finding that he has written a book, useful, admirable, and instructive.

Devi Aghor Kamini, by *Shivprasad Dalpatram Pandit*. Printed at the *Gujarat Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Paper covers. Pp. 16.

Devi Aghor Kamini has left a name in Bengal as a very philanthropic lady, and this manual contains the report of a speech dealing with her life and life-work delivered by Mr. Shivprasad Pandit, under the Presidentship of Mrs. Sharda Sumant Mehta, B.A., at Ahmedabad. It is a commendable attempt on the part of the author to make our side of India acquainted with the good that is being done on its other side.

Raj Marg no Musafar. Paper covers. Pp. 59. Price 0-4-0. *Fivan Kala, Ornamental Paper covers*. Pp. 16. Price 0-2-0. Both written by *Bhogindrarao R. Divatia*, B.A. and published by the *Gujarati Hindu Stri Mandal*, Bombay (1910).

The one is an adaptation of Ralph Waldo Trine's "Wayfarer on an Open Road" and the second is a fine ornamental, and artistic little brochure, got up as a substitute for a New Year's gift. The idea to substitute a useful book containing golden precepts on the conduct of life taken from the lives of great men, is a happy one, and the few pages presented to the reader teem with useful but unwearying reading matter.

Vikrat buddhi no vivan: by *Fivanlal Amarshi Mehta*. Printed at the *Natwar Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Thick cardboard, pp. 82. Price as. 7 (1910).

This is a farcical play adapted from the Marathi of Prof: Kale, called "Vikshipta Rao." It is meant to show up the follies of those aged Indians who hanker after marriage, even when on the verge of grave. In this particular case, the situation is rendered more comical by the palming off of a boy in female clothes on such an overanxious bridegroom. There are several excellent touches in the composition, to illustrate the various light sides of our Indian nature.

Vidyarthio ne Bodh Vachan, by *Jagannath Jethabhai Raval*, Head Master, *Municipal School, Rangari Street*. Published by *N. M. Tripathi & Co. Bombay*. Cloth-bound, pp. 43. Price 0-2-6. (1910)

Just in keeping with the other booklets of this writer, reviewed before, this compilation too is useful for teaching manners to young children.

(1) *Shri Fina Dev Darshana*: (2) *Naya Karnika*, (1) by *Mohanlal Dalichund Desai*, B.A., LL.B., *Vakil High Court*, and (2) by *Fatechand Kapurchand Lalan* and *M.D. Desai*. Printed at the *Nirnaya Sagar Press*, Bombay. Thick Boards. pp. 76 and 85. Price 0-3-0; 0-6-0. (1910).

The first work, which throughout shews the hand of Muni Shri Charitra Vijaya, one of the most learned

Jaina Munis and scholars on this side of India, is taken up with the rituals to be observed when a Jaina visits his temple. It is a compilation of minute directions given for observation at the different parts of that daily round of performance in the life of a devout Jaina, which is called *Darshana*. The second is a small philosophical treatise in Sanskrit consisting of 22 *Shlokas*, written by a Jaina Muni, called *Shri Vinaya Vijaya*, who flourished about two centuries ago. The translation is prefixed with several introductions, which dilate upon the subject matter of the treatise, which is called *Naya* or as we would say, *Nyaya*. It is being translated into English too. The elucidatory notes and the biographical sketch given by the joint authors, are well worth reading.

A *Biographical Sketch of Govardhanram Madhabram Tripathi*: by *Kantilal Chhaganlal Pandya*, B.A. Printed at the *Nirnaya Sagar Press*, Bombay, with Illustrations. Cloth Bound, pp. 270. Price as. 2, (1910).

This book has removed a great reproach which had hitherto been unremoved, from Gujarati literature. The late Mr. G. M. Tripathi and his works fill an unusual amount of space in the life of the present literature of Gujrat and a well-written record of his life and life-work was a crying necessity. The brotherly affection of his younger brother, N. M. Tripathi, and the able pen of his nephew, Kantilal, have jointly furnished to us, a work, which should stand for some years to come as a model of what a biography should be. Himself descended on both sides from a literary parentage—his father, Mr. Chhaganlal Pandya being known as a translator, *par excellence*, of Bana's *Kadambari*, and his mother, the sister of Mr. Tripathi, having been to him what Dorothy was to Wordsworth,—young Kantilal has been able on the threshold of his career to provide for us, what we have called above, a model work. Almost everything relating to Tripathi, that the public should know is here given in a style which is easy to read, lucid in expression, and narrative-like in form. That the writer is not wanting in judgment and originality of thought, is specially brought out in the latter part of the book, where a critical survey of Tripathi's life is made. So much for the excellences. As for the other side of the shield, we may say that it is furthest from our thought to give any pain either to the writer or to his relatives. But after finishing this book one feels as if the very feature which Carlyle wanted, according to the author, to be avoided,—*viz.*, that it should not be a "White, Stainless" record, but that it should compute both "profits and disprofits"—is not avoided here. Partiality for his hero has naturally but unconsciously made the biographer present him to the public as a paragon of perfection, or something very near. This, by no means, could be true of any human being. Mr. Kantilal has in an infinitesimally small number of cases referred to the "disprofits," but age, experience, and progress in life, we are sure, would make him later on weigh his faults and good points properly. Secondly we find, a fine style has been marred in one or two places by pure reproductions of such Anglicisms as "so and so was in so and so's confidence," when in Gujarati one would have said, "reliance on so and so." In Gujarati while speaking of inanimate objects in the plural, in the genitive case, the correct form, we believe,

is to use the singular and not plural number. We have come across one or two such instances, a matter not of much moment, and one to which no reference would have been made, but for the fact that

it detracts from an otherwise chaste language. We offer our heartiest congratulations to Mr. Kantilal for this rare production.

K. M. J.

NOTES

The Recent Calcutta Riots.

The Bengali writes :—

The "Patrika" has been at some pains to frame the issues on which the Commission of Enquiry, [into the recent Calcutta Riots] if one is appointed, should be directed to arrive at a finding. We shall quote from our contemporary :—

"1. Since both the Mahomedan and Marwari Deputations that waited on the Commissioner on Wednesday stated that they could not be responsible for the acts and behaviour of the masses, why was no disarming or lathi proclamation issued on Thursday and even on Friday?

"2. Why were no attempts made on Friday afternoon, evening and night as also on Saturday morning to disarm individual or small bands of rowdy Kabulis and Mahomedans or to stop their hooliganism in the shape of assaults on tram passengers, of holding up tram cars, and of filthy abuse likely to lead to recrimination?

"3. Why was not military aid requisitioned on Friday, though apprehensions were then entertained of the disturbances spreading over the whole town, most parts of which utterly unprotected, and the police could not possibly have coped with such a contingency, had it happened?

"4. Why was no adequate protection granted to Marwaris when they apprehended maltreatment and loot at the hands of Mahomedan rowdies and when in fact they were plundered in broad daylight?

"5. Why was it that although in the case of Babu Pannalal Moorarkar and the gentleman in Raj Mohon Bose's lane, the looting lasted for hours, no police appeared on the scene till the plunderers had leisurely disappeared from the scene?

Our contemporary might have added that in some cases the loots and disturbances were witnessed by numbers of policemen who did not take any step either to prevent or to suppress them. He might also have added that in at least one case a respectable gentleman was told by the Police that they could not protect "single houses."

The Indian Daily News wrote that even after the Kabulis and Peshawaris had been deprived of their *lathis*, they continued to purchase clasp knives in considerable numbers in full view of the police. The question may be asked, why they were allowed to do so. With clasp knives fatal wounds may be inflicted at close quarters.

It is very discreditable and deplorable that life and property should be so insecure in the metropolis, where the highest functionaries of the British Indian Empire and of the Bengal Government reside, and where troops are available at any time in adequate numbers to help the police in their work.

An Arya-Samajist preacher, who had been lecturing against cow-killing, was prevented from doing so. The circulation of anti-cow-killing leaflets was also prohibited. It may be enquired into why pro-cow-killing leaflets were allowed to be circulated, as they were of an inflammatory character.

The Rioters.

It is not accurate to call these riots Hindu-Musalman riots. The permanent Bengali residents of Calcutta, Hindu or Musalman, had nothing to do with their origin or progress. The Musalmans who took part in the riots and plunder were as a class Peshawaris and Kabulis, with some low-class Musalman *goondas* thrown in. Similarly the Hindus who were implicated in the riots were Marwaris, with the addition of low-class up-country Hindu *goondas*.

No doubt, a few Bengali shops were looted, and a few Bengalis were injured. But these cases were exceptional.

It is also a misnomer to call these riots religious riots. The rioters who murdered and wounded and plundered people, no matter to what race they belong or what creed they profess, have as little of the true religious spirit as possible.

Animal Sacrifice.

It is difficult for men of the Vaishnava temperament to conceive how it can be believed that God is pleased with the sacrifice of any animal, be it a cow or a goat. Nor can a man guided solely by his reason

believe that God has imposed animal sacrifice on any race, sect or individual as an indispensable means to the attainment of spiritual improvement. What is really required is that we should sacrifice selfishness and our lower passions, such as lust, greed, the hatred of our neighbors, &c.

If any religious merit really accrued from animal sacrifice, then the more valuable the animal and the larger the number of victims, the greater would be the merit. A man could then go to heaven straight off by buying and sacrificing a dozen race horses of the highest celebrity. In ancient India many princes followed out the doctrine of animal sacrifice to its logical conclusion by sacrificing large numbers of animals. Another logical conclusion would be that as man is the highest of animals, therefore human sacrifice, especially the sacrifice of a wife or a son, would be the most acceptable to God; and as a man's own self was to him the most precious, there could be no higher sacrifice than self-slaughter.

The story of the mysterious proving of Abraham by God, when God commanded that his son Isaac should be offered up as a human sacrifice to Him on a mountain in the land of Moriah, the ram being ultimately substituted for the well-beloved son, is believed in by Jews, Christians and Moslems alike and shows what according to Semitic ideas ought to be logically considered the most valuable animal sacrifice. But fortunately in all civilised lands man-slaughter and suicide for any reason whatever are now considered crimes. But the dumb and helpless lower animals are sacrificed out of a false superstitious belief combined with craving for animal food.

If Musalmans really want spiritual improvement, they should not *insist* on cow-killing under all circumstances, as it gives rise to so much ill-will, often leading to bloodshed. They should, when necessary, be content with the sacrifice of goats or sheep, even if that should involve a little more expense.

Marwaris and other Hindus of a similar opinion should understand that though it is good to try to save the lives of cows, it is bad to break human heads in the attempt. They should also understand that they should not even wish to interfere

with an act of animal sacrifice enjoined upon Musalmans by their faith. They should bear in mind that Europeans in India require thousands of cattle to be killed for their food, without that fact leading to any riots. It is true the slaughter-houses are not located in the midst of Hindu *bustees*; but proximity to Hindu dwellings should not make such a difference in the feelings of the Hindus as to lead to riots.

It cannot be good for either Hindu or Musalman to quarrel. It should never be necessary for either class to seek the mediation of the Anglo-Indian community. Inability to settle their own disputes without the aid of a third party cannot but be deplored by all true lovers of India.

The Remedy.

Various remedies have been proposed for preventing such riots in future. It is not necessary to comment on them. But it may be added that the only permanent remedy is education. Education kills fanaticism and without fanaticism there cannot be any "religious" riots.

Sir William Wedderburn's Mission of Conciliation.

Sir William Wedderburn's mission to bring about better feelings between Hindus and Musalmans has the support of the Aga Khan and Saiyed Amir Ali. The latter has prepared a memorandum of the points on which, he thinks, both parties should agree. The last point mentioned by the Saiyed runs as follows:—

As the Mahomedans are in a minority and are often unable to secure, in spite of all good will, adequate representation, on representative bodies, such as local and district boards and municipal corporations, recognition of their claims to communal representation on a fair and equitable basis.

Or in other words, there should be a complete cleavage between Moslem and non-Moslem from village unions up to the Viceregal Council. Even the Morley-Minto Reform scheme with its open favouritism does not go so far. No patriotic Indian can endorse such a separatist proposal. Moslem or non-Moslem, whoever will agree to such a proposal, will be acting the part of an enemy to his own community as well as to the country at large. It is far better that for some years a community

should go unrepresented owing to its educational backwardness or other cause, than that it should obtain representation at the sacrifice of the prospects of ultimate national solidarity and of the principle of the election of the fittest.

Again it is not time that on the whole Musalmans have not a fair representation on local bodies. In some provinces, it is fair, in some (in the United Provinces, for example) they have more than their fair share, in some they are inadequately represented,—of course, in every case on the basis of numerical strength. It would be best for Musalmans, under these circumstances, to try to gain their object by progress in education, capacity and non-sectarian public spirit and patriotism than by following Mr. Amir Ali's separatist policy. It will not do to play into the hands of the opponents of Indian nationalism.

The Gaekwad of Baroda said in a recent speech in London that the feelings between Hindu and Moslem in India were not really so strained as they were represented to be. This observation is perfectly true. Among the educated people, party-feeling has been fomented by the separatist policy and among the uneducated, fanaticism, worked upon by designing men, produces "religious" riots. The normal relations between the two communities are not wanting in cordiality. We ought not to allow anybody, Hindu, Musalman or Christian, however exalted his position, to destroy cordiality of feeling among us, for any reason whatsoever.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's Advice to Moslems.

In this connection we quote below Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's letter, written owing to his absence from the farewell banquet given to Sir W. Wedderburn in London. It contains the soundest political advice to Indian Moslems. And as Mr. Blunt is known to be one of their sincerest friends, we hope they will give it their best consideration.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt wrote:—"It would have given me the greatest pleasure to do honour in any form to Sir William Wedderburn, and especially now that he is returning to India as President-elect of the National Congress. No Englishman, in my opinion, deserves so well of India, or has worked for her so persistently or so successfully. If I had been

able to be present at your entertainment, I should have liked to have added my voice to those who seek to awaken the Mahomedan community of India to a sense of the necessity there is for them, if they would share the full advantages of the coming self-government of their country, to hold aloof no longer from the Congress movement, which has already obtained so much in the direction of freedom from foreign domination, and which in the near future will certainly obtain for India more. Their abstention twenty years ago may have been then excusable, in view of the attitude of their fellow Moslems in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt, who have all declared themselves in favour of free institutions; a persistence in that abstention can hardly be other than unworthy and unwise."

The Allahabad Exhibition.

The Leader of Allahabad, which ought to know writes as follows:—

Whether exhibitions are indispensable, or simply useful, or not even that in the present stage of India's industrial advancement, whether, that is to say, they benefit principally the small Indian artisan and trader or the foreign manufacturer and merchant, is a point on which there is no unanimity of opinion among informed men. Our own belief is that they are neither so beneficial as is made out by the exponents of one extreme view, nor so harmful as is feared by others. They unquestionably do some good if properly organised and if facilities are provided for the real workers to attend it and study methods and results, but in the best of circumstances it cannot be denied that exhibitions in India at present benefit the foreigner very considerably. This must be the more so when there are numerous foreign exhibits as we are told is the case with the present Exhibition.

Japanese and British Students.

Here is a picture of Japanese students.

Count Hayashi's reminiscences, which are appearing in the "Jiji Shimpō," are of unusual interest. The first instalment contains a glimpse into Japanese student life, which seems to show that the Japanese student is much like his Western brother in his love of misrule. Count Hayashi's father, Sato Tainen, kept a school at Sakura in which there were generally from 100 to 130 boarders, picked students most of them, sent by the various clan governments for special purposes of study. The manners for these, according to Count Hayashi, were wild beyond conception. "They would think nothing of breaking up shoji and doors, and tearing up the tatami of their dormitories if they were cold on a winter's day and wanted a fire, and scarcely a day passed without a 'town and gown' riot between the students and the townspeople of Sakura. They were all the sons of Samurai, and were all supposed to carry swords, but, as a matter of fact, there were in the school only two or three sets of swords, which were worn indiscriminately by any student who happened to have need of them for some ceremonial purpose. The rest had found their way to the pawn brokers in exchange for saki."

Here is another, of British students, taken from *The Tribune*.

While Mr. Asquith, Rector of Aberdeen University, was delivering his rectorial address, "a divinity student in female attire suddenly mounted a chair and blowing a trumpet, from which was suspended a yellow flag inscribed with a 'suffragette' motto, effectually stopped the proceedings for some time. He was later on found out and ejected." In the proceedings of the Aberdeen University, the following reference is made to the incident.

As one of the students who took a prominent part in the interruption which occurred soon after the commencement of the address had offered to the Principal, on behalf of himself and of those acting with him, an explanation of their motives and a statement of their regret *if they had caused any annoyance*, and as the Principal had already expressed disapprobation of their action, the Sanatus concurs in that disapprobation and resolves to take no further steps in the matter.

We neither expect nor desire that our students will ever do things like these. At the same time one can not but reflect on the reason why for boyish pranks Indian students are treated differently from British students. The reason seems to be that if in either case the treatment were the opposite of what it is at present, Great Britain would cease to be what it is and India would cease to be what it is.

A Sign of Awakening Self-respect.

We cannot but deplore and disapprove of any retaliatory action on the part of one section of the Indian community against another. At the same time we welcome all signs of an awakening self-respect among the humbler classes who have been subjected to social tyranny for centuries.

The following extract from the *Panjabee* will give food for thought to the socially privileged classes.

"An incident which would appear to be queer, under existing conditions, is reported to the *Hindustan* from Jullunder. To the reflecting mind it appears to be but the beginning, feeble though it be, of a spirit of retaliation against the most inhuman and degrading treatment meted out by Hindus and Mussalmans alike to the depressed classes for centuries past. The sweepers of Jullunder have started a society called the *Valmika Samaj* to defend their interests. They do not think themselves to be in any way inferior to their Hindu or Mussalman compatriots. At the last Dussehra fair they opened a shop vending sweetmeats for the benefit of members of their own community. The following is the translation of the board:—'Let it be known to the *high born* that Hindus and Mussalmans are prohibited to buy sweets here. Chuhras and all others are welcome!'"

Mr. Carnegie's Anti-war Gift.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has given to a Board of Trustees ten million dollars of 5 per cent. bonds, the revenue from which is to be devoted towards hastening the abolition of war. Mr. Root is Chairman and Mr. Taft, Honorary President.

This is evidently meant to put an end to war among white Christian people. The idea that "coloured" races except the Japanese, are outside the pale cannot be expected to be willingly given up by the "colourless" people. Anyhow we shall be glad to have war confined to gradually narrowing limits

The Indian and Peninsular Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

Political reformers, social reformers, and the advocates of an industrial revival, should all welcome this project, as it will give an impetus to national life all along the line. As it is in the hands of Bombay men who understand what business means, it starts with fair chances of success.

Our frontispiece.

Our frontispiece this month represents a scene described in the *Mausala Parva* of the Mahabharat. It is said there that before the death of Srikrishna's brother Balarama, a serpent came out of his mouth which, assuming a thousand heads, proceeded towards the ocean. Thereupon the Ocean-god Varuna and other deities began to worship this serpent. It was then understood that Balarama's spirit had left his body in the shape of a serpent; which was a fact, as his body was soon after found in an inert and lifeless condition.

The Artist Babu Upendrakisor Roy Chaudhuri has kindly allowed us to reproduce the picture from his original water-colour.

A week of national deliberations.

Before this issue of our Review reaches the reader's hands, the many sectional and national gathering which meet for discussion and deliberation will have been held. Their number and varied scope show that there has been a revival in all departments of national life, though it is not adequate in all directions.

The Hon. Rai Kisorilal Goswami Bahadur.

The Honorable Rai Kisorilal Goswami Bahadur, M.A., B.L., the Indian member of the Bengal Executive Council, has been placed in charge of the Local Self-government Department. As he has had considerable experience of Municipal affairs as



HON'BLE KISHORILAL GOSWAMI.

Chairman of the Serampore Municipality, we hope he will be able to do as much for the development and success of local self-

government as is practicable, under the cramping limitations imposed by the laws.

The British General Election.

We are glad that the Liberals have been once again returned to power, even though this may not mean any direct gain to India. For the Liberal victory means the grant of Home Rule to Ireland and the curtailment of the privileges of the Lords. And it gives us pleasure wherever and whenever any people obtain self-government, and there is the death or diminution of privilege.

Political offences, British and Indian.

We have often been told by Anglo-Indian officials that the law relating to political offences is substantially the same in the United Kingdom and India. As an illustration we may take the Ulster men threatening and preparing to wage civil war if Home Rule be granted to Ireland, and Mrs. Pankhurst threatening to do the same if Woman's Suffrage be not granted. We have not yet heard what action the British Government has taken or proposes to taken against these persons. The excuse is that these threats are there empty bluster. But is not mere bluster, even by implication, innuendo, reference, allusion or "otherwise," punished in India?

We do not want anybody to bluster, but if they are foolish enough to do so, they should not be taken too seriously.

Rockfeller's Millions.

Mr. Rockfeller has made a final donation of two millions sterling to the Chicago University. His donations total seven millions, which means, in Rupees, ten crores and a half. Americans are said to worship the almighty dollar. But they beat every nation in giving, too.

A Chinese Student's Demonstration.

Two thousand students of Tientsin recently marched to the Viceregal Yamen and demanded that the Viceroy should support a petition to the throne for an immediate Parliament. The Viceroy agreed to place their views in the proper quarters. The students departed and paraded the city with banners inscribed "A speedy Parliament." We tremble to think of the fate of this

Chinese Viceroy in the next world. He ought to know that it is a heinous sin for Oriental students to take part in politics.

The Hindu Ideal of Kingship.

Englishmen in authority often exhort us to stick to the ancient Hindu ideal of a subject's duties. It may not, therefore, be inappropriate to refer to the Hindu ideal of Kingship as well. Here is one item from the Agni Purana.

"The king should make good to the owner the price of an article stolen by a thief, and on such an occasion, the king shall re-imburse himself out of the salaries of his police officers."—Agni Purana, Ch. CCXXIII.

U. P. Exhibition and U. P. Ryots.

A correspondent writes to *Capital* :—

I visited the Exhibition on Thursday. I found that special trains of cultivators organised by the collector of Basu had come in the morning. There were numerous poor cultivators scattered about the grounds, some looking at machinery and some at the lamp posts, but I met one who looked very melancholy and sat near the door of one of the buildings. I asked him why he did not mingle in the crowd and see the exhibits. He said he had left his mother dying in the village and wanted to return but the special would not go until two days after. I asked why he had come at all. He replied that he had not, but the Tahsildar of Khalilabad had sent him! Probably most of the cultivators had the same story to tell, though they may not have been in the plight this man was. If the special had been organised at the time of the bathing fair, one month hence, much of the sting would have been removed. But the Exhibition wants visitors urgently, and a resourceful officialdom is at its back. And yet the Secretary of the Exhibition is never tired of declaring that the whole affair is non-official! They come, poor men, loaded in coal trucks! These poor cultivators have to pay the same entrance fee of Rs. 8 a day which rich men pay.

Indian Students Trained Abroad.

We have received the following notes regarding Indian Students who have been trained or are undergoing training in foreign countries.

INDIAN STUDENT IN GLASGOW.

I have been making some inquiry into the number and status of Indian students at the Glasgow University. I find that there are in all 53 Indian names on the University Register, of whom 17 are Bengalis, 7 from the United Provinces, 6 Beharis, 3 from Hyderabad, one from Madras, and the rest from the Punjab.

Mr. A. N. Sen, M. A. (Calcutta) has passed his B. Sc. in Civil Engineering, and is now working in

the James Watt Research Engineering Laboratory. Mr. A. P. Roy expects to finish his degree in March, 1911. Six or seven of the students have passed the intermediate examination in science, and are now studying for the final.

Only one of the total number of Indian students is going in for medicine, three for mining engineering (the B. Sc. degree), and the rest for civil, mechanical, or electrical engineering.

The number of students at Glasgow who have been granted help by the Calcutta Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Training of Indians is 9, of whom two are the holders of scholarships at Rs. 50 per month, one Rs. 40 per month, and three Rs. 25 per month. The remainder have only received passage-money.

I am informed that the scholars of the Calcutta Association are making satisfactory progress in their studies. Mr. A. N. Sen, to whom I have already referred, obtained "special distinction" in engineering and electricity in his final, and four others, including Mr. D. N. Das, have passed the first B. Sc.

The Indian students have a Social Club of their own, which was first started by Mr. Ganguli in 1905. This Club was originally known as the Indian Association, but having been recently affiliated to the Glasgow University Union, its name has been changed to the Indian Union. Meetings are held once a month, at which some definite subject is discussed, usually of a non-political character.

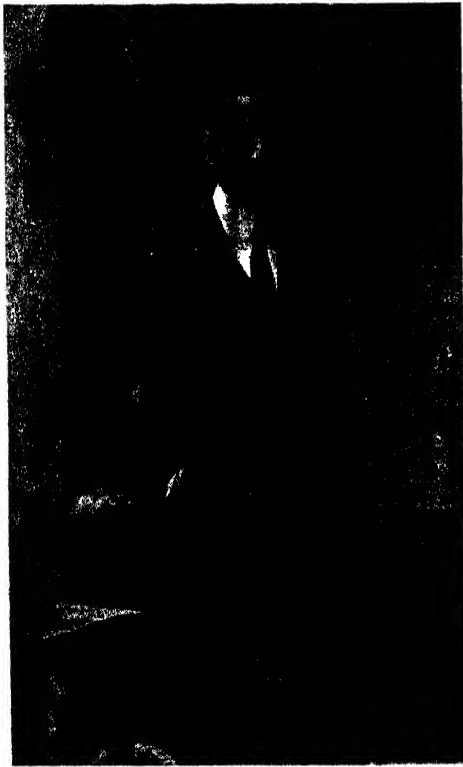
These young men need never lack for friends in Glasgow, as there are those who know them who are always willing to give them letters of introduction. Many good people in the city would be glad of the opportunity of making the acquaintance of some of the students and of interesting themselves in their educational progress and social well-being.—*London Correspondent of the Indian Mirror.*

Mr. Keshan Parsad is the 2nd son of the well-known Panjab leader Lalla Dwarka Dass, M. A., Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore. He is an ex-student of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, from where he graduated in 1907 and then proceeded to England to qualify himself as a Textile Engineer. He joined the Manchester School of Technology where he has had a brilliant career. He stood at the top of the class every year and carried away all the prizes. In the final this year (1910) again he topped his class and won the 1st prize. He has now returned to India with the following certificates and diplomas, etc.

1. Certificate of Proficiency in Textile Industries from Victoria University of Manchester.
2. Elected an Associate Member by the Textile Institute of Manchester.
3. First class Honours and Full Technological certificates in Cotton Spinning and Weaving from the City and Guilds of London Institute.
4. First class testimonials of satisfactory work from mills in Accrington and other parts of Lancashire where he got the practical training.
5. Diploma and Associateship of the Manchester School of Technology.

Four years ago (in March, 1906) Pandit Bholadatt Pande of Almora, after passing his Matriculation Examination was sent abroad for technical education by some of his friends and relatives. The first year of his sojourn he spent in Japan in learning minor industries.

—candle, pencil and match-making. Linguistic difficulties and some other circumstances drove him to America. In the United States he spent the first five months in earning some money to start his scholastic career. Then he joined the California University for learning agriculture. After one year he shifted to the Oregon College, from which he took the degree of B. Sc. last September. In the Department of agriculture he has made special study of Horticulture and Apiculture. His certificates and letters from professors and college authorities speak very highly of his technical knowledge and general proficiency. He has come back to India. After finishing his education he spent 3 months in seeing several parts of America and visited England, France, Switzerland, Italy and Austria before he sailed for his motherland.



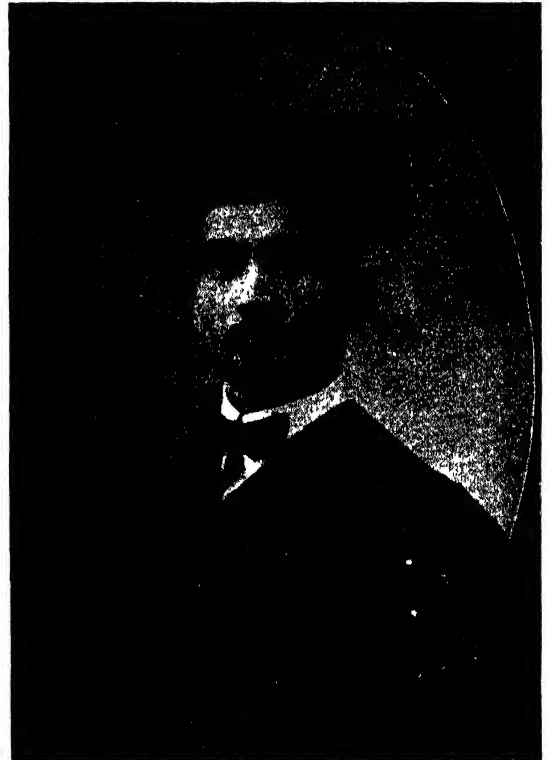
MR. KESHAN PARSAD.

He was received by the students (40 in number) of the Himalayan Hill-districts, at Allahabad Railway Station on the night of 22nd November with great enthusiasm. At the station he was presented a beautiful, well-written fitting welcome-address by the said students. Then afterwards a sumptuous dinner was given in his honour.

The readers of the Modern Review will like perhaps to know a little about his experiences and difficulties in America.

His friends and relatives at home were slack in supplying him with necessary funds. So like most young Indians he had to live for the most part, by

his own labour. It has been mentioned that the first five months he had to spend in clerkship. Then during his college work he used to spend 2 hours a day in earning his livelihood and three months of vacation were always spent in earning money to make up his expenses.



PANDIT BHOLADATT PANDE.

He was treated very kindly and on terms of equality by American students. He has made good many friends among even high class people in America. However he admits that Anti-Asiatic feeling is increasing in certain parts of the United States. The Americans give some reason why they call the Hindus uncivilised: The reasons are the following: 'Your people (the coolies) walk with naked feet and half clothed. You shut your women in Pardah. You marry babies.' However they with natural pride now admit that Hindus are becoming civilised in America! There is some prejudice even against educated Indians (the students) in California. Their dark complexion is a great drawback for Indian students. They are generally classed with negroes. In England, he found the Indian students very reserved and unhospitable towards new-comers. He observed that two new houses opened for Indian students were the haunts of detectives. Perhaps this fear of self-exposure makes London-Indian students reserved.

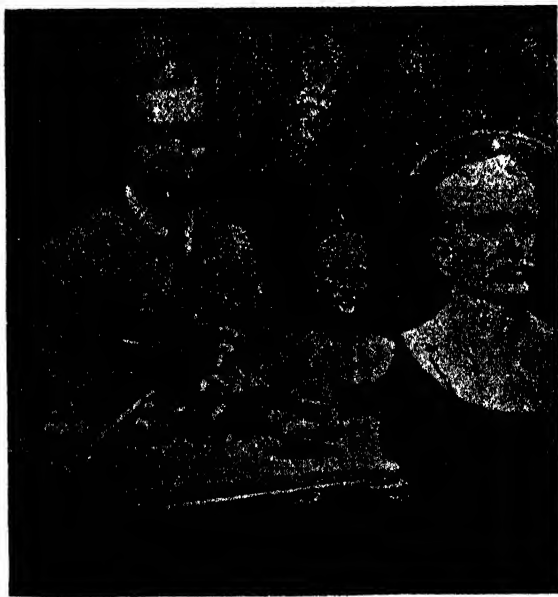
In Seattle, Washington, U. S. A., there are nine Indian boys, four in the High Schools, one in the

Grammar School, and three in the University. Two boys graduated last year, Satya Deva and T. Das, of whom T. Das stood first in 'Political Science,' got the "fellowship honor" and a scholarship of \$450 (1350 Rs.) to study for his Master's Degree. This year there is one who stood first in English Rhetoric in his freshman year—with as bright a future.

The University is one of the largest on the Pacific Coast. It has immense opportunities for self-support for those who are strong in mind and body with a high aim and real ideal of life with sincere zeal. The climate of the locality is quite agreeable. The position is most beautiful. We like our energetic young people to come in hundreds and thousands to American Universities. Nowhere is there more opportunity.

The City of London Illustrated writes thus about a Bengali art student named Aswinkumar Burmon :—

We ring up the curtain on Mr. Burmon, with his consent, of course, because when visiting Mr. May's studio for the purpose of inspecting works in progress in connection with memorials to the Hon. C. S. Rolls, the great automobilist and airman, we were struck with the marked ability Mr. Burmon displayed in the



MR. A. K. BURMON.

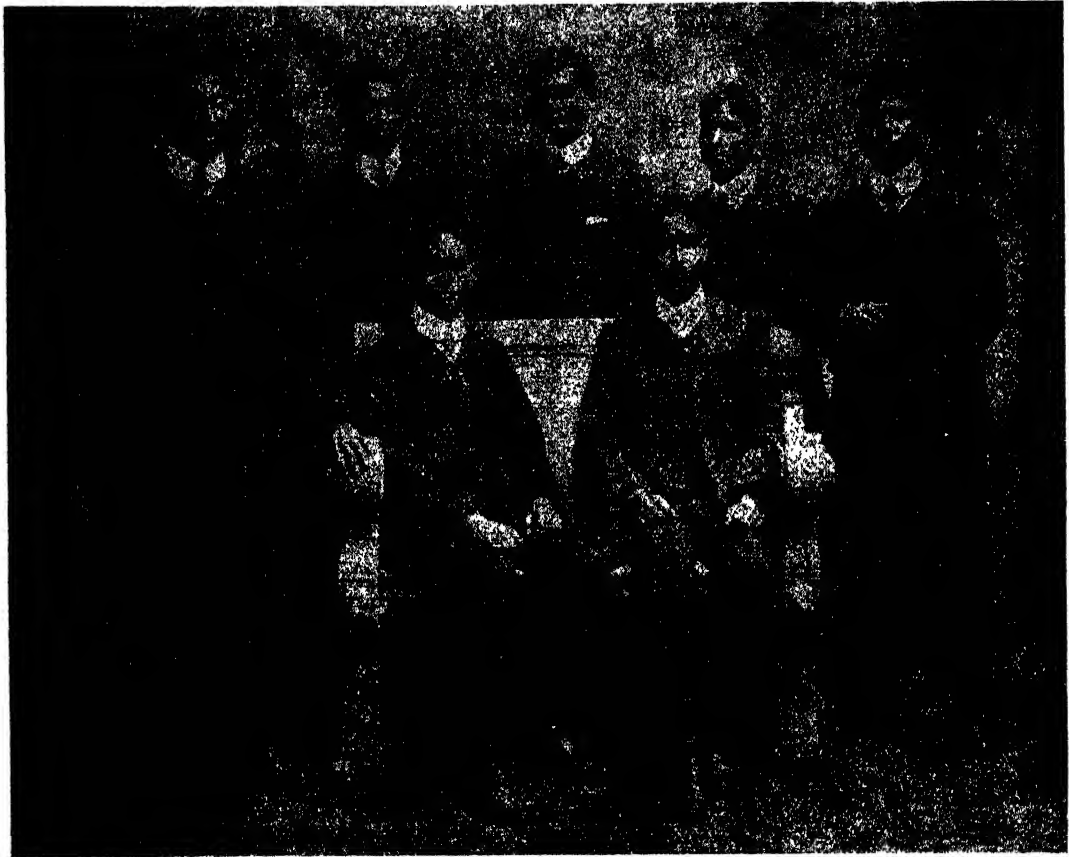
art of modelling in clay, although up till a few weeks ago he had never had any tuition in the pursuit. Truth to tell, Mr. Burmon has been sent to England to study art from our point of view, with the ultimate object of imbuing the rising generation of Indian artists with perfect technical ideal methods. It is well known that in many respects the average Indian art student exhibits a higher standard of natural artistic skill than does the average English aspirant to fame in art. On the other hand, their woeful want of proper attention to anatomical accuracy renders much of their otherwise magnificent work far less valuable

in our eyes than if it combined all that was good in it, as weighed in both the Indian and English balances with all that was bad from each point of view eliminated. Mr. Burmon is to-day sitting at the feet, so to speak, of such a great master of anatomy as Mr. William Charles May, with the object not only of acquiring as much as possible of what is stored in the skull of Mr. May, which might truthfully be described as a sort of living emporium of art knowledge, but also to gain much of Mr. May's own peculiar skill and English methods generally. In the process of prosecuting this no mean task Mr. Burmon has set himself, he will not only be accorded a cordial welcome but his work and progress will be watched with interest. This young Indian visitor of ours we found to be as genial as he is enthusiastic. "I should like to be a fine sculptor and one of the greatest painters," he remarked to us in pretty good English, the other day. "And I want very badly to properly learn technique." The two figures which stand before him on the banker, are snake-charmers, and as the result of a day or two's work, Mr. Burmon has produced an interesting group, the title of which is "Cupid's Sympathy in Love's Distress." These may be taken to fairly indicate approximately the measure of Mr. Burmon's skill and attainments. Our welcome coloured visitor has brought with him influential credentials, and at the India Office his experiment, it is certain, will be watched with an encouraging concern. Coming, as we have explained he does, of a good caste family, Mr. Burmon has had the advantage of a brilliant education, and has contributed many letters and articles to his own native papers. Indeed, he is very fond of literature, one of his pet hobbies being geology. Like many of our overseas visitors, he is an interesting conversationalist, and with the exercise of but the smallest modicum of patience, one can follow his conversation without much difficulty. Mr. Burmon, who was born in Bengal, is twenty-eight years of age. One of his most distinguished artist friends, Mr. Rothenstien* who paid a visit to the studio to inspect his work, was delighted at the rapid progress he had made in his studies, pointing out how rare it was to find a sculptor thoroughly sculptor. Like ourselves, Mr. Rothenstien thinks Mr. Burmon fortunate to have found a master like Mr. May, with whom he can learn carving in marble, casting in bronze, wax, the purdue process, sand moulding, and burning his own work in terra cotta.

National Council of Education Scholars in America.

In pursuance of one of the objects of the Association, the National Council of Education, Bengal, has recently sent a batch of its own students to some of the most advanced Universities of America by awarding them scholarships that will cover their entire expenses of living and education there. The names of the students selected,

* We intend to reproduce some of Mr. Rothenstien's works in subsequent numbers.



From left to right—

1. Surendranath Ball, 2. Bijoykumar Sarkar, 3. Jatindranath Seth, 4. Dhirendrakumar Sarkar,
5. Narendranath Sen Gupta, 6. Hemchandra Das Gupta, 7. Hiralal Ray.

together with their appointed subjects of study and University are given below :—

1. Surendra Nath Ball (Pharmacy, Michigan State University).
2. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar (Economics and Sociology, Harvard University).
3. Jatindranath Seth (Physics, Harvard University).
4. Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar (Applied Chemistry, Yale University).
5. Narendranath Sen (Philosophy and Experimental Psychology, Harvard University).
6. Hemchandra Das Gupta (Mechanical Engineering, Yale University).
7. Hiralal Roy (Chemistry, Harvard University).

These students are some of the best products of the National Council of Education who have all read up to a standard

corresponding to that of the B.A., and B. Sc. of our Indian Universities, and some of them obtained junior Government scholarships at Matriculation Examination. One specially noticeable feature about these scholarships of the National Council is that they were conditional upon their recipients entering into an agreement with the Council that they would, on their return to India, offer their services to the educational institutions managed or controlled by the Council as Professors, Lecturers, Inspectors or Organisers on a salary not exceeding Rs. 100 per month and for the minimum period of seven years. These scholarships are thus of the nature of an investment that will, in due course, bring in a rich return in the shape of a supply of a body of trained teachers which is so necessary to help forward the cause of the 'new learning'

inaugurated by the Council. The Council has appointed a permanent Advisory Board, with Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, C.S.I., C.I.E., as President and Mr. A. Chowdhury as Convener, that will regulate the work and conduct of the students during their stay in America. The youngmen sailed in August last under the guardianship of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education, and have, without any difficulty, secured admission to their respective Universities. The Presidents of which have all written to the President of the National Council, promising their full sympathy and support.

The total value of the scholarships awarded is about Rs. 40,000. R. K. M.

An English Civilian on the Bengali Language.

A retired Anglo-Indian Civilian has contributed a very interesting article on "Bengali as a *Lingua Franca*" to the November number of *The Indian World*. What he writes is by way of comment on the article entitled "The Possibilities of the Bengali Language" published in the *Modern Review* for July, 1910. He does not express any opinion "as to whether Bengali is likely to be adopted as a second language outside Bengal." He says:—

As to whether Bengali is likely to be adopted as a second language outside Bengal, much as French is used in most European countries, I dare not express an opinion. It has a serious rival in English, and in English translations of such books as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novels.

But he has a good deal to say as to the value of the Bengali language and literature.

Personally, I think it is worth anyone's while to learn enough of the language to read Bengali literature in the original. The English translations of Bengali books are commonly very poorly executed and give a very faint idea of the qualities of Bengali style. Especially is this the case I venture to think, in attempts to translate the characteristic humour of Bankim, and especially where he uses a florid Sanscritised style to give point to his satire. A merely literal rendering of such passages completely omits the sly and subtle irony of the original. Bengali poetry, again, is extremely difficult to translate, being very elliptic and allusive. Much of its fascination, too, depends on its copious rhymes which are often used to give point to an Epigram.

No one who knows even a little Bengali will deny that the learning of the language yields a rich reward to a student of its singularly picturesque and flexible idioms. No one can deny that Bengali is an ex-

tremely expressive language and one that lends itself to a great variety of styles. Even a foreigner and a beginner can see the remarkable difference between the styles, say, of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, of Vidyasagar, (which to most Englishmen seems charmingly scholarly and polished,) of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri. The language is evidently one that is suited to many kinds of individual expression and is therefore better fitted to be the vehicle of an original literature than one in which the cannon of style is fixed and conventional.

The Alleged Defects of the Bengali Language.

Regarding the defects of the Bengali language pointed out by Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray, the "Retired I. C. S.," as the writer calls himself, has something very definite to say. The first defect of Bengali is said to be its possession of many dialects. On this the writer's comment is:—

I venture to think that the three defects in Bengali pointed out by Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray are of little practical importance. It is true, to be sure, that the spoken language has many dialects. But surely these are what should attract the attention of scholars, since in these may be found some clue to the origin of Bengali as a separate speech.

His remarks on the other defects are given below:—

Another defect is said to be "the divergence between the spoken and the written tongue." But is this a defect? Surely it is, on the contrary, a merit. If any literature were confined to the homely speech of illiterate people, its means of expression, and especially of abstract expression, would be singularly limited. Moreover, is not the alleged discrepancy between spoken and written Bengali chiefly one of vocabulary, and due to the fact that literary Bengali freely borrows *tatsamas* from its mother Sanskrit? If the difference were one of syntax or idiom, it would be a serious matter. But is the difference complained of greater than that between the language of Milton and that of ordinary and even educated Englishmen? Surely a literature that was doomed to use only the words of the mart and the field would be a feeble instrument for the expression of the thoughts of poets and philosophers. And is it a fact that literary Bengali is difficult for educated Bengalis to understand? Would any school-boy have much difficulty in comprehending a passage such as that beginning

मोहित मोहिनीरूपे, कहिला हरये
पश्यति;—“केन हेया एकाकिनी देखि,
ए विज्रन खले, वोसा, गणेश-जननि? etc.”

It is true that the school-boy would not talk thus himself, any more than the British school-boy would use Miltonian periods to express his simple ideas and boyish emotions.

Thirdly, it is objected that Bengali is not a phonetic language. And here I note a statement which, frankly, has surprised me. The learned author of the

article on which I am commenting says that "English, and in a much greater degree French, are also non-phonetic tongues." I wish I could accept the implied compliment to my native English. But a tongue which has such anomalies as 'plough,' 'dough,' 'tough' 'cough,' 'lough' 'rough,' can hardly enter into comparison with French in which the pronunciation of both consonants and vowels is mostly constant, and where the difficulty of speaking correctly for foreigners is chiefly due to *tone*. There are, it is true, mute consonants in French, but these are easily learned, and occur in accordance with quite simple rules. So, surely, is it with Bengali. It is true that, for instance, *Lakshmi* is pronounced *Lokkhi*, and *Aksha* as *Akha*. But the same groups of letters are always pronounced in the same way. There is a little uncertainty as to some of the vowels. For instance, the short *i* is often pronounced

long, as in *শিব*, *পিতা*. But this peculiarity is easily mastered. Think of the differences of the pronunciation of the English "e" in such a line as

"Seen here and there and everywhere!"

A foreigner may find a difficulty in correctly pronouncing Bengali words, because the language contains sounds which may be unfamiliar to his ear and vocal organs. But if he has learned the language by hearing and speaking, spelling should certainly not present such difficulties as dismay English children in their school-days.

The Adoption of the Devanagari Script.

The writer is emphatically against the adoption of the Devanagari script for writing Bengali. Says he:—

Finally, the writer of the article in the *Modern Review* proposes gravely to abandon the beautiful and clear Bengali script in favour of the greatly inferior Devanagari, whose thick lines and minute differences between letters, especially in compound letters, is extremely trying to the eye. Surely no one who has used both scripts will say that *অবিরহনাম* is either prettier or easier to read than *অবিরহনাম*. Let no one rashly interfere with a language. In both France and England there are those, at the present moment, who would introduce a barbarous "simplified spelling," and would artificially introduce a substitute for a system which has a long and interesting history. A national script and a traditional spelling are part of our inheritance from our ancestors. To a people who read much, the *look* of words is almost as important as the *sound* of them, as may be seen by that interesting phenomenon which, in English, some people call "eye-rhymes." It is these inherited peculiarities which give a language its individuality and its charm. People are too wont to change their costume of mind and body for the most trivial reasons. Let me, a foreigner, raise a gentle protest against the abolition of the beautiful, clear, and legible Bengali script. It can be written badly, as can any other means of representing spoken words. But I have seen old Bengali records which were models of seemly and shapely calligraphy, far more legible and beautiful in my humble opinion, than the stiff straight lines of Sanscrit MSS. If the Dravidians choose to adopt Bengali as a second

language, by all means let them. But why abandon, in their favour, the script in which Bharat Chandra and Madhu Sudan, Vidyasagar and Bankim wrote works which should be the pride of every patriotic Bengali?

We are also of opinion that as a script Devanagari is inferior to Bengali. The reason why we advocate its adoption as the common script for the whole of India is that no other is so widely used, and most educated Hindus know it, their sacred books and ancient literature being for the most part written and printed in that character.

The Value of Bengali Literature.

It will gladden the hearts of all Bengalis to know that their literature is prized by the few foreigners who are acquainted with its riches. The opinion of the "Retired I. C. S." is given in the following extracts:

I must apologise for writing, perhaps too dogmatically, on a subject which should be reserved for the discussions of native scholars. My excuse is that the laudable desire to extend the influence of Bengali may lead to the loss of qualities which have made Bengali literature the most copious, varied, and original literature in the peninsula.

I have only ventured to write at all because it seems to me that Bengalis may not realise in what high honour and esteem their language and literature are held by foreigners, and may endanger the noble inheritance their fathers have handed down to them in the vain attempt to make of one of the great literary languages of India a mere Volapuk or Esperanto. Rather, if a foreigner may venture to make the suggestion, should its beauties and its origins be attentively and reverently studied.

I heartily hope that many Indians from other provinces will study the ingenious, graceful and copious literature of Bengal in the original, and will not be content with crude and careless translations into English. Translation is the most difficult of literary arts, and can hardly be successfully attempted except by those who are absolutely bilingual. I hope too that Bengalis, in the patriotic admiration of their own literature, will not forget the debt it owed, and still owes, to Western literature. That, after all, is only the repayment of the debt the West owes to the ancient culture and civilisation of the East. Nearly all the best modern Bengali writers were competent, and some of them were profound, students of English literature. What would Bankim have been without Sir Walter Scott and Bulwer Lytton? And did not Madhu Sudan take Milton as well as the Sanscrit poets as his model? At a time when political feeling is apt to run high, it should be the privilege of the student and the scholar to point to a field where rivalry can only be friendly, and can only result in a fresher and more cultivated enjoyment of the literatures of India and Europe, all traceable back to a common origin, to the linguistic impulse which produced the Homeric hymns and the hymns, not less

beautiful and spontaneous, of the Vedas. Those things survive and give solace and enjoyment to the successive generations of men, long after the political controversies that raged round their authors have been committed to kindly oblivion.

Home Rule all Round.

"The Daily Graphic" states that the British Government contemplates initiating a discussion on Federal Home Rule at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. Not more than a month ago several leaders of the British Liberal party declared that ere long there would be Home Rule all round,—meaning thereby that not only would Ireland have that blessing, but Scotland and Wales as well. As for the self-governing colonies, they were already possessed of that prime political need of a civilised community. No one, of course, thought of India—"the brightest jewel in the British crown" (alas that it should be considered only an inanimate gem!)—in this connection; probably because India is not *round* but *triangular*.

The Long Memories of Welshmen.

In a character sketch of Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer of the British Empire, published in the September *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Stead writes:—

A PROPHET HONOURED IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

The old adage, that "a prophet hath no honour in his own country," does not apply to Mr. Lloyd George. On the morning I breakfasted with him on the stoep of his new house, "the House of the Winds," he received a letter from a Welsh Highlander, one of the mountain men who expressed the delight with which he looked forward to meeting "one who has done so much to trouble the descendants of our oppressors the Normans." In that mountain top it was evident that the Budget of last year was the long delayed retribution which Wales was at last permitted to exact from her feudal conquerors. As the thoughts of a child are long, long thoughts, so the memories of Highlandmen are long, long memories. In these secluded valleys in the shade of the beetling crags the shepherd broods over the wrongs of his forbears until the days of the Edwards seem but as yesterday, and when he goes to the poll he makes his cross on the ballot paper with the stern delight of the avenger of crimes, all record of which has faded from the memory of the outside world.

WELSH PATRIOTISM.

In one of the most passionate and effective of his speeches against the false Imperialism which brought upon us the calamity and the crime of the Boer war Mr. Lloyd George showed how keenly he shared this

national trait. He recalled to the House the fact that nearly two thousand years ago the Roman galleys had harried the Welsh coasts, the Roman legions had carried the eagles in triumph through the Welsh hills, but to-day the race whose independence they had tried to destroy was teaching the tongue of its former conquerors as a dead language in Welsh national schools. Only a Welshman could fully appreciate the flavour of that bitter taunt at the vanity of the ambition of Imperial Rome. There are few things so fragile as empires, and still fewer that are as indestructible as nationalities.

CRICCIETH AND ITS MEMORIES.

Mr. Lloyd George's boyhood was spent between Snowdon and the sea. "The mountains look upon Marathon and Marathon looks on the sea." The Welshman is as proud as the ancient Greeks of the stirring memories of ancient combats. He never forgets the stout fight which his ancestors waged against Roman invaders, Irish pirates, and Norman conquerors. The castles from which their Norman masters dominated their forefathers stand in ruins, with the exception of Carnarvon, picturesque monuments of a vanished race. Criccieth Castle, which stands conspicuous on a hill overlooking the bay, once belonged to a knight who did good service for his country on the field of Agincourt. But Agincourt could not perpetuate English domination in France; neither could the massive walls of Criccieth Keep or Conway Castle maintain feudal domination in Wales. Not until the Welsh Tudor had achieved the conquest of England on Bosworth field, as the Norman William had previously achieved a similar conquest at the battle of Hastings, did the Welsh consent to the Union.

The Drain of Wealth from India.

Anglo-Indian officials in high position have recently been telling us that there is no drain of wealth from India to England, or if there be, India gets her money's worth in the shapes of services and England spends much of her own money in India on Christian Missions. On this subject, the Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi writes in the *Leader* as follows:

An argument has been brought forward by the Governor of Bombay which seriously affects the position of Christian Missions in India and should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. His words were reported as follows:—"You would doubtless recall the fact that there is an immense drain from England, other European countries and America to India in the shape of contribution to mission work by which many thousands of Indian orphans and children are supported, educated and raised." I cannot but think that an argument of this kind is out of keeping with the subject and rather weakens than strengthens some of the other points which the speaker made. In the first place, to take the mere statistical level, the amount spent annually by Christian Missions on work which has a purely philanthropic value to India is a mere fraction when measured in pounds, shillings and pence

and compared with the exploitation of Indian resources which undoubtedly goes on under the conditions of British supremacy. I do not wish to identify myself with extreme theories as to the extent of that exploitation. There have been extravagant statements made as to its amount, such as have taken no account of those compensations of peace, order and settlement, which ought to be carefully considered in forming a rational conclusion. But I wish to point out, that even if it were fair to use Sir George Clarke's argument at all (and I shall try to show why I think it is unfair) the amount involved by the expenditure on Christian Mission is an almost negligible quantity, compared with the immense sums which are involved in other directions when the economic balance between the two countries is struck.

But I would object most strongly to the argument on the higher ground of religion itself. The object of Christian Missions is purely religious, and here is a clear case where the great principle comes in,—'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Caesar must not

take the credit, if credit there be, for things which are done, not for Caesar, but for God. The government of India, which in this case represents Caesar, is pledged to absolute religious neutrality. It is wrong in principle, therefore, for it to claim credit for that which is done purely and solely in the name of a distinct and definite religion,—Christianity. No good, but only harm, is done to the cause of Christian Missions by mixing their propaganda with that of Government. It would be an evil day for the development of Christianity in India, if it were to leave the purely religious basis on which it now stands, and become even in theory an adjunct of the secular Government.

The Indian Witness, a leading Christian weekly, approves of Mr. Andrews's line of argument.

We may add that all the Christian Missions in India are not supported by Great Britain. There are German, American, Portuguese and other missions, too.

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WHOLE
No. 50

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE: THE FIRST WOMAN OF AMERICA

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M. A.

IN the recent death of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, of Boston, America has lost one whom it is no exaggeration to speak of as the most distinguished, the most widely beloved and the most highly honored woman of the land. Certain it is that the death of no other woman could have called forth so many or so warm tributes of regard and affection from all classes of people and from all parts of the country, as during the past few weeks have filled the American periodical press.

Few lives can be pointed to in any age or land—few lives of either women or men—that have been so full, so rich, so complete, so beautiful with love and unselfishness, so useful in so many lines of noble beneficence, so inspiring to everybody who has a life to live and desires to live it worthily, as that of Mrs. Howe.

For many years her appearance in any public gathering had never failed to be acknowledged by the whole audience rising and standing reverently until she was seated. The great esteem in which she was held was due no doubt in part to her great age, for she was in her ninety-second year at the time of her death, having been born only three days later than Queen Victoria; but still more it was due to her rare intellectual and spiritual gifts, her scholarship, the charm of her personality, the sweetness, grace and strength of her character, and the devoted and efficient

service she had rendered to others and to so many good causes throughout all her long career.

Although born into a home of wealth, in New York City, wealth as such never attracted her, or seemed to her of anything like so much importance as many other things. Beautiful in person, intellectually brilliant, courted on every side, surrounded by all the influences which would naturally lead to a life of fashion and pleasure, she early saw the hollowness of such a life, and turned to those things which would give permanent satisfaction to her higher nature and make her of service in the world.

From earliest childhood she loved books. Reading and study were a delight to her. While a girl at school she learned Latin, Greek, French and German. Italian she learned all by herself, without any one knowing, because it seemed to her so beautiful a language. Literature she read eagerly and widely. Even profound works of philosophy she learned to delve into, and found in their deep thought a subtle charm. She began early to write. At seventeen she was publishing poems anonymously.

All this did not mean that she was a recluse, or a mere bookworm. She enjoyed life, was attractive in society, and was sought for in circles of wealth and position. In early womanhood she lost her father. Soon after this she went on a visit from

New York to Boston, where she met Dr. Samuel S. Howe, whom a little later she married. This turned her life into wholly new channels, channels that were congenial to her, and which led to all the rich achievements and fruitions with which her subsequent career was filled.

Dr. Howe was nearly twenty years older than Mrs. Howe. In 1824, after having graduated in the Arts course at Brown University and in medicine at Harvard, he became deeply interested in the cause of the Greeks who were struggling to throw off the tyrannical yoke of Turkey. Accordingly he went to Greece to fight by the side of Lord Byron for Greek liberty. Here, partly as a surgeon in the army and partly as a soldier, he made for himself a warm place in the hearts of the Greek people. After sharing their struggles and hardships for two years he returned to America, raised a large sum of money as a relief fund for the impoverished people, and went back with a ship-load of food and clothing which he distributed himself among the suffering. After this he staid for a time to help start trade and commerce in the devastated country, and was made Surgeon in Chief of the Greek fleet.

When the fight for Greek independence was won, Dr. Howe went to France, and there aided the French people in establishing their second Republic.

Later, with J. Fennimore Cooper, the distinguished novelist, and S. F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, he helped the Poles in their unavailing struggle against the combined tyranny of Prussia, Russia and Austria. He went to Germany carrying a Polish Relief Fund, and was arrested and cast into a Berlin prison, and afterwards expelled from the country. These adventures made Dr. Howe known throughout Europe and America, where he was honored and beloved by all friends of liberty.

In 1833 he began in Boston his great work for the blind. It was largely through his effort that the Perkins Institution for the Blind was established, which under his direction soon became the leading school of the kind in the world. Here he achieved one of the most remarkable results ever known in the history of education, that of taking Laura Bridgeman, a girl who at the age of two had wholly lost sight, smell and

hearing, and teaching her to read and write, and so training her in clear thinking and intelligence as to enable her to become a teacher of others.

It was at this time (1841) when he was already famous, that Dr. Howe first met the charming, accomplished and earnest young woman from New York, who a year or two later was to become his wife. With his soul aflame with enthusiasm for human service, he was exactly the man to kindle her imagination, to capture her heart, and to stimulate her to the attainment of the best that she was capable of.

After their marriage Dr. and Mrs. Howe spent a year making a tour of Europe, in company with their friends Horace Mann, the distinguished American educator, and his bride. First of all they went to London where for two months they occupied a house in Upper Baker Street. To this house to visit them, came many eminent literary characters and artists, among the number being Charles Dickens, Monckton Milnes, Sydney Smith, Maria Edgeworth, Henry Hallam, Maclise and Landseer. Thomas Carlyle visited them twice, and was permitted to smoke his pipe, although Mrs. Howe had a strong dislike to tobacco. During her English sojourn Mrs. Howe paid a short visit to Florence Nightingale, with whom she spent three days. The two women had much in sympathy, and in after life Mrs. Howe frequently referred to "the charming grace and beautiful personality" of her hostess.

After leaving England Dr. and Mrs. Howe made a somewhat extended tour on the Continent, staying longest in Italy. The year was one of quiet enjoyment and profit to both. On their return to America they established their home in Boston.

With her wealth, intellectual brilliancy and social accomplishments, Mrs. Howe soon became a recognised society leader. But the society that she gathered around her was not the fashionable and the frivolous; it was the intelligent, the cultured, the earnest—the men and women with ideals and high purposes in life; the men and women who made the Boston and the New England of the last half of the 19th century honored and great. Among her near friends were Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Charles Sumner, Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes,

has ever met with such general favour as this stirring, noble and truly beautiful patriotic lyric by Mrs. Howe. To have

Both Mrs. Howe and her husband enlisted early in the anti-slavery cause, in which they did heroic and devoted service. For some years they edited an anti-slavery paper, the *Boston Commonwealth*. The fact that Boston wealth and fashion were largely on the side of the slaveholder did not deter these brave souls from siding with the slave and doing all in their power to give him freedom.

After the Civil War was over, and the slaves of the South were set at liberty, Mrs. Howe still remained solicitous for their well-fare. She never ceased to advocate justice to them, and to urge the importance of giving them schools and education. No voice was more stern than hers in condemnation of the horrors of lynching, and every other kind of wrong done to a race that ought to be protected and helped.

Mrs. Howe continued all her life to feel a deep interest in the Greeks for whom her husband had so chivalrously labored and fought. In the many national struggles and the tragic experience that they have been called upon to pass through since Dr. Howe left their shores, she never ceased to follow their fortunes with the warmest sympathy. Greeks travelling in this country, or coming here to make homes, as many had done in the later decades of her life, were always sure that they had in America at least one genuine friend. When the Greeks in Boston held their celebrations she frequently attended, and it was her custom to speak to them in their own language, in response to their greetings.

She was keenly alive to the sufferings and wrongs of all oppressed peoples. It was owing to her that the "Society of American Friends of Russian Freedom" was organized many years ago, with Whittier, Wendell Phillips, Phillips Brooks and many other distinguished Americans as members. When that remarkable Russian woman, Catherine Breshkovsky,

came to this country to tell the terrible story of Russian oppression, Mrs. Howe exerted herself earnestly to secure for her a wide hearing, and to awaken a national interest in her cause. And two years ago when Russia reached its iron fingers across the sea and tried through the wiles of diplomacy to get hold of Jan Pouden, the political refugee, and drag him back to trial and either death or Siberian mines, Mrs. Howe assisted in the organization of those hundreds of protest meetings held in

all parts of the land, which finally resulted in defeating Russia's intrigue and saving Pouren. To the meeting of protest held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mrs. Howe sent a letter saying, "Our right of asylum must be kept inviolate and inviolable",— and quoting Emerson's words.—

"Bid the broad Atlantic roll
A ferry of the free."

Dr. Channing, at near the end of his life, spoke of himself as "always young for liberty." It was equally true of Mrs. Howe that up to the day of her death she was "always young for liberty." She was President of the

Society formed in America called the "Friends of Armenia", and addressed many protest meetings at the time of the great massacres in that unhappy country. On her 77th birthday, she said:

"I feel so much the sufferings of the Armenian people that I could almost go from door to door begging the rich and the poor to send contributions for their relief. But far better would it be if measures were taken by the leading governments of the world to prevent ignorant superstition from holding a bloody carnival whenever it may see fit. I pray Heaven that such a movement may be soon and effectually inaugurated."



MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

The Armenians were everywhere deeply grateful to her for her sympathy and her efforts in their behalf.

All her life Mrs. Howe was a friend of Italy. She warmly sympathized with Mazzini and Garibaldi and the men who led the Italian people in their heroic struggle for national unity and freedom. She made several visits to Italy, which seemed to her a land of extraordinary charm. The Italian language and people she loved, and the rich treasures of Italian art she never ceased to study with delight. She was held in very high regard by the large numbers of Italians living in America. When she was 87 years of age she gave an address in the Italian language at a celebration by Boston Italians of the 400th anniversary of the death of Columbus. She was honorary President of the Circolo Italiano, and in 1902 received from the Societa Dante Alighieri of Rome, of which the Boston Society is a branch, a diploma in acknowledgment of her efforts to diffuse in America a knowledge of the language and the affairs of Italy.

Mrs. Howe was a very earnest advocate of the cause of peace, and for many years before her death had been an officer of the American Peace Society. At the time of the Franco-Prussian war she was greatly stirred, and drew up an appeal to mothers asking, "Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere to prevent the waste of human life of which they alone know and bear the cost?" The appeal was translated into French, German, Spanish, Italian and Swedish, and circulated widely in the various countries of Europe. As long as she lived she continued to write and speak in the interest of international peace and arbitration. On her death, her old-time friend and co-worker in the cause of peace, John T. Trowbridge, wrote of her:

"She sang the battle hymn that rings
Down the long corridors of time;
Her lifelong human service sings
Of peace, an anthem more sublime."

Mrs. Howe regarded as the most important work of her life that which she did for woman, to promote the higher education of woman, a larger life for woman, the emancipation of woman from many of the bondages which were upon her, and the suffrage for woman as a necessary step in

her further progress. In this cause she labored earnestly as long as she lived, speaking for it in public conventions, lecturing in its behalf in all parts of the land, pleading for it before State legislatures, and writing for it with a tireless pen.

She was not one of the very earliest advocates in America of the woman suffrage movement. In this cause Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Lucretia Nott were some years in advance of her. Like many others she was at first prejudiced against the movement, but when she came to look carefully into its meaning and the reasons for it, she found herself drawn irresistibly into sympathy with it, and for more than forty years there was no more ardent advocate in America of equal suffrage for man and woman than she. In 1868 she took a leading part in organizing the New England Woman Suffrage Association, became its first president, and was its president at the time of her death. Accompanied by other women of ability, culture and influence, and sometimes by men of distinction like Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, she spoke at great suffrage conventions all over New England. Her eloquence and her literary and social prestige were a tower of strength to the cause during its early years of unpopularity.

Not less important was the work she did as President of the national organization known as the "Association for the Advancement of Women" or the "Women's Congress." For many years this Congress held one or more meetings each year in leading cities in all parts of the United States and in Canada. The programmes, extending over three or four days, were not confined to suffrage, but included education and all subjects bearing on women's progress and larger life. The leading women of the nation were brought to these Congresses as speakers. The things said were widely reported in the papers of the country. The audiences drawn together in the various cities were very large, crowding the most capacious theatres, opera houses and halls. Nothing done before had ever produced such a widespread intellectual and moral awakening among the women of the nation as did these Congresses. Wherever they were held they left behind them a train of women's clubs, woman's suffrage

associations, women's study classes, motherhood societies, societies for child-study, and associations, of many kinds for promoting better education for women and girls, for opening new avenues of activity for women, and for improving homes.

One of the last enterprizes of Mrs. Howe's life was a census which she secured of the opinions of the ministers and editors of the four woman-suffrage States in the Union, as to whether or not effects of equal suffrage had been good, upon the women themselves, upon homes and upon society. She gave the results of her census in the very last number of the *Boston Woman's Journal* issued before her death. And what were the results? To her letters of inquiry she received 624 answers; of these 62 were unfavorable to the suffrage, 46 in doubt and 516 in favor. The Episcopal ministers of all four of the States, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Idaho, declared more than two to one that the effect of suffrage upon women, the home and society had been good: the Baptist ministers declared the same seven to one; the Congregationalists eight to one; the Methodists ten to one and the Presbyterians eleven to one. We can easily understand how gratifying such testimony must have been to one who had labored so long in the suffrage cause as Mrs. Howe had done.

Mrs. Howe has been called the "mother of Women's Clubs," and the "mother of women's organizations of every kind." Undoubtedly the women's club movement, and indeed the whole movement for organization among women, which has become so widespread in this country and which has caught like a prairie fire from our own to other lands, is traceable to Mrs. Howe more than to any other single person. When she came on the scene there were no women's clubs; indeed there was comparatively little intellectual life of any kind among the women of this country. But she believed that women were capable of intellectual life, and needed it as much as did men. More than that, she believed that women would be made wiser and better by it, wiser and better as wives and mothers. Therefore, from the very beginning of her career she set out to do what she could to promote it, by seeking to secure as good educational advantages for girls

and young women as for boys and young men; by efforts to secure suffrage to women the same as to men; and, as hardly less important than either of the others, by efforts to induce women to organize themselves into clubs and circles and associations for objects of mutual improvement, and the good of others. She recognized the power of united effort; and she said, "Why should not women avail themselves of this power, for the enlargement of their own lives and for the benefit of Society?"

When she began to organize women for these large and important ends, it was hard and slow work. Precedent and all the influences of conservatism were against her. Men frowned and women feared. It was declared to be unwomanly for women to organize themselves together for any purpose at all. Or, at the very farthest, they should not go beyond uniting in small sewing circles to sew for the poor. To organize for intellectual purposes, or to promote movements of any magnitude for the public good, was thought almost a crime.

What a change has come! The little acorn which Mrs. Howe and a few others with her planted 40 or 50 years ago has become a great tree, whose branches extend from State to State and from land to land, and whose "leaves are for the healing of the nations."

Not that the widespread organization of women which we see to-day, into clubs and societies and associations for objects of a hundred different kinds, is all good. Of course it is not all good. What movement in the world is? Everything has its weak side. If we condemn all advance movements that are not perfect we shall never have any progress at all. But after making all just allowances for limitations and imperfections, I do not see how any thoughtful person can witness without satisfaction and pride and great new hope for the world, the work which women's clubs and other organizations are doing today all over this country, and in many others; not only for the enlargement of the intellectual life of women themselves, for the culture and training of women in literature, science, knowledge, music and art, but also for the promoting of almost every worthy cause—every cause that means love and kindness and human good in our time.

Consider the situation as we see it today. as regards religion, education, temperance; charities, philanthropies and social reforms of a hundred kinds; the work of improving homes and making motherhood more intelligent; child-saving work; improvements in jails and prisons and poor houses; civic improvements, city and village beautification; city and town and home sanitation, and food inspection; homes for orphans and for the aged; hospitals for men, women and children, and nursing for the poor; social settlement work, boys' and girls' clubs, playgrounds for children; kindergartens for the poor; day nurseries to help poor and over-burdened mothers; travelling libraries; flower and fruit missions,—where is there anything good going on or undertaken that is not to a greater or less degree the result of women's love, women's efforts and women's organizations?

To have been a leader, perhaps more than any other woman *the* leader, as Mrs. Howe has been, in creating all this splendid side of our modern American social development, our modern American higher civilization, is a glory greater than falls to many human beings in this world.

Mrs. Howe was one of the most faithful, loving and devoted of mothers. She brought up a family of five children, a son and four daughters, all of whom became worthy, useful and honored members of society. I want to call particular attention to this side of her life because it is so often said that educated women do not make good mothers,—that culture somehow detracts from motherhood, and especially that women who go so far as to care for the welfare of the City, the State and the Nation, and to desire the privilege of voting, for that very reason must be poor mothers.

Mrs. Howe was highly educated, she was richly cultured, she cared always and earnestly for the welfare of her City, her State and Nation and for fifty years she never ceased to lift up her voice on all proper occasions to let it be known that she wanted the ballot for herself and her sisters. But all who knew her, united in testifying that there could not be a truer or a better mother.

All her intelligence and culture and wide interests in public life enriched her home, made her a truer and more delightful and helpful companion to her husband, and a

dearer, more lovely and more inspiring mother to her children. Think how much more she was able to give to her children than would have been possible without her culture, her knowledge and her wide outlook. For children to be brought up with such a mother, is the finest of all possible educations.

We have many portrayals of Mrs. Howe's home life. Perhaps none is better than that given us by her daughter, Mrs. Richards, in her book entitled, "When I was your age." Says Mrs. Richards:—

"Our mother's genius might soar to heaven on the wing of such a song as her 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' but we always considered that she was tied to our little string, and we never doubted our perfect right to pull her down to earth whenever a matter of importance—such as a doll's funeral or a sick kitten—was at hand.

To her our confidences were made, for she had a rare understanding of the child mind. We were always sure that Mamma knew 'just how it was'.

Through all and around all, like a laughing river, flowed the current of her wit and fun. No child could be sad in her company. If we were cold, there was a merry bout of 'fitticuffs' to warm us; if we were too warm, there was a song or story while we sat still and 'cooled off'. We all had nicknames, our own names being often too sober to suit her laughing mood. We were 'Petotty', 'Jehu', 'Wolly' and 'Bunks of Bunktown.' What fun we got out of these names! It was worthwhile to have measles and things of that sort, not because one had stewed prunes and cream toast, but because our mother sat by us, and sang 'Lord Thomas and Fair Elinor,' or some mystic ballad.

It was very strange to us to find other children holding their revels without their father and mother. 'Papa and Mamma' were always the life and soul of ours.

Sometimes our mother would give us a party, and that was sure to be a delightful affair, with charades or magic lantern or something of the kind.

Study always formed an important part of our mother's life. It was her delight and recreation, when wearied with household cares, to plunge into German metaphysics, or into the works of the Latin poets, whom she greatly loved. Yes, very much our mother loved her books, yet how quickly were they laid aside when any head was bumped, any knee scratched, any finger cut! When we tumbled down and hurt ourselves, our father always cried, 'Jump up and take another,' and that was very good for us; but our mother's kiss made it easier to jump up.

Our mother read to us a great deal too, and told us stories, from the Trojan War down to 'Puss in Boots.' It was under her care that we used to look over the 'Shakspeare book.'

We had many famous picnics and parties. The picnics are remembered with especial delight. A picnic with our mother and one without her were two very different things. I never knew that a picnic

could be dull till I grew up and went to one where that brilliant gracious presence was lacking.

Our walks with our mother are never to be forgotten,—twilight walks around the hill behind the house, with the wonderful sunset deepening over the bay; turning all the world to gold and jewels: or through the valley itself, the lovely wild glen, with waterfall and its murmuring stream, and the solemn Norway fire, with their warning fingers. Here, and in the lovely lonely fields, as we walked, our mother talked with us, and we might share the rich treasures of her thought.

'And oh, the words that fell from her mouth
Were words of wander and words of truth.'

One such word, dropped in the course of conversation as the maiden in the fairy story dropped diamonds and pearls, comes now to my mind and I shall write it here because it is good to think of and to say over to one's self:—

'I gave my son a palace
And a kingdom to control,—
The palace of his body,
The kingdom of his soul.'

What a sermon was that! Do you think a child would ever forget it?

That is the way to teach children religion,—your children and mine. We must live very near to them, as Mrs. Howe did. We must win their confidence as she did. We must be their truest, nearest, dearest of friends, as she was. We must let them see that we care, very deeply care, for love and truth and God, and all the high things that religion stands for. And then, when we are alone with them in beautiful places, and we feel that we are very close to them in sympathy and feeling, we must speak the simple, reverent, earnest word that is in our hearts, drop the seed of a sweet, high, tender thought, perhaps about God, perhaps about duty, perhaps about living nobly, into their minds. And we may be sure that it will be a seed of life. It will not die. It will live and grow in the years to come, when we have forgotten all about it. It will bear fruit after we have gone from the earth.

Mrs. Howe was a fine musician. A volume of musical compositions from her pen was published only two or three years ago. Her voice was one of rare sweetness, and until very late in life she was wont to give great pleasure to her friends by her singing. In her home her music was a constant joy to all. Her daughter, Mrs. Richards, writes: "Our mother's story should be sung rather than said, so much has music to do with it." Her children

recall as among the very happiest recollections of their home life the habitual gatherings of the family at twilight around the piano to sing together, but especially, greatest treat of all, to listen to the songs of their mother. It seemed to them that she knew all the songs in the world, for she never came to the end of her repertoire. Besides those of her own composing, there were "gay little French songs, all ripple and sparkle and trill; and soft melting Italian serenades and barcaroles, which seemed like the notes of the nightingale; and merry jovial German student songs, which she learned from her brother when he came back from Heidelberg." And with all the rest there was no lack of songs that were serious and earnest, full of noble thought and tender feeling. Thus it was, that through all the years that her children were growing up, music was one of the most constant and effective of all the agencies laid hold of by Mrs. Howe to add charm to the home and make it the most attractive place in the world to her family.

Mrs. Howe was a woman of a deeply religious nature. But her religion was not superstitious or dark or ascetic, or one that cut her off from society or from the joy of life. It was one of light and reason and love. It made her sympathetic toward sorrow and suffering, and helpful to all who needed assistance; and it opened her life to everything sweet and beautiful and good.

She was never formally ordained as a preacher, but she preached much, and always with great acceptance. Generally her preaching was done in Unitarian pulpits, but not always. In the later years of her life she was welcome in almost any of the pulpits of the country except those of the Roman Catholic or the Episcopal order. Though she was often heard in crowded and fashionable churches, yet she liked best to speak to the poor and the humble. She said she never enjoyed preaching so much as when she gave a series of sermons to a congregation of barefooted negroes in the Island of San Domingo when her husband was United States Commissioner there.

As a preacher she was quiet, thoughtful, instructive and persuasive; everybody liked to hear her. She always spoke with digni-

ty and winning grace, and thus did much to disarm those who were opposed to women occupying pulpits.

She believed that the Christian ministry in all churches ought to be open to women. In this she was in advance of her age. For many years only the liberal churches (Unitarian and Universalist) allowed women to preach. But progress has been made, now fully half a dozen Christian denominations are opening their pulpits to women.

Twenty years or more ago she organized a Woman's Ministerial Conference, of which she was made the president, and she remained such up nearly to the time of her death.

Mrs. Howe had had a number of honorary degrees conferred upon her by colleges and universities, the last only a few weeks before her death, when she received the degree of Doctor of Humanities from Smith College, at Northampton, the largest of the American colleges for women. Here, as she was brought upon the platform in a wheeled chair, the great audience of 3000 greeted her with the most enthusiastic applause, and as if with one voice joined in singing her "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Dr. Burton, the President of the College, in conferring the degree characterized her felicitously and truthfully as "poet and patriot, lover of letters and learning, advocate for more than half a century in print and in living speech of great causes of human liberty; sincere friend of all that makes for the elevation and enrichment of womanhood, to whom in her serene, gracious and venerated age we offer felicitation and grateful homage."

The American people are often spoken of as materialistic, lacking in idealism, worshippers of money. But the love and esteem in which Mrs. Howe was universally held goes far to disprove the charge. No rich woman, even though a multimillionaire, had any such place in the public regard as did she. The entrance of a dozen women of the greatest wealth into a public gathering would evoke no such enthusiasm and no such expressions of honor and regard as were sure to follow a recognition of her presence.

Mrs. Howe's old age was a remarkable one, continuing as long as it did, and so full of activity to the end; and also so full

to the end, of courage, of cheer, of brightness and of joy in living! At ninety she said: "The deeper I drink of the cup of life, the sweeter it grows".

She passed her ninetieth birthday in the forenoon at home reading Greek, and in the afternoon meeting two public commissions, before one of which she made an earnest and very able plea for pure milk for infants.

At eighty she published the following poem, which well epitomizes her long and beautiful life—

"I made life's voyage on a golden river,
'Neath clouds of opal and of amethyst;
Along its banks bright shapes were moving ever,
And threatening shadows melted into dust.

My eye, unpractised, sometimes lost the current,
When some wild rapid in the stream would whirl;
But soon a Master Hand beyond the torrent
Freed my frail shallop from the dreaded swirl.

My voyage nears its close. In some still haven
My bark will find an anchorage of rest,
When that kind Hand, which every good has given,
Opening with wider grace, shall give the Best."

Her funeral was held at the Church of the Disciples with which she had been so long connected. It was noticeable how cosmopolitan in character was the great congregation that gathered to express their sorrow at her going. It included people of many nationalities, many religious faiths, and from all walks in life, rich and poor, white and black, the most famous in the land and the most obscure. All alike loved and honored her. The principle address was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association. A touching feature of the funeral was a song entitled "In Fears of Grief", sung by twelve blind pupils from the Perkins Institute, the school for the blind which was established by Dr. Howe, and in which Mrs. Howe had been so deeply interested all her life. Perhaps most impressive of all was the fact that while the services were going on in the church every public school on Boston suspended its regular exercises, and devoted half an hour to the memory of the great and beloved woman who had gone, by reading or reciting her poems, singing her Battle Hymn, or otherwise recalling her rare life, her exalted character and the services of so many kinds which she had rendered to Boston and to the world.

I may fittingly close with some lines from Mrs. Howe's pen. She entitled them "An Epitaph." We may think of them as written to mark her own resting place—

"Overgrow my grave,
Kindly grass!
Do not wave
To those who pass
A single mournful thought
Of affection come to nought.

Look up to the blue .
There, light-hid,
Lives what doth renew
Man's chrysalid.
Say not : She is here ;
Say not : She is there ;
Say : She lives in God,
Reigning everywhere !"

Hartford, Conn. U, S. A.
December 5th, 1910.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH

III.

PROFESSOR W. Romaine Newbold had a series of sittings with Mrs. Piper and obtained some very striking results. I shall briefly describe only one of the incidents in his series of sittings. Pelham in this case acted as intermediary for a deceased aunt of Prof. Newbold, called aunt Sallie, who died in 1875 when he was only ten years old. This aunt Sallie recognised Prof. Newbold with hesitation and wanted a test for his identification.

"There were two marriages in this case, mother and aunt grandma also (Prof. Newbold—I understand Mr. Pelham) just say this for their satisfaction so that they may be quite sure you understand them and that you are you."

Prof. Newbold's paternal grandfather was twice married. His second wife had a younger sister whom Prof. Newbold's father married. She is Prof. Newbold's mother. The elder sister therefore is both his aunt and his step-grandmother. "Aunt Sallie" then proceeded to explain to Prof. Newbold the cause of her death in a peculiar manner. The hand stopped writing and motioned to Prof. Newbold. After several changes of position which seemed unsatisfactory to G. P., he got on his feet and the hand felt around the lower edge of his waist coat and then paused to write, "Excuse this uncanny procedure." Finally, it pressed firmly on median line about the lowest button of his waist coat and wrote, "Ask mother if she remembers this!" Prof. Newbold observes,--

"My aunt died of the effects of an operation for the removal of an ovarian cyst. When this was written

I looked over to Dr. Hodgson and said, 'she refers to the cause of her death, she died of a laparotomy. The hand at once wrote, 'yes, yes, yes, yes sir'."

At another sitting the following words were written, "Carson the doctor took away my medicine much against my will, yet it is all right now." Prof. Newbold remarks.—

"It occurred to me that an old doctor named Carson had lived not far from our home when I was a child. I wondered whether he could have had any thing to do with my aunt Sallie. I knew that she had lived near Philadelphia and had died at a hospital near New York. Upon inquiry I learned that she spent two weeks at our house near New York before going to the hospital and was attended by this Dr. Carson. I must have known this at the time but have totally forgotten it. The incident of the medicine cannot now be verified."

Discussing as to whether this case can be accounted for by telepathy, Prof. Newbold says :—

"The demand made by 'aunt Sallie' that I should identify myself by expounding the significance of 'two marriages in this case, mother and aunt grandma also,' admits of no satisfactory telepathic explanation. The fact was known to me and might have been got telepathically. But why is the dream personality of the only communicator who died in my childhood the only one who seeks to identify me? Why does she allude in so indirect a fashion to the mode of her death? Certainly no stratum of my personality would have felt hesitation in alluding to so common place a matter as a laparotomy or would have lacked suitable language in which to express the allusion. Whence came the reference to 'Carson the Dr.', a circumstance which I had totally forgotten, if I ever knew it. And, finally, why was the faded personality of this almost forgotten maiden aunt evoked at all? I was not ten years old when she died, and she had been dead twenty years. She was a teacher, lived in Philadelphia, died in a hospital in New York and was buried near Philadel-

phia. I do not know the exact date of her death or the exact place of her burial. Probably few persons besides her immediate relatives know that such a person ever existed, and even her relatives seldom think of her. Why were these dim memories so clearly reflected while others, far stronger, produced no effect? Why were my memories, in process of reflection, so refracted as to come seemingly not from my masculine and adult point of view but from that of a spinster aunt who could not at first recognise me with confidence, and who, taking it for granted that her little nephew of ten had not been informed as to the precise cause of her death, expected him, although grown to man's estate, to convey a very obvious allusion to his mother for interpretation without himself knowing what it meant?" (*Proceedings S. P. R. Vol. XIV, P. 9*).

The evidence for continued existence furnished by Mrs. Piper's trance phenomena often appealed strongly to competent observers:—

"A friend of mine," says Prof. Newbold, "a scholar who has been known for his uncompromising opposition to every form of supernaturalism had a sitting with Mrs. Piper, at which very remarkable disclosures were made, and shortly afterwards said to me, in effect, 'Scientific men cannot say much longer that there is no evidence for a future life. I have said it, but I shall say it no longer; I know now that there is evidence, for I have seen it. I do not believe in a future life. I regard it as one of the most improbable of theories. The evidence is scanty and ambiguous and insufficient, but it is evidence and it must be reckoned with.'"

In order to enable the reader to understand the next phase in the development of Mrs. Piper's trance phenomena and also on account of its own intrinsic importance, I must make a rather long digression at this point and give some account of the mediumship of W. Stainton Moses, known as M.A. (Oxon). Mr. Myers has given a full account of this remarkable and unquestionably genuine medium in two long papers published in the ninth and eleventh volumes of the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research and it is from these papers that I gather my materials.

The Rev. W. Stainton Moses was born in 1839 and received a very good education, taking his M.A. degree at Oxford in 1862. After taking his degree he was ordained by Bishop Wilberforce and accepted a curacy at Manghold in the Isle of Man at the age of 24. His religious views were those of the Church of England. He soon became very popular among his parishioners for his kindness and benevolence.

"On the occasion of an outbreak of small pox",

says Mr. Myers, "he distinguished himself by his zeal and kindness, and it is recorded that in one case he helped to nurse and to bury a man whose malady was so violent that it was hard to get any one to approach him."

In 1871 he accepted a mastership in University College School and continued to fill this post until 1889. All who knew him well speak of his honesty and sincerity in the highest terms.

"Neither I nor, so far as I know, any person acquainted with Mr. Moses," writes Mr. Myers, "has ever entertained any doubt regarding his sanity and probity."

He was, from all accounts, a most estimable man.

"However perplexed for an explanation" (of his phenomena,) says Mr Massey, "the crassest prejudice has recoiled from ever suggesting a doubt of the truth and honesty of Stainton Moses."

His mediumistic faculty was first developed in 1872. The physical phenomena began in 1872 and continued till 1881, becoming less and less frequent towards the end of this period. The automatic writing began in 1873 and ceased in 1883. Stainton Moses was never a public medium. His seances were strictly private, attended only by his personal friends Dr. S. T. Speer, Mrs. Speer and occasionally by Mr. F. W. Percival (Barrister-at-law and examiner in the education department). Notes of the phenomena that occurred were taken at the time and independently by Dr. Speer, Mrs. Speer and Mr Moses himself, when he was not in trance. These notes fully agree with each other. The importance of Dr. Speer as a witness of these phenomena is so great that it is necessary to quote here the testimony of Dr. Marshall Hall, F.R.S. It shows how reliable and competent an observer he was.

"I have great satisfaction in bearing my testimony to the talents and acquirements of Dr. Stanhope Templeman Speer. Dr. Speer has had unusual advantages in having been at the medical schools, not only of London and Edinburgh but of Paris and Montpellier and he has availed himself of these advantages with extraordinary diligence and talent. He ranks among our most distinguished rising physicians." "Dr. Speer's cast of mind," says Mr. Myers, "was strongly materialistic and it is remarkable that his interest in Mr. Moses's phenomena was from first to last of a purely scientific, as contrasted with an emotional or a religious nature."

Stainton Moses was for a long time averse to the publication of the notes of his experiences. In his later years, he published some of them in the spiritualist journal *Light*,

but the bulk of them was never published during his life time and Mr. Myers first revealed to the world portions of them. It will thus be seen that Mr. Moses had no motive for deceiving anybody, even if he could be regarded as capable of deception. But even the bitterest enemies of spiritualism have never suggested that Stainton Moses was dishonest. It is absurd to accuse a man of deception who does not want to make his experiences public. Mr. Moses, as has already been said, was not only an automatic writer but also a physical medium. The series of physical manifestations and the series of automatic writings and trance utterances were very intimately connected with each other. The physical phenomena were intended to give authority to the utterances and writings which professed to come from the same source. The chief controls of Stainton Moses were spirits who gave such names as Imperator, Rector, Doctor, Mentor, Prudens. They from time to time revealed to Mr. Moses the names which they said belonged to them in earth-life. These names Mr. Moses never let any one know except Mr. Myers and one or two other persons. They, we are given to understand, are of illustrious persons belonging to very remote generations. Imperator was the chief of the band and the writing was usually done by Rector.

"Their constantly avowed object," says Mr. Myers, "was the promulgation through Mr. Moses of certain religious and philosophical views, and the physical manifestations are throughout described as designed merely as a proof of power and a basis for the authority claimed for the serious teachings."

These teachings Mr. Moses published under the title of *Spirit Teachings*. It is one of the most remarkable books that I have ever read. Even if we suppose that the source of it was not any spirit but Mr. Moses's subliminal mind, it is a striking proof of the feat which the human mind, working unconsciously or subconsciously, can accomplish.

Mr. Myers has given a detailed account of the physical phenomena of Stainton Moses. The following is an abridgement of a short account of them by Mr. Charlton T. Speer, son of Dr. Speer.

Great variety of raps, often given simultaneously, and ranging in force from the tapping of a finger nail to the tread of a foot sufficiently heavy to shake the room. Each spirit *always* had its own distinctive

rap, many of them so peculiar as to be immediately recognisable.

Raps which answered questions coherently and with the greatest distinctness, and also gave messages, sometimes of considerable length, through the medium of the alphabet. Some of the higher spirits never manifested by raps at all, after the first few seances, but announced their presence by a note of music, or the flash of a light.

Numerous lights were generally visible to all the sitters. These lights were of two different kinds—objective and subjective. The former usually resembled small illuminated globes, which shone brightly and steadily, often moved rapidly about the room, and were visible to all the sitters. The subjective lights were described as being large masses of luminous vapour floating round the room and assuming a variety of shapes. Dr. Speer and myself, being of entirely unmediumistic temperaments, were only able to see the objective lights, but Mr. Stainton Moses, Mrs. Speer and other occasional sitters frequently saw and described those which were merely subjective.

Scents of various descriptions were always brought to the circle, the most common being musk, verbenia, new mown hay, and one unfamiliar odour, which we were told was called spirit-scent. Sometimes breezes heavy with perfume swept round the circle; at other times quantities of liquid musk etc. would be poured on to the hands of the sitters, and also by request, on to our handkerchiefs. At the close of a seance scent was nearly always found to be oozing out of the medium's head, and the more frequently it was wiped away the stronger and more plentiful it became.

The musical sounds, which were many and varied, formed a very important item in the list of phenomena which occurred in our presence. Having myself had a thorough musical education, I was able to estimate at its proper value the importance of these particular manifestations, and was also more or less in a position to judge of the possibility or impossibility of their being produced by natural means, or through human agency. These sounds may, roughly speaking, be divided into two classes—those which obviously proceeded from an instrument—a harmonium—in a room, whilst the hands of all the sitters were joined round the table; and those which were produced in a room in which there was no instrument of any kind whatever. These latter were, of course, by far the most wonderful.

Direct writing (*i.e.* writing not by the hand of the medium) was often given, sometimes on a sheet of paper placed in the centre of the table, and equidistant from all the sitters; at other times one of us would place our hands on a piece of paper previously dated and initialled, and usually a message was found written upon it at the conclusion of the seance.

We usually placed a pencil upon the paper, but sometimes we only provided a small piece of lead—the results bring the same in both cases, usually, the writing took the form of answering questions which we had asked but sometimes short independent communications were given, and also messages of greeting.

Movements of heavy bodies, such as tables and chairs were by no means infrequent. Sometimes the table would be tilted at a considerable angle. At other times the table would move away from

the sitters on one side and be propelled irresistibly against those on the other compelling them to shift their chairs in order to avoid the advance of so heavy a piece of furniture. The table in question, at which we usually sat, was an extremely weighty dining table made of solid Honduras Mahogany."

"The passage of matter through matter was sometimes strikingly demonstrated by the bringing of various articles from other rooms, though the doors were closed and bolted. Photographs, picture-frames, books, and other objects were frequently so brought, both from rooms on the same floor and from those above. How they came through the closed doors I cannot say, except by some process of dematerialisation, but come they certainly did, apparently, none the worse for the process, whatever it might have been."*

The physical phenomena of Stainton Moses are not the only ones on record. Those of D. D. Home were observed by so eminent a man of science as Sir William Crookes and we have his testimony to the genuineness of them. They were entirely analogous to those of Stainton Moses. An account of Sir William Crookes's experiences will be found in his book, *Researches in the phenomena of spiritualism*, now out of print and difficult to obtain. Sir William Crookes re-affirmed his conviction as to the genuineness of the phenomena of D. D. Home in his Presidential address to the British Association at Bristol in 1898.

"No incident in my scientific career," observed he, "is more widely known than the part I took many years ago in certain psychic researches. Thirty years have passed since I published an account of experiments tending to show that outside our scientific knowledge there exists a force exercised by intelligence differing from the ordinary intelligence common to mortals. This fact in my life is, of course, well understood by those who honoured me with the invitation to become your president. Perhaps among my audience some may feel curious as to whether I shall speak out or be silent. I elect to speak, although briefly. To enter at length on a still debatable subject would be unduly to insist on a topic which, -as Wallace, Lodge and Barrett have already shown- though not unfitted for discussion at these meetings, does not yet enlist the interest of the majority of my scientific brethren. To ignore the subject would be an act of cowardice--an act of cowardice I feel no temptation to commit. To stop short in any research that bids fair to widen the gates of knowledge, to recoil from fear of difficulty or adverse criticism, is to bring reproach on science. There is nothing for the investigator to do but to go straight, on, 'to explore up and down, inch by inch,

* As descent from above or an upward movement would be unintelligible to beings acquainted only with two dimensions of space, so, perhaps, are these phenomena mysterious to us whose conception of space is that it possesses three dimensions. But what reason is there to suppose that *our* conception of space is the ultimate conception?

with the taper his reason;' to follow the light wherever it may lead, even should it at times resemble a will-o'-the-wisp. I have nothing to retract. I adhere to my already published statements. Indeed I might add much thereto."

The case of Eusapia Palladino is analogous to those of Moses and Home, so far as the physical phenomena are concerned. She was branded as a fraudulent medium by the Society for Psychical Research, after Dr. Hodgson had detected her tricks at the Cambridge sittings. Sir Oliver Lodge, however, retained his conviction that some at least of the phenomena observed by him could not be explained by fraud. After Eusapia was dropped by the Society for Psychical Research, she came under the observation of many continental savants. They were men like Cesare Lombroso, Camille Flammarion, Professor Shiaparelli, the famous Astronomer, Professor Richet, Professor Curie, M. Henri Bergson, M. Charpentier, Professor Bottazzi and others. The opinion of practically all these observers "is that after making every allowance for such fraud as she may occasionally permit herself to indulge in Eusapia is nevertheless possessed of faculties of some supernormal kind." The Society for Psychical Research never reconsiders a case once rejected by it as false or suspicious. But they found it impossible to ignore the conclusion formed by so many eminent men after personal observations and decided, against their standing rule, to reinvestigate the phenomena of Eusapia Palladino. Messrs. Hereward Carrington, W. W. Baggally and the Hon. Everard Fielding, well-known experts in the domain of conjuring, were deputed to this task. They, after very careful investigations, reported early in 1909 that the phenomena observed by them were genuine. Some of these phenomena were,-- movements and levitations of the seance table; raps on the table; movement of a tambourine; production of a tangible hand; production of cold breeze from the medium's brow; several appearances of objects like heads and of grey and white objects from cabinet, also of a hand; gentle twanging of guitar; appearance of lights; series of transportation of objects from inside cabinet. (*Proceedings, S. P. R.* Vol. xxiii, pp. 329-30).

The main object of Imperator, the chief spirit guide of Stainton Moses, was to inculcate certain religious and philosophical

doctrines. The physical phenomena were intended merely to prove that supernormal agencies were at work. Regarding his automatic writing and the relation of the teachings of Imperator to his own views, Mr. Moses writes,—

"It is an interesting subject for speculation whether my own thoughts entered into the subject-matter of the communications. I took extraordinary pains to prevent any such admixture. At first the writing was slow, and it was necessary for me to follow it with my eye but even then the thoughts were not my thoughts. Very soon the messages assumed a character of which I had no doubt whatever that the thought was opposed to my own. But I cultivated the power of occupying my mind with other things during the time that the writing was going on, and was able to read an abstruse book, and follow out a line of close reasoning while the message was written with upbroken regularity. Messages so written extended over many pages, and in their course there is no correction, no fault in composition, and often a sustained vigour and beauty of style. It is certain that the mass of ideas conveyed to me were alien to my own opinions, were, in the main, opposed to my settled convictions and moreover that in several cases, information of which I was assuredly ignorant, clear precise and definite in form, susceptible of verification, and always exact were thus conveyed to me."

Besides producing physical phenomena Imperator and his associates often assisted other spirits to communicate in order to give evidence of identity and of survival after death. I describe below the striking cases of Abraham Florentine and "Blanche Abercrombie."

In the month of August 1874, Stainton Moses was staying with Dr. Speer at Shanklin, Isle of Wight. He had a number of sittings there at one of which a spirit who gave his name as Abraham Florentine communicated. He said that he had taken part in the war of 1812 and that he had recently entered spirit life at the age of 83 years 1 month 17 days. The communication was made in a peculiar manner. Mr. Moses and two others were seated round a heavy table which two persons could move with difficulty. This table commenced to tilt. The sitters repeated the alphabet.

"So eager was the communicating spirit," says Mr. Moses, "that the table rose some seconds before the required letter was arrived at. In order to mark T it would rise, quivering with excitement, in a manner perfectly indescribable, about K, and then descend at T with a thump. The whole message was given in this way."

"So eager and impetuous was the spirit that Mrs. Moses guessed that he must be a

good soldier—'a fighting man notice to meet.'"

With a view to ascertain whether the communication represented actual facts, this incident was advertised in an American paper and the inquiry was made as to whether anyone ever heard of Abraham Florentine. In due course the American mail brought a reply from Wilson Millar, claim agent to the effect that in the records of all those who made claims for service in the war of 1812 appeared the name of Abraham Florentine of Brooklyn, N. Y. He added that a full record of his service could be obtained in the office of the Adjutant General of the State of New York, in claim No. 11518, war of 1812.

The Adjutant General being asked for the facts gave the information that "Abraham Florentine, private in Captain Nicole's Company, 1st Regiment New York Militia, Colonel Dodge, volunteered at New York on or about September 2, 1814; served 3 months and was honourably discharged." Mr. Moses's friend in America Dr. Eugene Crowell, M.D., traced out Abraham Florentine's widow and obtained from her a complete confirmation of the message communicated in the Isle of Wight with this immaterial difference that according to the widow Abraham Florentine's age at the time of his death was 83 years 27 days, while the spirit stated it to be 83 years 1 month 17 days. This is a case which is hardly possible to explain by telepathy. Is it credible, is it rational to suppose that the telepathic impulse started from the mind of Abraham Florentine's widow or some other person who knew him in America, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, reached the Isle of Wight and there instead of acting on the medium's mind produced such a thumping of a heavy table as shook the floor?

The case of "Blanche Abercrombie" is so remarkable that I make no apology for quoting Mr. Myers's account of it in full,—

The first case which I shall quote under this section is in some ways the most remarkable of all from the series of chances which have been needful in order to establish its veracity. The spirit in question is that of a lady known to me, whom Mr. Moses had met, I believe, once only, and whom I shall call Blanche Abercrombie. The publication of the true name was forbidden by the spirit herself, for a reason which was at once obvious to me when I read the

case, but which was not, so far as I can tell, fully known to Mr. Moses. The lady's son, whom I have since consulted, supports the prohibition, and I have consequently changed the name and omitted the dates.

The lady died on a Sunday afternoon, about twenty years ago, at a country house about 200 miles from London. Her death, which was regarded as an event of public interest, was at once telegraphed to London, and appeared in Monday's *Times*; but, of course on Sunday evening, no one in London, save the Press and perhaps the immediate family, was cognisant of the fact. It will be seen that on that evening, near midnight, a communication, purporting to come from her, was made to Mr. Moses at his secluded lodgings in the north of London. The identity was some days later corroborated by a few lines purporting to come directly from her, and to be in her handwriting. There is no reason to suppose that Mr. Moses had ever seen this handwriting. His one known meeting with this lady and her husband had been at a seance—not, of course, of his own where he had been offended by the strongly expressed disbelief of the husband in the possibility of any such phenomena.

On receiving these messages Mr. Moses seems to have mentioned them to no one, and simply gummed down the pages in his M.S. book marking the book outside "private matter". The book when placed in my hands was still thus gummed down, although Mrs. Speer was cognisant of the communication. I opened the pages (as instructed by the executors) and was surprised to find a brief letter which, though containing no definite facts, was entirely characteristic of the Blanche Abercrombie whom I had known. But although I had received letters from her in life, I had no recollection of her handwriting. I happened to know a son of her sufficiently well to be able to ask his aid—aid which, I may add, he would have been most unlikely to afford to a stranger. He lent me a letter for comparison. The strong resemblance was at once obvious, but the A of the surname was made in the letter in a way quite different from that adopted in the automatic script. The son then allowed me to study a long series of letters, reaching down till almost the date of her death. From these it appeared that during the last year of her life she had taken to writing the A (as her husband had always done) in the way in which it was written in the automatic script.

The resemblance of handwriting appeared both to the son and to myself to be incontestable; but as we desired an experienced opinion he allowed me to submit the notebook and two letters to Dr. Hodgson. Readers of these Proceedings may remember that Dr. Hodgson succeeded in tracing the authorship of the "Koot Hoomi" letters to Madame Blavatsky and to Damodar, by evidence based on a minute analysis of letters. (Dr. Hodgson in his report, which need not be quoted here says,—"I have no doubt whatever that the person who wrote the notebook writing intended to reproduce the writing of Blanche Abercrombie.") The chance necessary to secure a verification of this case was more complex than can here be fully explained. This lady, who was quite alien to these researches, had been dead about twenty years when her posthumous letter was discovered in Mr. Moses'

private notebook by one of the very few surviving persons who had both known her well enough to recognise the characteristic quality of the message and were also sufficiently interested in spirit identity to get the handwritings compared and the case recorded."

The following are the evidential portions of the entries in Stainton Moses's note book,—

"Mentor (a spirit-guide of Moses) writes,—It is a spirit who has just quitted the body. Blanche Abercrombie in the flesh. I have brought her. No more M.

Q. Do you mean.—

No reply. Sunday night about mid night. The information is unknown to me.

Monday morning.

Q. I wish for information about last night. Is that true? Was it Mentor?

A. Yes, good friend, it was Mentor, who took pity on a spirit that was desirous to reverse former errors. She desires us to say so. She was ever an enquiring spirit, and was called suddenly from your earth. She will rest anon. One more proof has been now given of continuity of existence. Be thankful and meditate with prayer. Seek not more now, but cease. We do not wish you to ask any questions now.

† Imperator Servus Dei.*

(A few days later) A spirit who has before communicated will write for you herself. She will then leave you, having given the evidence required.

"I should much like to speak more with you, but it is not permitted. You have sacred truth. I know but little yet. I have much, much to learn. It is like my handwriting as evidence to you."

Blanche Abercrombie.

Stainton Moses died in 1892. Towards the end of his life, he suffered a great deal from suppressed gout, chronic bronchitis, Bright's disease.

"When in September 1892," says Mr. Myers, "he passed from earth, we may surely trust that his achievements here had won their way to promotion, and his sufferings to repose." "With the even tenour of this straightforward and reputable life," observes the same writer, "was inwoven a chain of mysteries which in what way so-ever they be explained make that life one of the most extraordinary which our century has seen."

To resume the main thread of our narrative: At the sitting with Mrs. Piper on June 19th, 1895, George Pelham told Prof. Newbold that the soul did not carry with it into the spirit world its passions and animal appetites. This led Prof. Newbold to ask G. P. whether the view expressed in Stainton Moses's *Spirit Teachings* that the soul is very slowly purified of its passions and appetites in the other world was true. G. P. emphatically said that it was not so.

* All the messages coming direct from Imperator are indicated by a sign of the cross.

He was next asked whether he could manage to induce Stainton Moses to communicate. He replied that he would try. After much difficulty Stainton Moses, who, G. P. said, was in another part of their world was brought and purported to communicate. His communications, however, were very confused and incoherent. He admitted that the particular doctrine in *Spirit Teachings* to which reference has been made was not true and accounted for the mistake by saying that the teaching of his spirit guides was in this particular misinterpreted by his own mind as the doctrine in question was strongly held by him. Moses was next asked to give the names of his spirit-guides known as Imperator, Rector and Doctor. Prof. Newbold said to Moses that the names which these spirit-guides gave to him when alive were known only to Mr. Myers and if he could correctly give them that would be a splendid proof of his identity. Moses utterly failed to do this and was extremely confused in his communications. Dr. Hodgson pointed out to G. P. the importance of Moses being clear. The upshot of all this was that Stainton Moses said that he would obtain the assistance of his former controls, Imperator and Rector appeared later on and demanded that the control of the "machine", as the entranced Mrs. Piper was called by them, should be completely handed over to them. This was agreed to and the immediate effect of the control passing over to Imperator was a great improvement in the clearness of the communications made through her. With the assumption of supreme control by Imperator, Phinuit ceased to appear.

Professor James Hyslop of Columbia University arranged for a series of sittings with Mrs. Piper during the Imperator regime. He, to use a famous phrase, was roused from his dogmatic slumber by Dr. Hodgson's second report and felt it necessary to have some personal sittings in order to understand thoroughly the nature of the phenomena. He fully realised the force of Dr. Hodgson's summing up in favour of the spiritistic hypothesis and found it impossible to ignore the evidence presented by him. Professor Hyslop's sittings were held in 1898. He took extraordinary precautions against his identity being

known to Mrs. Piper. He went to the sittings in a closed coach and while he was several hundred feet from the house, he put on a mask covering the whole face. When he entered the house, Dr. Hodgson introduced him as Mr. Smith. He bowed in silence, did not shake hands with Mrs. Piper and remained absolutely silent as long as she did not fall into trance. Various deceased relatives of Prof. Hyslop manifested themselves and purported to communicate and gave striking proofs of their identity. One of the most important of them was Prof. Hyslop's father, Mr. Robert Hyslop. I quote below Prof. Hyslop's shorter account of some of these sittings.

"At the end of a sitting as Mrs. Piper was coming out of trance, she gave the surname 'Hyslop' and said 'Tell him, I am his father.' My father had died a little more than two years previous. During the sitting the name Eliza was given, that of my aunt who had suddenly lost her husband about three weeks before in the West, and some incidents mentioned in her life with her husband that were characteristic, and an allusion, apparently made by father, to a dream of this aunt, saying that she had seen him in it. Inquiry proved this to be a fact. The uncle was mentioned but the mistake in the name spoiled its evidential force. At the third sitting began a series of incidents of considerable value. The first allusion to it was in the statement that 'It was not a hallucination but a reality, but I felt that it would be possible to reach you.' A little later in the same sitting he said that he had promised to come back if possible and let me know that he was not annihilated, adding 'I remember well our talks about this life and its conditions, and there was a great question of doubt as to the possibility of communication. That, if I remember rightly, was the one question we talked over.' At the next sitting recurring to the same subject he asked me: 'What do you remember, James, of our talks about Swedenborg? Do you remember of our talking one evening in the Library about his description of the Bible?' In a sitting held by Dr. Hodgson in my behalf, while I remained in New York, and recurring to this subject of our conversation again, he said: 'Shut out the thought theory (meaning the telepathic theory) and do not let it trouble you,' and mentioned Swedenborg again.

Later still on the same subject he said; 'Do you remember our conversation on this subject? (yes, I do. Can you tell me when it was.) Yes. Do you remember of my last visit. your last visit with me? (yes, I remember it well.) It was more particularly on this occasion than before. (yes, that is right. Do you know what I was doing just before I made the visit?) Yes. I believe you had been experimenting on the subject, and I remember of your telling me something about hypnotism. (Yes, I remember that well) And what did you tell me about some kind of manifestation which you were in doubt about? (It was about apparitions near the point of death) [excitement in hand] Oh yes, indeed, I recall it very well, and you

told me about a young woman who had had some experiments and dreams.' The next day recurring to the topic again I was asked if I remembered what he said when I told him about dreams.

The facts were these. About a year before my father's death I was lecturing in Indianapolis on this subject and surprised my father, and paid him my last visit. During the three or four days of that visit we had many hour's talk on the phenomena of psychic research, including thought transference, hallucinations, apparitions, dreams, hypnotism and an experiment that I had performed, in connection with a coincidental dream by a lady with whom I had also performed some experiments in crystal vision. I explained apparitions on that occasion as possibly only hallucinations, and was exceedingly sceptical about them, though admitting that they might be more. This was the only occasion on which we had any extended conversation on the subject. We talked of Swedenborg in our conversations but I had completely forgotten it, and had to ascertain its truth from my step-mother, who remembered it well, as she had to ask my father who Swedenborg was after I left. My father was not a spiritualist, in fact, did not know enough to despise it as most people do, and I suppose that he knew nothing of Swedenborg. I had explained the Piper case as presented in the first two reports by thought transference, and hence the pertinence of the exhortation to 'shut out the thought theory.'" (*Science and a future life*. Pp. 216-18).

At another sitting Professor Hyslop's father said that his voice was the last he had heard. Professor Hyslop asked him what medicine he had got for him from New York. The word "Himi" was written and in connection with it strychnine was also mentioned. The medicine bought for him was Hyomei. Prof. Hyslop did not then understand the significance of the reference to strychnine, but on enquiry from other members of the family he learned that his father used to take strychnine with the Hyomei. A black skull cap was mentioned and it was stated that Hettie's mother had made it for Prof. Hyslop's father. Hettie is the name of Prof. Hyslop's half-sister. He knew nothing about this cap and wrote to his step-mother about it. He learned from her that she had made a cap for Mr. Robert Hyslop, as he was very bald and complained of feeling his head cold during the night.

On another occasion, Robert Hyslop asked, "Do you remember the penknife I cut my nails with?" "No father, not very well." "The little penknife with the brown handle. You certainly must remember it."

"Was this after you went West?" "Yes." Prof. Hyslop knew nothing about such a penknife. He wrote to his brother, sister and step-mother separately, asking them if his father ever possessed the kind of knife described, without giving them any reason for making the inquiry. All of them replied that it was so and that the knife still existed.

Many of the expressions used during these sittings were peculiar to Mr. Robert Hyslop. He was a very orthodox Christian, a rigid Calvinist. One day Dr. Hodgson said to him, "Mr. Hyslop you ought to look for my father and make friends with him. He had religious ideas like yours. I think you would understand each other very well, and I should be pleased." At the next sitting the following reply was made to Dr. Hodgson, "I have met your father; we talked, and we liked each other very much, but he was not very orthodox when he was alive." Dr. Hodgson's father was a Wesleyan and therefore held more liberal views than Mr. Robert Hyslop. On another occasion, Robert Hyslop observed, "Orthodoxy does not matter here; I should have changed my mind about many things if I had known." At another sitting, speaking to Prof. Hyslop he said, "Let that thought theory alone. I made theories all my life, and what good did it do to me? It only filled my mind with doubts."

These are only a few of a large number of such incidents. The description of the most interesting of them would take so much space that I am reluctantly obliged to pass them over.

What happened to Dr. Hodgson happened to Prof. Hyslop also. He was led to adopt spirit communication as the best hypothesis for the explanation of Mrs. Piper's trance phenomena. As is so often the case with philosophers and men of science Prof. Hyslop had been a thorough disbeliever in a future life before he was convinced of the existence of strong evidence for the reality of it by the communications of George Pelham and his own observations.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

THE REVOLUTION IN PERSIA

Only on this account I am grieved that I have not lived to reap what I have sown, and that I have not fully attained to that which I desired. The sword of unrighteousness has not suffered me to see the awakening of the peoples of the East, and the hand of ignorance has not granted me the opportunity to hear the call of Freedom from the throats of the nations of the Orient... Be not wearied by Persian ignorance! Be not frightened by the ferocious acts of Sultans! Strive with the utmost speed, and endeavour with the greatest swiftness. Nature is your friend, and the Creator of nature your ally. The stream of renovation flows quickly towards the East.... Strive so far as in you lies to abolish those practices which stand between the Persians and their happiness, not to annihilate those who employ these practices. If you merely strive to oppose individuals your time will be lost. If you seek only to prevail against them, the evil practice will draw to itself others. Endeavour to remove those obstacles which prevent your friendship with other nations.—*Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din to a friend.*

NOT unnaturally the eyes of all Indians are today turned towards countries like Turkey, China, and Persia, where the peoples left free from the dominating influence of European nations in search of countries to exploit, have been developing a marked desire to evolve for themselves one kind of representative Government or another, and thus disturbing in no gentle way the comfortable theories of all European "Imperialists" that any kind of representative responsible government of a country is entirely foreign to oriental minds and traditions. It was more than fifty years ago that the late Prince Albert declared that representative Government was on its trial; and since then many thinkers and statesmen, with honest motives of reactionary tendencies, have not ceased to decry against it. No doubt the working of representative institutions in many (according to Western ideas) advanced lands is far from smooth, and leaves much room for radical improvement. But it can not be denied that, notwithstanding all its numerous shortcomings, representative government is today found to be the only machinery of government which brings the greatest practicable

good to the millions of the governed, and as far as human sagacity and ingenuity can foresee and devise, is the only form of government that can do so. Small wonder then the strivings of the people of Asiatic countries are diverted into that channel. The achievements of the young Turks have been an old story by this time; and there are not enough materials to hand to let us have a clear idea of what is happening in China. I here intend to narrate in brief the main events of the Persian Revolution, and to try to make clear to the readers of the "Modern Review" the origin and progress of the remarkable awakening of the people in that ancient land.*

The real trouble in Persia may be said to begin from the latter part of the year 1890, when the then Shah, under the advice of unpatriotic ministers, began to sell monopolies and concessions to foreign syndicates and financiers, to meet the many unjustifiable and ruinous expenses on his personal luxuries, and foreign tours. It is no new thing to us Indians and Asiatics to be lectured that it is foreign capital that develops our resources, our trade, and our commerce, and that therefore we should fall on the necks of those benevolent people who mean us nothing but well, and should bless our stars that after all there is some philanthropy existing in this base world. But those who have watched, and read dispassionate accounts of events in Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, and until lately in China, can see how finance is always made the handle to advance imperialistic aggressions of rich and powerful European nations, and can understand the reasonableness of the distastefulness of such foreign concessions and loans, to the Persian people themselves, to whom the integrity of their own country

* The materials on which this brief narrative is based are newspaper reports but mainly the standard work of Professor Edward Browne on the Persian Revolution (1905—1909) which would amply repay perusal to any one that cares to do so.

means everything. The Shah's visit to Europe for the third time in 1889 proved as usual very costly to the not very overflowing treasury of the country. Before that he had granted Baron J. de Reuter a concession for the formation of a State Bank with the extensive right of issuing banknotes and exploiting the mineral resources of the country, to a Russian Prince the first refusal of any railway concession which might be granted during the succeeding five years, and to a Persian a Lottery concession which was sold by him to a British Syndicate; and as a result of the first concession the Imperial Bank of Persia was established by British Royal Charter. This Bank floated the scheme of constructing a carriage road from Ahwaz to Tihran, and transferred its mineral rights to a new corporation. It is an obvious truth that to hand over the supreme instruments of production of a country into foreign hands, and thus to sacrifice the future to an immediate small gain is the surest and shortest cut to national ruin; but these facts did not strike themselves to the Shah and his ministers as of any validity. To cap all, between March and November of 1890, monopoly to control the production, sale and export of tobacco in Persia was granted to a British Corporation for an annual rent of £15,000 in addition to one-quarter of the annual profits after the payment of all working expenses and a five p. c. dividend on the capital. As the *Akhtar*, the Persian paper then published in Constantinople, pointed out, the interests of the tobacco-growers and consumers of Persia were uncontrollably sold without any corresponding adequate advantage, to foreigners. The activities of the new Corporation soon roused public opinion, and there were riots at Tabriz and other places in Azarbayjan, and Isfahan and Shiraz soon followed their example. The Russian Government viewing the success of the British Syndicate with jealousy refused to support the Shah against his own people, and counselled him to cancel the concession. Throughout the Persian struggle, the religious Mullas like the Irish priests, have added a lustre to themselves by siding with the popular movement, although they are quite alive to the uncontrovertible fact that in time to come

this liberalizing tendency among the people is bound to dislodge them from their positions of sanctity and infallibility. At the beginning of December 1891, Haji Mirza Hasan of Shiraz, the *mujtahid* of Samarra enjoined the people to boycott tobacco altogether until the concession should be repealed; and the people showed such a loyalty and self-abnegation in listening to this advice that in a short time the monopoly was rendered worthless. The concession had consequently to be repealed by the end of the year; but it was not until the end of the January of the next year that the spiritual prohibition against the use was withdrawn, although the Shah tried to intimidate Haji Mirza Hasan into submission. The Persian people were robbed of a sum of £500,000 which had to be paid to the Corporation as compensation; but the whole affair unmistakably proved the coming development of the national awakening.

Then came the Persian loan question of May, 1892, followed by an apparent calm of about four years. On May 1st, 1896, Nasiruddin Shah was shot dead by a Mirza Muhamad Riza of Kirman. On June 8, Muzaffaruddin Shah came to the throne.

"Of kindly nature, weak health, and melancholic disposition, averse from cruelty and bloodshed, disliking to refuse requests or incur unpopularity, and lacking initiative and self-reliance, he suffered rather than caused the Government of Persia to grow steadily worse, while refusing or at least omitting, to follow those methods of repression whereby his father had to a considerable extent held in check overt manifestations of the discontent which was universally prevalent."

The Aminus-Sultan who had won notoriety in the tobacco concession fiasco yielded place only for a short time to Amin-ud-Dowla, as President of the Council of Ministers, and as Prime-Minister. As money was sorely needed everywhere, three Belgian officers were invited to re-organise the customs in 1899, which step subsequently proved a great source of just irritation to the Persian national conscience. The first Russian loan of £2,400,000 was negotiated in the beginning of 1900, which dealt a serious blow to British influence in Persia. The Shah's visit to Europe during the year and his return revived some rumours of projected reforms which did not after all

take any definite shape. In 1901, the European press noted the existence of a wide-spread revolutionary movement, fostered by growing discontent with the Government, especially on account of negotiations for a new loan from Russia, and declared the existence of a minor stage of siege in Tihiran. This projected loan carried with it a concession to construct a new road from Julfa (on the Russo-Persian frontier) to Tihiran. Meanwhile the Shah's visits to Europe were costing a great deal to the Persian taxpayer, and discontent was gathering volume. The number of Belgian officers in the customs had increased to thirty; and England having recovered from the shock of the South African War, was trying to regain her lost prestige in Persia. In the middle of 1903, there were serious riots in Tihiran and Yazd. A new tariff imposed severe hardships on Persian subjects; and the general discontent unfortunately manifested itself in the persecution of the Babis in June, and August, and bread-riots in Shiraz. There were plots of the Anglo-phil and Russo-phobe party to depose the Shah. Meanwhile Belgian influence in the shape of officers whose services had been engaged was being slowly but securely expanded and consolidated; and British and Russian rivalry was at its bitterest. The high Belgian tariff and the arrogance of M. Naus and his assistants were resented by merchants and the general public; and the high-handed conduct of Governors at Mashad and Kirman deepened the popular resentment. Things soon came to a head, and towards the close of the year 1905, a large number of merchants took sanctuary (*bast*) in Masjid-i-Shah, where they were later on joined by many prominent *mullas*. The Shah tried his best to intimidate or cajole them into returning to Tihiran, but his efforts were unavailing, and he had to send an autograph letter promising to dismiss obnoxious ministers, abolish favouritism, convene a House of Justice consisting of representatives elected by the clergy, merchants, and landed proprietors, &c. Upto now there was no demand for either a constitution or a legislative assembly; and it was the unwillingness of the rulers to give up any of their unjustifiable pretensions that brought such demands into being.

Silver had risen high in price, and the speculator was abroad. The shortage of silver compelled the mint at Tihiran to suspend operations, and thus added the currency trouble to the already full list. The English Imperial Bank was flooding the country with paper money which the Persian merchants could not see their way to accept. By April, 1906, the *mullas* of Tihiran petitioned the Shah to carry out his promises about the proposed reforms, but matters far from improving grew worse. Streets were in the hands of the military, and spies were busy everywhere. During the month of *Muharram*, the *masjid* pulpits began to ring with denunciations of tyranny, and a Secret Society and a National Library were founded. Ayn-ud-Dowla issued an order for the expulsion of two notable *mullas*, and this question led to a conflict of the people with the troops on June 21, in which a student named Sayyid Husayn and another Sayyid were killed. The bazars were closed as a protest; and the authorities threatened to have them looted if they were not re-opened. The state of affairs having become grave, during the third week of July nearly 5000 people led by many representative merchants and bankers took *bast* at the British Legation, and continued there until the end of the month when the Shah relented. On August 19, constitution and Parliament (*Mejlis*) were solemnly granted; and the return of the *bastis* and ecclesiastical leaders was made an occasion of great rejoicings. But there was some friction yet on the question of the ordinances drafted by the ministers, which was finally settled by the Shah yielding to popular demands. The *Mejlis* was to consist of 156 members, 60 representing Tihiran, and 96 the provinces; and the first Session was formally opened on the 7th of October, 1906.

But the course of the new form of Government was far from smooth. There were proposals of a joint Anglo-Russian Loan, to which the *Mejlis* strongly objected, and advocated an internal loan instead, for it clearly saw the necessity of checking foreign influences which had already grown to such alarming proportions as might one day endanger the independence of Persia. The *Mejlis* was giving unmistakable signs of an independence of spirit and integrity

of mind which disagreeably surprised the Shah and his supporters. Abdul Hamid alarmed at the growth of the constitutional movement in Persia and consequently feeling insecure on his own despotic throne was trying to embarrass the new regime on the N. W. Frontier. One remarkable feature of the constitutional movement was the rapid growth of journalism, which unmistakably reached a high level in spite of what the *Times* (July 2, 1908) thought of it:

"The free Press of Persia. proved to be as mischievous and as dangerous as it has proved to be in other Oriental lands."

As Mr. Browne remarks:

"The marked hostility of the *Times* to the spread of liberal ideas in the East easily explains such utterances to those who have followed its comments on Asiatic and North African affairs."*

The *Mejlis* soon set about drafting the Electoral Law and the Fundamental Law. Meanwhile Tabriz was upset by the tyranny of the Crown-Prince, and there were several disturbances. The foreign loan was negatived, and some progress was done with the question of the National Bank. On January 8, 1907, Mazaffar-ud-Din Shah died and was succeeded by Mahammad Ali Mirza. The new Shah was notorious for his re-actionary tendencies and is said to have often declared that he will rather be the slave of Russia and reign as despot over his subjects than rule as the limited monarch of a constitutional country. The *Mejlis* had a heavy task before it. The finances of the country

* In this connection the following reproduced from Mr. Browne's book would be interesting. In endeavouring to find the causes of the hostile attitude of *Times* he suggests these,—

"(1) That the fate of Persia was a matter of very little importance to Great Britain compared with the maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe, that to this end Russia's friendship was indispensable to us; and that therefore nothing must be said or done likely to wound Russian susceptibilities..

"(2) That, having regard to the 'Nationalist' fermentations existing in Egypt and still more in India, it was inexpedient to countenance kindred movements even in independent Asiatic countries; and that, in order to strengthen the case against any extension of popular government in Egypt or India, and for the restriction of the freedom of the Press in those countries, it was desirable to maintain the doctrine that no Oriental nation was fit for self-government or a free press."

Many radical journals have been freely attributing the latest phases of Sir E. Grey's foreign policy in regard to Persia to either or both of the above reasons.

were at its lowest ebb, the ministers of the Shah had yet to be trained to be amenable to Parliamentary control, disturbances were occurring in every part of the country; Russia while abetting the Shah was threatening to intervene; England was coming to terms with Russia; and on the day of the signing of the Anglo-Russian agreement Aminus Sultan was shot; the Shah's conduct was arousing suspicion; &c. On November 12, the Shah for the fourth time solemnly swore to be faithful to the Constitution; but men's minds were not unreasonably suspicious, and the press was calling on the people to arm themselves and be prepared to shed the last drop of blood in the defence of their country.

The storm broke out on 15th of December, when the Shah tried to intimidate the *Mejlis* by stationing Cossacks and hired ruffians in the *Maydan i-Tup-Khaneh*. He invited the Cabinet to his palace and had Nasir-ul-Mulk and others imprisoned, but they had subsequently to be liberated. But the *Mejlis* continued to sit; and the *Anjuman*s, or national associations, in the provinces threatened to march their National Volunteers on the capital. The Shah had ultimately to yield, and a hollow truce was patched up. During the interval, however, Shapshal Khan the notorious Russian Jew, who was the tutor of Mahammad Ali, had managed to raise some money on the Shah's personal and crown jewels.

While Persia was passing through these stormy times, things were not wanting to increase her embarrassment. On 31st of August, 1907, was signed the Anglo-Russian Convention dealing with Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia. Men had seen the working of the Anglo-French Convention of 1904 with regard to Egypt and Morocco and its natural consequences; and it was not unreasonable that in this understanding of England, with Russia they should see the first beginnings of a contemplated partition of Persia.

The crisis referred to had come to an end by the dismissal of re-actionary ministers by the Shah. Notwithstanding the complaints of the Shah and his apologists in Europe, it must be acknowledged that the *Mejlis* was doing splendid work. M. Naus and his Belgian assistants were dismissed at the demand of the Assembly. It also saw that

its own measures were carried out by the Shah's Ministers. Its finance committee had elaborated many drastic reforms in the way of the retrenchment of the expenditure and the raising and collection of the revenue. Besides great efforts were made to improve the relations with the Shah, and a conciliation committee for this purpose was formed. But in spite of apparent improvement, clouds were threatening on the political horizon. On 18th December, a Zoroastrian Banker was murdered; and the trouble arose because the Mejlis demanded the punishment of one of the Shah's re-actionary courtiers whose instigation it suspected in the crime. At the end of February, 1908, a bomb was thrown at the Shah's automobile. The re-actionaries declared the Nationalists to be the perpetrators of the crime; and these accused the former of being *agent-provocateurs*. By the end of May, the Shah demanded that the newspapers and popular orators should refrain from speaking against him, while the Mejlis demanded the dismissal of six of the most stubborn reactionaries. The Shah made pretence of giving way on June 1; and on 2nd the Russian Minister and the British Charge d'affaires literally threatened the Nationalists as to the consequences if anything was done to the Shah, which made matters worse. Next day the Shah fled to Bagh-i-Shah, outside the walls. On June 5th, the Shah invited several notables to the Bagh, and had about three of them arrested. He then began to collect troops, seized all the telegraph offices, arrested the Assistant Minister of war, declared martial law, filled the town with Cossacks and put Colonel Liakhoff in command, besides disarming the people as far as possible. Martial law was established, the town was filled with Cossack patrols with Colonel Liakhoff in command; and the dispersal of the people assembled in the Mosque was immediately demanded. The Emergency Committee of the Mejlis tried their best to pacify the people. The Shah then demanded the expulsion of eight prominent leaders, the control of the Press, and the disarmament of the people. On June 17, all the shops were closed; and during the day large numbers of persons gathered in the mosques around the Bahristan, the Parliament building, to support the Mejlis. Riots

broke out in Rosht, Kirman, Isfahan, and Tabriz; and the last named town, which has always shown an advanced type of intelligence and patriotism, formally deposed the Shah, and made preparations to stand by the constitution. A practical help in the shape of 300 horsemen and some money was immediately dispatched to the capital. The Shah meanwhile kept battering the Mejlis with impossible demands. He now tried to lull it into a false sense of security by sending unfounded re-assuring messages, and agreed to refer the matters in dispute to a mixed committee. The prospects of a reconciliation seemed somewhat brighter.

Early in the morning of 23rd June, the day of the *coup d'état*, the Bahristan and the Masjid were surrounded by a large body of Cossacks, and streets were filled with troops. Colonel Liakhoff and Shapshal Khan were seen prominently ordering the disposition of troops. Suddenly the bombardment of the parliament house was begun. The Nationalists made gallant attempts at defence, but they were worsted. After a resistance of about eight hours, the two buildings, which ought to have been sacred to any Persian, were reduced to ruins, and the defendants either slain, captured, or put to flight. The eight leaders were traitorously handed over by the Amin-ud-Dowla to the Shah; and most of them were disposed of in a summary way.

Colonel Liakhoff was now appointed military governor of Tihiran. The part played by this soldier and many other incidents have proved beyond doubt the complicity of the Russians with the re-actionary Shah. It is stated on good authority that all the communications passing between the Shah and the Mejlis on the eve of the bombardment were immediately translated and sent to the Russian Legation by the former. The anxiety displayed by the Russian Government is natural inasmuch as it would not tolerate the existence of a well-regulated constitutional state on the borders of its Asiatic possessions. Besides having been rolled back from Manchuria by Japan and thus prevented from finding an opening into the sea for the vast land-locked empire, it is not in any way surprising if it tries to get an access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

But for the Shah, his troubles were only just beginning. Tihiran lay prostrate in his iron grip; but there was Tabriz, the second city of the empire, which refused to submit. Not many details of its heroic stand against the Shah for about 10 months, are known. The citizens suffered many privations; but the siege was gallantly withstood against by them led by Satar Khan, 22nd April, 1909, when the Russian troops entered the town. Many times when the defence of Tabriz was at its bravest, rumours of Russian intervention were ominously rife. This was always distasteful to the Persians, and not without reason, as the sequel has abundantly shown. That there was no cause for anxiety about danger to foreign lives and property was asserted by many foreign eye-witnesses who testified to the excellent order maintained by the Nationalists.

Meanwhile the British and Russian Ministers were pressing the Shah to restore the constitutional Government; and the Shah now and again made a pretence of yielding. By the beginning of 1909, the provinces, inflamed by the example of Tabriz had risen. On January 5th, the Bakhtyaris under Samsamus Sultana took Isfahan, and a local Constitutional Assembly was formed in the town. On February 8th, Rasht was in the hands of the local Nationalists. The Sipahdari-i-Azan who had been some months ago in command of the Shah's troops before Tabriz, now joined the Nationalists. Thus by the beginning of March, 1909, there were four great Nationalist centres, Tabriz, Isfahan, Rasht, and Lar.

Meanwhile Tabriz was in great straits. The Shah's troops in league with Rahim Khan's brigands were closely hemming in the city. The Shah did not seem to be in a mood to carry out his promise to let food pass into the city. So the Russian force advanced by forced marches, and entered Tabriz on April 29th. For the time all seemed to be lost. But the Sardari Asad declared on 3rd May his intention of marching on the capital. The Shah made another promise to restore the constitution, on 10th May; but it was too late. The Rasht Nationalists took Kazwin on 5th May, and Qum was occupied by the Bakhtyaris on 3rd June. The Sipahdar (whom some regard as not particularly

enthusiastic about the cause), and the Sardari Asad began to concentrate their movements on the capital from different directions. There were many delays; and the Russian and British representatives tried their best to dissuade these leaders from their purpose, fortunately without success. The Bakhtyaris engaged in a first skirmish with the Royalist troops at Shah-abad on 4th July. There was another fight at Badamak. And finally early in the morning of 13th July, the combined Nationalist forces entered Tihiran. There was some desultory fighting in the town. But the end came on 16th when the Shah sought refuge at the Russian Legation. Colonel Liakhoff surrendered with his Brigade. The Shah was formally deposed; and the young Sultan Mirza proclaimed the Shah in his place.

Thus ended the ignominious reign of a king who stands today before the freedom-loving world as a king who perjured his conscience away, who did not scruple to make war on his unfortunate subjects that he might enjoy unbridled power, who had the good of his country and his people farthest from his thoughts, and who did not hesitate to barter away the independence of his country to get money for his own pleasures. The heritage of evil left to the Persian people by him and his two immediate predecessors still lives behind them, and hangs like a threatening cloud over the country in imminent peril of breaking into heavy disasters any moment.

Although the fountain-head of tyranny was uprooted, it was no plain sailing for the people and their representatives in the Mejlis. The treasury was empty; and money was sorely needed to organize everything. The presence of foreign troops on the Persian soil is another hindrance to the Mejlis having a free hand in the settlement of its difficulties. The arrogant and high-handed conduct attributed to these troops on good foundations is upsetting the people. Besides their very presence detracts from the independence and liberty of Persia. Russia has throughout the Persian struggle ranged herself on the side of her enemies. Obliging in many ways to the ex-Shah, after his overthrow she has extended her protecting arm to brigands like Rahim Khan and Darab Mirza. The

plea of protecting foreign lives and property indeed sounds markedly hollow in the face of the fact that she has lately expressed her willingness to vacate the Persian territory if Persia consented to renew some of the defunct concessions previously granted to Russians, "an attempt at blackmailing against which even the *Times* has protested."

Later events by no means form a cheerful narrative. The problem of internal dissensions has been one of the most disturbing perhaps. Some of the elder chief actors in the above drama were not always actuated by altruistic motives. For instance, Satar Khan, according to all honest accounts, was at his best when the cause of Tabriz was at its lowest in the early days of the siege, but later on he much degenerated. As in Turkey, the younger Nationalists of Persia had at first to place all power into the hands of men like the Sipahdari Azam, Satar Khan, and others; but such men lacked the honesty of purpose and enthusiasm of younger people. So the intrigues of the Sipahdar, the forcible disarmament of the *fidais* (7th August, 1910), the wounding and subsequent pensioning of Satar Khan, the assassination of Sayyid Abdullah-i-Babbehani (15th July, 1910), the death of the late Regent, and such other events continued to disturb the political sky; until the younger moving spirits had to come forward to take the respon-

sibility of power, and make determined efforts to save the situation. Lastly, the ultimatum of the British Foreign Office to the Persian Government to properly guard the southern trade routes, presented in October last, has thrown the Nationalists into consternation. The real obstacle in the path of progress is a want of money. Unfortunately Persia is not allowed to borrow money from any convenient lender, because the British Government is of opinion that if any one beside the British Bank in Tihiran becomes the creditor of Persia, the former loans of the country might be endangered. The dispassionate world is indeed amazed at these demands of the British, as much as it was at the French demands coupled with the recent abortive Turkish Loan. The fate of Persia hangs in the balance; and God alone knows whether her people are to be allowed to reap the fruits of their hard-won struggles, or they are to pay the penalty of being the subject of a "approchement" or a "Convention" between two powerful Empires. In case the latter comes to pass, the loss will not be that of Persia alone, but that of the whole world. But we may hope for the best; for as the Arabic saying goes, verily the hand of God is on the side of the multitude.

N. H. SETALVAD.

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LONDON.

TORU DUTT: A MEMOIR

BENGAL was stirred during the Victorian Era by a creative period in literature whose history yet remains to be written. Fragments of this history have been given to the public from time to time in the form of biographies. Each of these throws some light upon the hidden forces working below the surface. One of the latest of these is an admirable record of the life of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, which gives a striking picture of the spiritual ferment that acted like leaven among the educated classes. Other bio-

graphies will no doubt follow. Here and there, an aged leader still remains, who lived through the period and knew its inspiring figures. Such men are able still to recount their own experience of its glories. I have been privileged to meet and talk with one of these old Nestors. The impression left upon me was one of anxious interest. It made me long that a collection might be made of such personal reminiscences as he told me, before it was too late. All too soon the living memory will have passed away. The proverb is

often true that prophets are without honour in their own country. Movements sometimes share a similar fate. Bengal should take every precaution, that the proverb is not true in her own case. Fragmentary records are not sufficient. A history of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century is sorely needed.

I was reading, during the Long Vacation, the chapter written by Sir Richard Jebb, in the Cambridge Modern History, on the Renaissance in Europe. The Bengal literary revival has, it is true, features of its own, which cannot be paralleled from the West. But again and again, as I studied the history of the European movement, the facts that I had learnt about Bengal came before my mind. There was the same fluttering spirit of literary adventure trying its new wings of flight: the same passionate patriotism and memory of the past, quickened and enkindled by the impulse of the new life: the same return, after many wanderings and experiments, to the homely mother-tongue of the people: the same longing for a more liberal social order, which should correspond with the new ideas of mankind. All these factors were common to both periods. Let me quote, with some necessary abbreviation, the words of Sir Richard Jebb to illustrate my meaning:—

'The Renaissance movement in Europe would appear almost miraculous, if the new light were supposed to have flashed upon Italy at Petrarch's word, from a background of utter darkness. The fact is rather that the dawn had long been growing in the sky. The new spirit differed in two respects from any which the middle ages could show. In the first place *excellence of literary form now became a direct object of study and of imitation*. The second difference was still more important. Greek and Latin literature were welcomed not only as supplying standards of form, *but as disclosing a new conception of life*: a conception freer, larger, more rational and more joyous than the medieval; one which gave unfettered scope to the play of human feelings, to the sense of beauty, and to all the activities of the intellect. Medieval orthodoxy recoiled from that view of life, and especially from that claim of absolute liberty for the reason, which formed part of the Renaissance ideal. Indeed we are continually reminded, throughout the whole course of the Italian Renaissance, that the new movement had medieval forces to combat or to reconcile. It was only some of the stronger spirits, in that time of transition, who thoroughly succeeded in harmonising Christian teaching with a full acceptance of the new learning.'

Substitute 'English' for 'Greek and Latin' in the above passage, and 'Medieval Hindu-

ism' for 'Medieval Christianity,' and how much remains the same for both periods! How strikingly the human mind, all the world over, follows the same course, when the times are ripe! Sir Richard Jebb goes on to show, that the movement in Italy inevitably led the writers of poetry forward to the recovery of the language of their ancestors, which, 'barbarised in the course of centuries, bore witness to the ancient glories of the land in which they lived, and to the civilisation whose monuments were around them.... Practical utility conspired with patriotic sentiment.' At a time when Italian dukes and princes were ready to sell their birth-right to France and Spain for a mess of pottage: at a time when Italy herself, by the evil traditions of the past, was divided into a thousand factions, the new literary movement, learning at last to trust the mother-tongue for its self-expression, produced an uplifting of the common people, which one day was to unite Italy and make her raise her head again among the nations of the earth

Such thoughts as these rise to the mind when studying the literary development of one of the frailest and most delicate flowers of the Bengal Renaissance, Toru Dutt, whose wonderful powers were cut short by an early death: Toru Dutt, the young Lycidas of the movement, 'dead ere her prime': Toru Dutt, the brilliant child of the Muses, who, if she had lived, might have reached a pinnacle of fame in English verse that only Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning could have equalled among women.

The story of the discovery in England of her budding genius has been told in an unforgettable passage by Edmund Gosse, the critic.

"It was while" he writes "Professor Minto was Editor of the 'Examiner', that one day in August, 1876, in the very heart of the dead season for books, I happened to be in the office of that newspaper, and was upbraiding the whole body of publishers for issuing no books worth reviewing. At that moment the postman brought in a thin and sallow packet with a wonderful Indian postmark upon it, containing a most unattractive orange pamphlet of verse, printed at Bhowanipore and entitled, 'A Sheaf gleaned in French Fields by Toru Dutt.' This shabby little book of some two hundred pages, without preface or introduction, seemed specially destined by its particular providence to find its way hastily into the waste-paper basket. I remember that Mr. Minto

thrust it into my unwilling hands, and said "There! see whether you can't make something of that!" A hopeless volume it seemed, with queer type, published at Bhowanipore, printed at the Saptahiksambad Press. But when at last I took the volume out of my pocket, what was my surprise, and almost rapture, to open at such a verse as this:—

Still barred thy doors! The far east glows,
The morning wind blows fresh and free.
Should not the hour that wakes the rose,
Awaken also thee?

All look for thee, love, light and song;
Light in the sky deep red above,
Song, in the lark of pinions strong,
And in my heart, true love.

Apart we miss our nature's goal,
Why strive to cheat our destinies?
Was not my love made for thy soul?
Thy beauty for mine eyes?

When poetry is as good as this, it does not much matter, whether Rouveyre prints it upon Whatman paper, or whether it steals to light in blurred type from some press in Bhowanipore."

The family of Govin Chundra Dutta, her father, consisted of three children. Abju, the only son, died in early youth. Aru and Toru, the two daughters remained. Their mother exercised an extraordinary influence over their early days. She filled the young imagination of her children with the old songs and stories of their nation, and gave them a passionate love for their own motherland. They were also brought up in the careful performance of all domestic duties, and, as long as health remained, would do all they could to render help in the home circle. But meanwhile their intellectual gifts were not allowed to lie idle. Toru's faculty of memory was wonderful. After a single perusal of a book, she could repeat long passages by heart without a mistake. She never slurred over any difficulty in her studies, but worked out the meaning of everything she read.

'We used' her father writes 'to have a debate sometimes about the significance of a Sanskrit word, and in nine cases out of ten she proved to be right. At times I was so sure of my ground, that I would playfully lay a small wager on my correctness. But when the authorities were consulted she was almost always the winner. It was curious and pleasant to watch her when she lost. First a bright smile, then thin fingers patting my grizzled cheeks, then perhaps some quotation from Mrs. Browning, her favourite poetess, like this:—

'Ah, my gossip, you are older and more learned
and a man!'

The extreme delicacy of Govin's children

made him wisely undertake a journey to Europe in days when very few Bengali families made such a tour. The whole family travelled together. As Christians, there was no difficulty for them in the sea voyage and in foreign residence. The sunny climate of France was found to be most suitable for Toru's health. They also travelled in Italy.

The poetical faculties of Toru's mind seem to have slumbered till this adventure of foreign travel brought them forth. Under its impulse her imagination suddenly awoke, and her genius became creative, pouring forth poetry and prose in English and French with rich profusion. Her early work was naturally crude in the extreme; but at each fresh flight of song she gained new powers. The French poets of the romantic school charmed her most, and she set to work to translate them into English verse. It was a strange phenomenon! A young Bengali girl, weak in health and feeble in frame, translating the foreign language of one country into the foreign metres of another, and flashing, in the process, into beautiful song. Of her first published work Gosse writes as follows,—

'It is a wonderful mixture of strength and weakness, of genius over-riding great obstacles, and of talent succumbing to ignorance and inexperience. That it should have been performed at all is so extraordinary that we forget to be surprised at its inequality. The English verse is sometimes exquisite; at other times the rules of our prosody are absolutely ignored, and it is obvious that the Bengali poetess was chanting to herself a music that is discord in an English ear. The notes are no less curious, and to a stranger no less bewildering. Nothing could be more naive than the writer's ignorance at some points, or more startling than her learning at others. On the whole the attainment of the book was simply astounding.'

I have quoted Gosse's appreciation in full since he stands, as a writer, in the highest rank of modern literary critics, and is one who is extremely careful in his use of words. The lavish praise he bestows, in this and other passages, on Toru's writings is seen to be justified the more they are studied. Genius, at so early an age, has rarely flown so high.

While Toru stayed in France, a friendship was begun with Madame 'Clarisse Bader, whose work, entitled 'La Femme dans L'Inde Antique', won Toru's heart because of its sympathy with her own sex.



REV. C. F. ANDREWS.

It was on a barricade in the street,
With guilty blood polluted, but made clean
Again with pure blood, that a child of twelve
Was seized by men with weapons in their hands.—

'Art thou of these?'—The child said, 'Yes I am.'
 'Good,' said the officer, 'thou shalt be shot:
 Await thy turn'. Then blinding flashes passed
 And his companions fell beneath the wall,
 While he looked on. 'Permit me, Sir, to go,
 And to my mother, in our house, give back
 This watch of hers.'—'Ah! thou wouldst fly!'—'Not

I shall return'—and the child scampered off.
 'Clumsy deceit, gross cunning of boy!'
 And all the soldiers with their captain laughed,
 And with the laughter mixed the rattle hoarse
 That issues from the throats of dying men.
 But the laugh ceased, for sudden he returned,
 Proud as Viala: step firm: forehead high:
 'Lo, here I am!'—Death, brass browed, blushed for

And the stern chief of pardon gave the sign.

None knew better than Toru herself, however, that such translations from a foreign tongue were but 'swallow flights' of song leading on to the poetry of her own country, and to the national themes on which her heart was fixed. In far off Italy and France she pined for her home in Bengal, the scenes of her childhood, the centre of her heart's affection. She recalls every feature of it,—the garden, the lotus flowers, the mango blossoms, the ranges of bamboos, the Casuarina tree, casting its shadow on the broad tank, moaning at night time in the wind,—

'Ah, I have heard that wail far, far away,
 In distant lands, by many a sheltered bay,
 Where slumbered in his cave the water-wraith
 And the waves gently kissed the classic shore
 Of France or Italy, beneath the moon,
 When earth lay tranced in a dreamless swoon.
 And every time the music rose, before
 Mine inner vision rose a form sublime,
 Thy form, O tree, as in my happy prime
 I saw thee, in my own loved native clime.
 Therefore I fain would consecrate a lay
 Unto thy honour, tree, beloved of those
 Who now in blessed sleep for aye repose.
 Dearer than life to me, alas! were they!
 Mayest thou be numbered, when my days are

With deathless trees, like those in Borrowdale,
 Under whose awful branches lingered pale
 'Fear, Trembling Hope, and Death, the
 And Time the shadow': and though weak the verse
 That would thy beauty fain, oh fain, rehearse,
 May love defend thee from Oblivion's curse.

There is an eager daring in these closing words of the young poetess,—the last she ever published. Her ardent love for her home makes her long that a memory may be given to her verse not less long-lived than that of Wordsworth himself. This hope may seem presumptuous, yet there are

lines in this lyric more musical and more passionate than much that Wordsworth wrote. Her own bold wish may come true and this poem of Bengal may yet find a place in English Anthologies of the future.

The ballads themselves, which Gosse has edited, are written in stately octosyllabic verses with the solemnity and simplicity of some Vedic chant of bygone days. Here Toru Dutt is on her own ground, and her whole heart goes out into her well-loved theme. They are too long to quote in a brief memoir such as this; and to make extracts from them would give little or no conception of their spirit. They must be read and studied as a whole.

As her short life drew to its close her heart turned more and more to her own Sanskrit literature. She planned a series of poems embodying the old classic legends of Bharat and Dhruva. With the daring of youth, dying though she was at the time, she even aimed at writing an epic which should be worthy to take its place among the songs of Bengal. When lying on her sick-bed, knowing there was no hope of recovery, she still pressed forward with her task hoping against hope. The bravery of that last illness, as she struggled on through physical pain and anguish, with her books around her, has been recorded by her father. It was, in its way, as true heroism as that of warriors on the battle field. In her fragile body dwelt an indomitable spirit, which sustained her to the last. Like the experience pictured in that saddest of all English sonnets, she too had beheld—

upon the night's starred face
 Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance.
 She too had known, that she would—

never live to trace
 Their shadows with the magic hand of chance.

She too had felt 'on the shore of the wide world' she stood alone. Yet never for a moment did her labour slacken or her spirit fail. She died, as she had lived, a lover of her country.

Had she been spared, her life would almost certainly have followed the same literary course as that of her fellow-Christian poet, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, and ended with pure and lofty poetry on great national themes written in her



The standing figure to the right is
MISS TORU DUTT.
The other figure is that of her sister
Miss Aru Dutt.

mother-tongue; for it was only her long residence abroad, and the fashion of the age, which made English, rather than Bengali, the medium of her early efforts. If she had lived on till her powers had matured and the times had changed, it is inconceivable that so ardent a lover of her country would have left on one side the Bengali language spoken by her own people. She would have been one of the foremost founders and makers of her own country's literature, a nation-builder of modern Bengal. Of her place in English literature Edmund Gosse in his Introduction speaks as follows:—

'It is impossible to exaggerate what we have lost in the premature death of Toru Dutt. *Literature has no honours which need have been beyond the grasp of a girl who at twenty-one had produced so much of lasting worth.* Her courage and fortitude were worthy of her intelligence. Among the 'last words' of celebrated people that which her father has recorded, 'It is only physical pain which makes me cry', is not the least remarkable or the least significant of strong character. . . . When the history of English literature comes to be written, there is sure to be a page dedicated to this fragile blossom of song'.

In our own day Sarojini Naidu alone has written English verse that can compare in melody and sweetness with that of Toru Dutt. Her fame will probably rank with Toru's in the time to come. Strangely enough, she also has written her noblest lyrics from her bed of sickness. One other voice has recently broken the silence in strains of rugged grandeur: unpolished, tumultuous, but resonant with true poetic passion,—Arabindo Ghose. Apart from these, I know no other who has written English poetry that will live. There have been many writers, like Romesh Chunder Dutt and others, who have composed pleasing and correct English verse: but there is a great gulf fixed between inspired poetry and fluent numbers,—all the difference, indeed, that exists between genius and talent. It is worthy of note that the three writers whom I have singled out as writers of English poetry that will live are Bengalis by race. It would appear that this remarkable nation is destined to lead modern India in the gift of song.

But something greater still has happened in Bengal than a succession of English poets, however high their fame:

something which makes a new era in the History of India. The writers and thinkers of Bengal, having experienced to the full the quickening impulse of the West, are returning to their first love, the language of their childhood, the language of the common people. That Bengali language is now becoming vocal with a thousand notes of music and song. Through its influence, the flame of patriotism, which Toru Dutt longed so earnestly to kindle, has reached the remotest villages.

Toru Dutt's brief life has not been lived in vain. At a time when the name of Bengal was held in low esteem, she raised it high among the nations of the West. In days when Indians were losing heart and despairing of themselves and their country, she turned deliberately away from foreign paths of song to write concerning the heroes and heroines of the past who had made her nation glorious. In an age when long residence in Europe led too often to denationalized habits of life, she remained a true Bengali lady, devoted to her own country's noblest ideals. She served her motherland faithfully and wisely in her own generation, labouring unceasingly in the midst of great bodily weakness. She died while her hopes were still unrealized and her ambitions yet unfulfilled. She endured 'as seeing the invisible', an idealist and an enthusiast to the end. The great modern world of lucrative trade and manufacture, of material pursuits and hard business standards, may pass by, or even trample under foot, contemptuously, this delicate flower of her life-work. But in the realm of the spiritual, her name will not be thus forgotten; and if spirit be the ultimate reality of the Universe her two small books of poetry will weigh in the balance of human history heavier than mighty enterprises of capitalism or gigantic schemes of commercial exploitation. If she could return to earth today, her heart would go out in love and pride to the Bengal of which she wrote her songs. She would see the seeds of patriotism which she helped to sow now bearing fruit, and a whole people awakening to self-conscious national life.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

PEOPLE OF THE CELESTIAL EMPIRE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

II.

SINCE the Manchow Tartar conquest, "the inhabitants were ordered in a curious despatch in the name of the great Cham of Tartary to shave all their hairs off, save enough to make a pigtail pendent from the very middle of their heads". This practice has been going on till now. If any person does not keep the necessary pigtail, he is punished by law. The Chinese wear 'a non-descript kind of clothes, such as can be worn both by men and women'. They use white cloth at the time of mourning and red cloth at rejoicing. No person can keep a beard or moustache until he attains the age of forty or becomes the head of a family. When two acquainted persons meet together they make 'koto' at first, *i.e.*, they partially kneel down *vis-a-vis* and utter some benedictions on each other with folded hands. When two equal persons meet together on the road they lift closed hands three times towards the head, uttering the words "Haon-ting, ting," *i.e.*, 'Are you well? Welcome, Welcome!'

As to physical development, the Chinese can give points to many nations in the world. They are full of health to the brim. It has been fairly remarked that nowhere does a finer shaped and more powerful race of men exist than the porters and coolies of Canton and Tientsin. This is to a great extent due to the general healthiness of their climate. Many of the Chinese can be models for the study of an artist.

They use tea without milk and sugar and in place of cold drinks they take light tea. Very few Chinese use plain water owing to its badness. The extensive consumption of tea can make the cholera epidemic less virulent, according to Chinese notions, so it is largely used amongst them. During our sojourn in China we used to take tea in lieu of water, sometimes soda-water or lemonade, but pipe water only as a last resource.

The Imperial house of China can be classified in two lines, one descended from the conqueror himself and the other from his brothers and uncles. The former use a yellow girdle and bridle with the name Tsoong-jin-foo, and the latter a red sash and bridle with Keolo. There is a separate court called "the office of the ancestral tribe" for governing all the members of the Imperial family. They have different laws as well. This court is presided over by a Wang or little king.

It is a noteworthy fact that all the State offices and Magistracies are given to those who prove superior in talent or learning, without regard to birth or possession. This affords opportunity to every person in China with the exception of 'comedians, menial servants and the lowest agents of the police.' If the Government can not afford to give offices to all successful candidates, it gives honours and declares them eligible to a situation either civil or military. Dr. Milne, a noted Chinese scholar, has observed that—

"This system has checked the ambition of getting into any revolutionary measures, as the ambitious alone try to overturn the government."

The present Manchow dynasty has sometimes sold commissions both in the civil service and in the army, in order to make up the deficiency of the Imperial Treasury. Civil offices are always looked upon as superior to those which are military and the former are given the east place (the higher honour) in the hall of audience, whereas the west is allotted to the latter.

MARRIAGE.

Polygamy is not in vogue in China and the Chinese laws do not sanction it, but concubinage is permitted by the same. The Chinese can have one Tsy or wife, but as many handmaids as they like. The handmaids are actually domestic slaves. The children of the illegitimate wife have some rights of legitimacy, though much less than those of the legitimate wife. The hand-maid

can be purchased by money. Jealousy among women is not an uncommon thing in the annals of the history of the world and China is not an exception to the rule. When a wife proves barren, a woman from the lowest class is purchased for a sum of money and taken into the family as a domestic slave. Marriage is negotiated by *pings* or go-betweens selected by parents. An astrologer is called in to consult the horoscopes of the would-be couple and an auspicious day is fixed, as is done in our country. The spring is the most auspicious time of the year for marriage. The Chinese year commences in February. The would-be couple cannot see each other before marriage on any account. If the would-be bridegroom dies after the marriage being settled, sometimes the bride in that case takes a vow not to marry any other person, but goes to her would-be father-in-law's house and serves there even as a maid-servant. The bride-groom sends presents to the bride, but no return is made by the latter. A live goose is sent to the bride among other presents, and this is considered valuable as emblematical of conjugal love. In olden times, it is said in the Mahabharat that Nala Raja sent a golden goose to Damayanti as an emblem of marriage. Presents are sent to the bridegroom and bride as well by their friends and relatives. The bride's sisters and relatives come to weep with her at the time of her leaving her parents' house. On the day of the marriage the bridegroom's party marches with a procession at dusk to fetch the bride to the bridegroom's house, where the marriage ceremony is celebrated. The bride is required to pass over some burnt charcoal at the time of entering the house. No widow is permitted to remain there at that time. The bridegroom now for the first time sees his bride. The bride walks round the bridegroom three times. Then they sit together, when they try to sit upon each other's cloth with a view to be the paramount authority in conjugal life. Sometimes marriage is performed at the house of the bride's parents, but this is very rare. A woman assumes the surname of her husband on being married. Marriage between people of the same surname is not allowed, as is the case with the Brahmins of the same 'gotra' in our country. Widow marriage is considered disreputable, and in

some particular cases illegal. The Chinese say that 'a woman without patience is like a lamp without oil.' As there is a couplet in the *Manu Samhita* to the effect that a woman is thrice dependent, so with the Chinese, "a woman is dependent on her father before marriage, after marriage on her husband, when a widow on her son." The hair of unmarried girls is allowed to flow luxuriantly in long tresses which are plaited only at the time of marriage. No purdah system is prevalent in China. The Chinese law does not permit marriage with foreigners.

EDUCATION.

At the age of four or five a boy generally begins to read. Boys are not subjected to corporal punishment at first. Children are taught a few of the principal characters at the first start. Then follows the Santseking containing the summary of infant knowledge. After this they go through the "Four Books" containing the doctrines of Confucius. These they learn by heart. Writing is commenced with their hair pencils in large characters putting a transparent paper over the copy and tracing made therefrom. Much labour is spent on fine handwriting, as calligraphy is considered an accomplishment among them and esteemed very highly. They generally use boards painted white in lieu of slates. They begin to read from the end of the book. They write first the year, then the month, and last of all the day of the month. The original characters of the Chinese, which may be called its alphabet, are 214 in number. There are halls of examination in every principal city. The students who succeed at the annual examination in their own districts are ranked Sew-tsæ or Bachelors. They then appear at the triennial examination to be held at the provincial capital under the supervision of an officer deputed from the Imperial Hanlin College at Peking. Those who succeed at this examination attain the rank of Kin-jin or Licentiate. Once in three years they are to go to Peking to be examined for the Tsin-se or Doctor's degree. Their number is not to exceed thirty at a time. Again from these doctors, members of the Imperial Hanlin College are selected after an examination held in the palace itself. Out of these fortunate men the ministers of the Emperor are chosen. The Civil Service

Examination had first its origin in China. It is remarkable no doubt that the Chinese language is the only one in the world which can command the homage of four-hundred millions of men occupying countries which exceed the whole of Europe in extent. Some say that a similarity can be noticed between the Chinese language and the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but in fact no resemblance can be traced between them. The uniformity in the written character throughout the length and breadth of China has not changed the diversities of the oral languages of the different provinces of China. The oral language of one province is scarcely intelligible in the other, but they can perfectly understand each other on paper.

Even the boys of the working class from the time they can walk, are not allowed to remain idle. They assist their parents as much as lies in their power. The Chinese fulfil their daily duties quietly and in peace under the unwritten laws of a united family. The law of primogeniture may be traceable among them to a limited extent. A man looks to his son for the performance of rites to the ancestral or family tomb when he is no more in this world. This is one of their greatest rites and the Chinese look upon it with awe and reverence. For this very reason the man without a son finds everything blank about him and thinks himself miserable.

The Chinese bury their dead on the hills or on a barren tract of land. No interment is allowed within the cities. This is a very wholesome practice. They observe mourning for three years for a parent but some have reduced it to twenty-seven months. Twice every year they perform the rites to the dead by incense burning and making offerings. They wear white dress as a sign of mourning and let the hair grow during that time, as they generally shave their heads with the exception of a pigtail pendent from the middle of the head. On the death of the Emperor the whole empire has to observe mourning for one hundred days and to remain unshaven.

Property can not be disposed of by will except to the legal heirs.

The Chinese observe very few holidays. The new year is kept with great eclat and rejoicing. This is the time for exchanging presents among friends. They attire them-

selves in gorgeous dresses and send red cards to each other during this time. They observe this festivity just in the same manner as we do the Pujas. A lantern show is made during the first full moon of the new year. They make many varieties of lanterns with moving figures in horn, silk, paper and glass. Many of our readers must have seen some of these Chinese lanterns. The Chinese invented fire-works, and these are ingenious and entertaining on account of the various colors and moving figures in them.

Paper-kite flying is a favorite sport with the Chinese and they certainly do excel all others in the ways of making it in every conceivable shape. Some sort of paper is made out of refuse silk; it is tough and very thin. This they use for kite-making with thin split bamboos. They make them rise very high, when it becomes quite impossible to distinguish them from real kites. At a particular time of the year not only boys but grown-up men take part in this pastime.

The Chinese game of chess differs in board, men and moves from that of our country. This is the oldest game in China. It is said that the first Emperor Wu-Wang of the Chow dynasty invented the game in B.C. 1120, but in our country it is said that Ravan, the noted King of Lanka (Ceylon), invented this game. Playing with dice and cards is known to them. Their cards are very small.

When any one pays a visit he presents his card, which is of a red color, with the name and title of the visitor. Tea is invariably served to entertain a visitor as we offer betel and tobacco. A small quantity of fine tea-leaves is brought in a porcelain cup with cover, in which boiling water is poured, and thus they drink the infusion to which no sugar or milk is ever added in China. The delicious odour which it diffuses is no doubt tempting in a way.

An invitation to a private feast is sent some days before the date by a crimson colored ticket on which the time is noted and the guest is requested to bestow the "illumination of his presence on the host." Every important feast is made doubly entertaining by theatrical performances. The Chinese theatre has no scenes. The dresses of the actors are extremely gorgeous. The music is full of

pathos and plaintiveness, but repulsive to one's ears owing to the sound of gongs and musical instruments which are played all the time. They play different portions of their ancient history. Dancing is not at all seen on the stage. Perhaps this art is unknown to them. Women are not allowed to play any part on the stage.

The collection of curios of all sorts is somewhat of a fashion in China.

The construction of boats was first thought of in China on seeing a leaf floating on water.

At first some planks were tied together with several poles placed crosswise and the experiment was made with a successful result. To this the introduction of boats may be attributed. It is said that there are more boats in China than in the rest of the world. Their natural ingenuity is a marked characteristic of the nation. In business capacity they can be put exactly on an equal footing with any intelligent nation of the West.

ASHUTOSH ROY.

PRINCIPAL HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA IN AMERICA

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND, HARTFORD, U. S. A.

MR. Maitra, the learned Principal of City College, Calcutta, and President of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, has rendered a valuable service, not only to us, but I think also to India, by his recent visit to this country.

India is widely misunderstood here, as also in Europe, and even in England. There are two sources of this misunderstanding. One is the Christian Missionaries who go from this country to yours. As perhaps the people of India may be aware, the men we send as missionaries are not, as a rule, our best educated or our broadest-minded men. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule, but for the most part those who go are persons of a somewhat narrow intellectual outlook, who know little about the history, the literature, the civilization, or the religions of India, but whose minds are fully impressed with the idea that the people to whom they are sent are in a very low state of civilization, and under the dominion of religions that are false and in the highest degree superstitious and degrading. And for the most part they never get over this prejudiced view. When they come back from India and travel about, telling their experiences, it is this distorted view that usually they give us. They seem not to have come in contact with the better minds of India, or to have obtained any adequate knowledge of the higher side of India's

thought, or life, or civilization. This is one source of the wide-spread misunderstanding that prevails here and elsewhere regarding your ancient land and its historic peoples and religions.

Another source of misunderstanding is England. It grows out of the fact that we here, in America, get most of our knowledge about India, outside of what is obtained from the missionaries, through English sources. Of course, some English writers do India full justice. But in the nature of the case, it is impossible that this should be true of the majority. A people that holds another in subjection is in no position to do full justice to the higher qualities of those they rule. They look down on them, of course, else why do they deny them self-government? They must represent them as inferior, or else where is there justification for their holding them in subjection? It is not strange, therefore, if the general impression which we in this country get of the Indian people, through English sources, is far from correct.

Indeed, with missionaries on the one hand portraying India as a land where "every prospect pleases" but where "man is vile", and portraying the people as "heathen" who "in their blindness bow down to wood and stone", and with writers like Kipling on the other hand, representing the Indian people as "half devil and half

child," it surely would be a wonder if the impression generally prevailing in America, as well as in the other Christian lands, as to what the Indian people really are, were not more or less one-sided and untrue.

Here we see one of the reasons why such a visit to America as that which Principal Maitra has made, is of great value to India as well as to us. It tends to correct these misrepresentations and misunderstandings. It lets us see India in a truer light. It shows us the higher side of Indian civilisation and Indian religion, without which our understanding must be distorted and false.

Mr. Maitra is not the first visitor from India to America, who has brought us light. Mr. Protap Chandra Mazoomdar, the distinguished Brahmo preacher and writer of Calcutta, during the later years of his life came to this country three times and each time preached and lectured in many places,—on one of his visits attending the great Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in connection with the World's Fair of 1893. The impression which he created was profound. Those who heard him were amazed and delighted, and received from him a wholly new impression of India, her civilisation and her place in the world.

The Religious Parliament was attended by several other representatives of India,—the Swami Vivekananda, Mr. B. Nagarkar, Mr. V. A. Gandhi, Mr. H. Dharmapala, Mr. Jivanji Jamshetji Modi, and Miss Jeanne Sorabji. The first four named remained in this country for a considerable time after the Parliament was over, delivering lectures in various cities, and opening many eyes as to the intellectual ability and the spiritual genius of the Indian people.

Four or five years ago Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen, of Calcutta, made a visit to America of two months or so, delivering a series of lectures at the Theological School in Meadville, Pa., giving addresses in several universities and preaching in a number of cities. He, too, made a deep and lasting impression wherever he was heard.

Of course, the number of persons reached by these representatives of India has been small compared with the whole population of the country, and yet the good done by

their visits in giving to the people of America truer views of India and in correcting the impressions received from Imperialists like Kipling, and from orthodox Christian missionaries, is very great.

We need to have more visitors of the same sort.

I am glad to see that Indian students are beginning to make their way to our colleges, universities, and technical and agricultural schools. These young men, working by the side of our own best young men in our institutions of learning, will show us—indeed they are already beginning to show us—the high quality of the Indian mind. At the same time they will acquire knowledge and training of the very greatest value, to carry back to India: for there are no better schools in the world for teaching the sciences and the practical mechanical and industrial arts which India needs, than are found in this country. Japan has sent many hundreds of her young men here for education; China is doing the same; it is to be hoped, both for our sake and for India's, that we shall have hundreds of Indian students.

Through these various agencies and means, knowledge of India is being slowly diffused in this country. Principal Maitra's visit to our shores has been one more light kindled for a time among us to illuminate our darkness, to correct misrepresentations, and to let us know the truth.

As many of the readers of the *Modern Review* are aware, Mr. Maitra was one of three representatives sent by the Indian Brahmo Somaj to the great International Congress of Liberal Religion, held in Berlin, Germany, in August, 1910: the other two being the Rev. P. L. Sen, of Calcutta, Editor of *The World and the New Dispensation*, and Prof. Vaswani of Karachi. It was hoped and expected that all three would come on to America as soon as practicable after the close of the Berlin Congress. Mr. Maitra did so, deferring his visit to England until after his return from America. Mr. Sen and Prof. Vaswani, to our regret, decided to make their visit in England first; and the demand for their services there has been so great that I am not quite sure at the present writing whether we are to be honored with a visit from them at all or not, during their pre-



PRINCIPAL HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA, M.A.,
OF CITY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

sent journey to the West. If not, we certainly hope to welcome them to this country at some future time.

Mr. Maitra sailed for England on November 19th. The nearly two months that he was among us were so crowded with engagements that I am sure he must have welcomed a sea voyage to give him a few days of needed rest.

When Mr. Maitra first reached America, he proceeded at once from New York, where he had landed, to Boston, to take up the task of filling the engagements which had been made for him by the Secretary of the American Unitarian Association and others. His first engagement was at Marblehead, near Boston, to meet a company of about one hundred and fifty Unitarian ministers, who had assembled there from various parts of the country, to hold a Conference, or "Institute" as it was called, of four days' continuance, for the purpose of discussing important philosophical, ethical, theological and religious subjects. Here he formed the acquaintance of a considerable number of the leading thinkers and preachers of the Unitarian body. He also gave one of the important addresses of the Institute, taking for his subject, "The Religious Message of India to America."

After the Institute was over he made Boston his headquarters for four weeks or so, delivering many lectures and addresses in the city and going out to various cities and towns in New England to deliver others. The last two weeks of his stay in the country he spent in the West, at Meadville and Chicago. Many calls to speak he was unable to accept for want of time.

I think it will interest your readers if I name some of the principal engagements which he found time to fill.

He preached in a number of leading churches, in various parts of the country, including the South Congregational Church in Boston (the Church of the late Dr. Everett Edward Hale), the Jamaica Plain Unitarian Church, Boston, (the Congregation of the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Dole), the Unitarian Church in Northampton, Mass., the Unitarian and Universalist Churches in Hartford, Conn., the Isaiah Temple and the University Congregational Church in Chicago.

He gave an address at the large Unitarian Club in Boston, which is composed of several hundreds of the leading Unitarian business men, public men and literary men, of that city; and also an address at the Boston Twentieth Century Club, which is the largest and most important organization of men, for the discussion of public questions, existing in Boston.

He gave an address at Woburn, Mass., before the Middlesex Conference of Churches, and another at Quincy, Mass., before the Norfolk Conferences of Churches. He gave addresses before the Association of Ministers of Boston, and the Ministerial Union of New England.

He delivered a lecture before the Tuckerman School for the Training of Sunday School Teachers and Superintendents, in Boston. He visited Smith College, in Northampton, the largest of the woman's colleges in America, where he addressed an audience of eight hundred young ladies.

In Chicago besides preaching twice, as mentioned above, he gave an extended address at the "Outlook Club", a large and important organization of men. At Meadville, Pa., he conducted a religious service, and delivered two lectures before the Theological School.

At Harvard University he gave an address before the Cosmopolitan Club, an important organization of students, representing different nationalities and races. Perhaps, most important of all, by request of several men of distinction, he delivered in the fine new Emerson Hall of the University, an extended address on "Ralph Waldo Emerson from an Indian Point of View". Dr. Fenn, the Dean of the Divinity School, presided, and the large audience which assembled contained many scholars and other men of note. The address was received with such favor that it was asked for at once for publication in the Harvard Theological Review.

Some of the principal subjects upon which Mr. Maitra spoke before his various audiences in America (in addition to those already mentioned), were: "The Religion of the Future: India's Contribution to it." "Theism in India." "The Spiritual and Practical Ideals of the Brahmo Samaj." "The History and work of the Brahmo Samaj." "The Relation of Theology to Spiritual

Experience." "The Sacred Books of the East." "Theodore Parker: his influence in India, and his relation to the Spiritual Movements of the 19th Century." "What the East and the West can do for each other."

Perhaps, it should be added, that Mr. Maitra did not neglect, whenever in any of his addresses or in his private intercourse he had an opportunity, to call attention to India's educational needs. An American who understands India's wants and who cares for her, can hardly avoid sometimes asking the question, why do not some of our millionaires do something for her educationally? It is very clear that with all our wealth we ought to help Principal Maitra in raising the money he wants for the better equipment of his College. But whether we will or not is another question. Concerning this I am unable to say. But when we are sending so much money to India to support Christian missions, surely it seems a pity if some cannot be contributed to support colleges like that of which Mr. Maitra is the head, which are promoting the development of

what is best in India itself, and which are not associated with the propagandism of a foreign religious faith.

Mr. Maitra's visit to this country will be memorable. He produced a strong impression upon his hearers wherever he went, partly by his profound thought, partly by his wide literary knowledge and his fine mastery of English style, and not least, by his earnestness and deep spirituality. His message was not only an interesting and attractive one, but it was one of moral power. He kindled in the minds of all who heard him a new interest in India, in Indian thought, in Indian religion and Indian ideals; and, especially, in the ideals and the work of the Brahmo Somaj, the important movement of religious progress in India with which he is identified.

It was a great regret to us all that he could not remain longer. But we trust that this is not his last visit to America. His visit has done good. It has helped us to get a glimpse of that higher India of which we have heard too little. Let India send us more such representatives of her best, as we have had in Mr. Maitra.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN ECONOMICS

II.

BY RADHAKUMUD MUKERJI, M.A., P.R.S.

THE study of the economic phenomena of India is necessary as a contribution to universal or comparative Economics. The contribution will, it is hoped, be by no means unimportant. For India will be found to present a type of industrial organisation different in many ways from the type which has developed itself in Europe and America and has hitherto formed the exclusive subject of study and investigation of economic writers, the results of which do not apply to India. This dissimilarity in the economic phenomena presented by India and the West has been noticed by both Indians and Englishmen. The late Mr. Justice Ranade made this very fact the theme of

his eminently able and thoughtful essay on *Indian Political Economy* in which he has enumerated the various points of divergence between the theories of abstract economics and facts in the economic life of India that by no means the theories can explain. Mr. A. Yusuf-Ali, M.A., I.C.S. is another Indian who thus regrets the absence, amid the vast amount of literature connected with public questions in India, of any attempt at a systematic study of Indian economic problems:

The science of political economy is not an abstract science. Its conclusions depend for their accuracy on the facts on which it works. Where the features of economic life are so different from those in Western countries as they are in India, the axioms and postulates of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Walker or

Marshall do not necessarily apply, at least in the terms in which they are usually expressed and understood, and we have to begin from the very beginning. There is no Indian School of Political Economy." (Life and Labour in India, p. 155).

Sir Henry Maine, the great Sociologist, was probably the first Englishman who greatly interested himself in the study of the economic phenomena and the institutions of the East, the importance of which he eloquently set forth in the *Rede Lecture* of 1875 on the Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought. Arnold Toynbee, the famous author of *Industrial Revolution*, was also another English economist about whom Benjamin Jowett thus remarks (Memoir IX) :

"He knew how much India had suffered from the crude application of Ricardo and Mill to a state of society for which they were not adapted."

Mr. Theodore Morison in his recent book on the *Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province* has also the following remarks :

"When we approach the study of economic phenomena of India, we must bear in mind that we are about to deal with a type of industrial organisation which is not the type tacitly assumed in most books upon abstract economics."

Another Englishman, a member of the Indian Civil Service, writes in the following strain to describe the impression produced in his mind by an observation of the economic life lived in India :

"Any one who has studied Political Economy in the West and is acquainted with those theories or economic laws which are enunciated by economists as embodying economic truths, or expressing economic tendencies, is apt to receive rather a rude awakening when he arrives in India, and is faced on a large scale by features of the production, distribution and exchange of wealth which will not fit the theories he has learned. A sense of the relativity of economic laws is borne in upon him, and along with it the conviction that economic doctrines based upon facts of industry observable in Great Britain or even in Europe in the twentieth century have but small application in a country like India."

It will thus be seen that native and foreign observers of the economic phenomena of India alike agree in regarding them as *sui generis*, fully deserving a special study and investigation, so as to be the basis of an independent set of generalisations that will go to enrich the existing stock of economic doctrines. As Mr. Theodore Morison remarks in the book above referred to :

"Our ultimate goal ought to be the construction of an independent body of economic doctrines which

could be logically deduced from the observed facts of Indian society."

But many Western economists are not inclined to go so far : they are in favour of extending the field of economic inquiries and induction beyond the sacred precincts of the West to 'fresh fields and pastures new', but an idea of the supremacy of their economic doctrines seems still to possess them, for they dismiss the possibility of the observation of a new set of facts giving rise to a new set of principles, "an independent body of economic doctrines," though strictly relative. The long exploded and outworn theory of linear development in relation both to biology and human history seems to be not yet dislodged from the mind of these economists who consider the evolution of the economic life of man all the world over as tending or rather bound to follow but one single line, the line on which western industrial life is evolving itself, which has now terminated in the glories and economic harmonies of capitalism. They do not recognise that there are ethnic varieties at the outset giving birth to different types of culture which manifest and realise themselves through and are embodied and reflected in, appropriate institutions, religious, political, economic and the like, exhibiting differences in structure. No one now doubts that there are vital and essential points of difference in the civilisation of the West and the Eastern civilisation of India both of which evolve on admittedly different lines. If then society in Europe is based on principles different from those that govern society in India, there can be no wonder that the economic arrangements through which society addresses itself to its own conservation and evolution through the supply of its material wants will be different in the two cases.

It will not, therefore, do in an inductive study of the economic phenomena of India to regard as the only light to guide the doctrines taught by abstract economics, to set them up as the standard of comparison and the absolute point of reference and then explain away the divergences of Eastern fact and Western theory by references to 'disturbing factors' and 'modifying circumstances, which interfere with the smooth working of what are otherwise

absolute economic laws. For it is imagined that these economic laws are at work in a latent form and if allowed to operate unchecked will produce the same state of things everywhere, imitating without justification the fashion of the physicist whose faith in the law of gravitation is not at all shaken by the infinite number of cases of the apparent violation of his law that meet him at every turn. So that by a violent exercise of abstraction all Eastern facts are sought to be brought within the scope of Western theory and beneath a heap of modifying causes the very same economic tendencies contemplated by it are seen to be silently at work. But, as Sir Henry Maine points out,*

"The practical value of all sciences founded on abstractions depends on the relative importance of the elements rejected and the elements retained in the process of abstraction."

And abstract political economy totally breaks down and becomes entirely useless in India where the modifying circumstances which the exponents of economic laws would put forward in explaining the divergence of facts in Indian Industrial life from the laws, are greater than the laws themselves, where the economic tendencies assumed as axiomatic in abstract economics are not only inoperative but are actually deflected from their proper direction. As Whewell, in editing *Jones's Remains*, 1859, well observed, it is true in the physical world that all things tend to assume a form determined by the force of gravity; the hills tend to become plains, the waterfalls to eat away their beds and disappear, the rivers to form lakes in the valleys, the glacier to pour down in cataracts. But are we to regard these results as already accomplished facts simply because there are forces at work that will ultimately bring them about? Or should we not rather look upon the hills as independent objects of observation, complete in themselves and not as mere potential plains? Still less then should we apply our minds to the mere detection in the economic life of India, which boasts of the oldest civilisation in the world, of tendencies which have already asserted themselves in the West as actual forces determining economic activities.

* Early History of Institutions, P. 361.

The fact is that the economic world can hardly be said to be subject to the influence of one well-known cause in the sense that the terrestrial world is subject to the operation of the Law of Gravitation, so that the method of investigation which seeks to explain phenomena by references to modifying circumstances affecting the operation of a universal and well-established law is more applicable to a science like Astronomy than to economics. Indeed so complex are the phenomena with which economics has to deal, because they are the phenomena not of nature but of human conduct, wanting in the regularity of physical sequence, and they are subject to the action and interaction of conditions so many and different, of causes so complicated, that if economics is at all akin to any physical science it is to Meteorology. Hence, as Dr. Cunningham (the well-known author of the classical work on English economic history) remarks :

"The investigation of empirical economic principles is not necessarily a process of suggesting and testing the validity of a hypothesis it is one of summarising with care and accuracy the evidence which the phenomena themselves furnish as to the reasons for the course pursued." (*Politics and Economics*, p.12.)

But I must not be misunderstood. What I plead for is that facts of Indian industry cannot always be expressed in the terms of abstract economics or adequately explained by its doctrines. There have been of course already reached a few fundamental principles derived from some of the physical sciences and psychology which influence the economic conduct of man irrespective of his age, society and country and have universal validity. These fundamental truths are what every economist must start with in order to investigate the different modes and forms in which they operate in the special conditions of the particular country or epoch he deals with. In other words what may be called Applied Economics sets out with them. But beyond these, all economic doctrines must be understood to be relative, as what may be termed second grade generalisations which are of a very limited applicability and form no part of universal economics which is in the making. The facts in the industrial life of India cannot naturally fall within the scope of those intermediate generalisations deduced in-

ductively from the observed facts of Western Industry, which it is accordingly a misdirection of intellectual effort to stretch to explain them and they must form the basis of an independent body of generalisations also of a second grade character which will thus be an important contribution to universal economics. The laws of consumption, for example, such as that of satiable wants or diminishing utility or of demand are universally true of man's economic conduct: not so are those which are stated to govern the relation of wants to activities or the rate at which they grow, for they do not apply to India. Prof. Marshall also hints at the second grade nature of these generalisations in the lines which I quote here :

"It is however true that an economic law may be applicable only to a very narrow range of circumstances which may exist together at one particular place and time, but quickly pass away. When they are gone the law has no practical bearing; because the particular set of causes with which it deals are nowhere to be found acting together without important disturbance from other causes. Though economic analysis and general reasoning are of wide application, we cannot insist too urgently that *every age and every country has its own problem*, and that every change in social conditions is likely to require a *new development of economic doctrines*."

The divergences of eastern facts and western theory are due only to the imperfect character of the latter and except by new generalisations drawn from them they cannot be adequately explained by the usual method of referring to the modifying causes, which is often resorted to for eluding, the necessity for a wider range of study. That these divergences demand a scientific treatment is also acknowledged by Dr. Keynes, thus :

"The practical modifications" of economic doctrines "themselves demand a scientific treatment, and should therefore have a place accorded to them within the science itself. For in many cases they are not mere isolated modifications, admitting of application to individual instances only. *It is often possible to generalize on other foundations than that of the economic man*; and at any rate the various interferences with free competition admit of scientific enumeration and classification."

The distinction herein urged between fundamental principles of economics possessing universal and perpetual validity and other economic generalisations which are strictly relative has been most emphatically recognised in a recent book on Political

Economy of an English Economist of great repute, Dr. Edwin Cannan, Professor of Economic Theory in the London School of Economics. He has divided his book into two parts: the first part deals with those "generalisations of political economy which are universally true and are independent of changes of human character and institutions." The second part is introduced with the following remarks which fully support the contention I have urged :

"We now leave 'The unchanging laws of political economy', and pass on to the consideration of economic propositions which can lay no claim to universality since they presuppose the existence of institutions, laws, and customs which are liable to alteration, and are as a matter of fact continually being altered. We have not, of course, to attempt the impossible task of explaining the causes on which the material welfare of individuals depends under all institutions, laws and customs, but are to *confine ourselves to the causes in operation under the institutions which at present exist in this country*, and which exist with some not vitally important modifications in the rest of western Europe and in America."

The unchanging laws governing general material welfare, which are dealt with in the first part of the book, are thus set forth: (1) Mankind, as a whole, can attain wealth only by means of human labour; (2) the immediate aim of many kinds of labour is the production of useful material objects; (3) the productiveness of industry is increased by the growth of knowledge; (4) the productiveness of industry is increased by the accumulation of useful material objects; (5) the productiveness of industry is increased by the growth of co-operation between individuals; and (6) the 'law of population' which is thus worded: "At any given time the population which can exist on a given extent of land consistently with the attainment of the greatest productiveness of industry possible at that time is definite."

It is therefore clear that we must approach the study of the economic phenomena of India with a mind free from all speculative bias and prepossessions derived from the teachings of deductive economics so as to make an independent and impartial observation of those phenomena, the basis of a distinct set of economic generalisations. This we must do firstly because there is in existence such a thing as the Indian type of industrial organization distinct from the

industrial system of the west and evolving also perhaps on its own proper lines, which therefore fully deserves a special consideration and suggests independent generalisations; and secondly, in the interest of

comparative and universal economics, to emphasize the value of the contribution made to it by the systematic study of facts in the industrial life of India.

MEN I HAVE SEEN—V

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF MAHARSHI DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE—(II)

I have already spoken of the importance that Maharshi Devendra Nath attached to the cultivation of a habit of daily devotion by his followers. The following incident is an instance in point.

On one occasion, perhaps sometime after 1880, he was residing at Darjeeling, when during one of my tours I arrived there. I waited upon him as usual. In course of the conversation that took place he said:—

"I am surprised to learn that there are Brahmos who do not worship the Supreme *Purusha* (Person) daily."

Myself—It should be no matter for surprise to you; there are many members of the Brahmo Samaj who do not pray daily. It is a matter for regret no doubt, but it is a fact.

Maharshi—Why do they call themselves Brahmos then? It is plainly unjustifiable. Don't you see a Shakta is one who worships Shakti; a Shaiva is one who worships Shiva; a Vaishnava is one who worships Vishnu; similarly a Brahmo is one who worships Brahma. Our right to the name Brahmo arises from the fact of our being the worshippers of the Supreme Being. How is it that such members of the Samaj attach so little importance to the vow they have taken by declaring themselves as Brahmos? Take for instance my case. In 1843 when I was initiated by Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, one part of the covenant I signed was, that I should daily worship the One True God, by the *gayatri mantra*.^{*} That

vow I have kept all along. I do not let a single day pass, unless incapacitated by illness or some other cause, without worshipping the *Parama Purusha* (Supreme Person), by the *gayatri mantra*. In subsequent years I have not enforced the *gayatri* on others, because I found it would not suit the altered times but so far as I myself am concerned I have kept to the habit as a fulfilment of my vow. Brahmos should fulfil the vow they have taken by their public declaration.

He concluded by advising me to enforce the duty of daily worship of the Supreme Being, on all members of the Brahmo Samaj, in the sermon that I was going to preach from the pulpit of the Darjeeling Brahmo Samaj next Sunday. I did so, and I was surprised to find that the old father had sent one of his personal attendants to take notes of my sermon. When I approached him next day he gave me his benediction for having forcibly placed the truth before the congregation.

At Darjeeling he would go out every morning for a quiet walk in some unfrequented parts of the hills; and at times I would loiter about in those parts, unsuspected by him, to see how he spent his time there. Often I found him, standing enwrapped in thought, or walking to and fro in a retired spot lost in meditation and prayer for hours together.

The sense of the Divine presence was so habitual with him that he transacted the minutest duties of life in that light. Haste and hurry were repugnant to him. During the anniversary festival of the Brahmo Samaj, we would at times get up meetings of the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj in his house. I would be deputed by my friends on these occasions to welcome him and ask for his permission to hold such meetings in his house. He would gladly

^{*}Considered the holiest verse of the Vedas. It has been thus paraphrased by Sir William Jones:—

"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the god-head, who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress toward his holy seat."

hail us to such united meetings there ; but then it was always necessary to give him some time before he came to a final decision. He would always say, "let me have time. I shall finally let you know my decision on such and such a day." Then he would spend the interval (as I learnt from his personal attendants, and also from the members of his family) in prayerfully revolving the whole question in his mind, trying to form a complete picture of the whole affair, as it were, apportioning particular duties in connection with the gathering to particular individuals of his family circle and after having arrived at a decision he would call the members of his household and communicate to them their apportioned duties, telling them that he longed to see that no part of those duties was neglected. Thus by the time I made the second call the whole plan was ready to its minutest parts, and he gave his willing consent.

That was his habit of doing things. He decided every question in the light of earnest communion. On the occasion of the consecration of his *Shanti-niketan*, the garden-house at Bolpore, as a public trust, a few years before his death, he sent for me nearly a month before the ceremony and asked me to take part in the proceedings. I was asked to deliver a short address on the principles of natural theism after divine service in the morning. I gladly consented to do so. But upon further thought after returning home, it struck me that such an address would suit best the evening hours between five and six, when the people from the surrounding villages would naturally flock in large numbers, whereas in the morning the audience would be necessarily small, and the hour after the service would be unsuited for another discourse. After having come to such a decision I waited upon him again within a few days and suggested to him the proposed change of the programme. He reflected for a while with closed eyes apparently composed in prayer, and then to my great surprise shook his head as a mark of his disagreement to my proposal. One can easily fancy how great was my wonder to find the speaker's own proposal quietly set aside. The reason perhaps was that he had arranged the whole programme in his moment of

spiritual communion, and then to change a part of it, meant the disturbance of his whole plan, which was a too arduous undertaking for him. So he refused to comply with my wishes. Knowing his nature well I at once made up my mind not to give him that trouble and gave my word to observe the programme as it was.

Another incident characteristic of his habit of transacting every duty in the light of the Divine presence, was related to me by Pandit Priya Nath Sastri, his personal attendant for many years. On one occasion there arose some important but unpleasant question relating to the joint property belonging to his own family and that of his late brother. Maharshi called his grand-nephews as well as his own children to his presence and advised them to submit that question to the arbitration of some well-known lawyer and decide it once for all by embodying the arbitrator's decision in a legal document. His grand-nephews, who had very great respect for him, entreated him to take up the vexed question in his own hands and give his decision for the settlement of the quarrel once for all. Finding them disposed to place their entire confidence in him, he agreed to play the arbitrator, and dismissed them with the promise of doing that duty. For a few days after this, he shut himself up in his room, praying and poring over the estate papers, not admitting into his presence even his personal attendant, or his own close friends. After meditation and prayer, and the close examination of the whole question from all sides he came to a final decision on the vexed points and once more called his grand-nephews and his children to his presence to announce to them that decision. The decision was so satisfactory to his grand-nephews that they expressed their gratitude for it, and consented to act according to it. Thus an unpleasant question was decided once for all. In this way he tried to view every question of duty in the light of spiritual communion and made it a part of his spiritual exercise.

Another significant trait of his character was his habitual disposition to find in the beauty of Nature and of art an aid to his spiritual communion. His aesthetic faculty was highly developed. He was a lover of poetry. His

passionate regard for the Persian poet Hafiz, I have already noticed. Of the hymns composed by Satyendranath, his second son, and of the poetry of Rabindranath, his youngest son, he was a warm admirer. He would at times repeat to us passages from their poetry, as a mark of his approbation. One day at Darjeeling he showed me a copy of the *Bharati*, the monthly journal issued from his house, in which there was a piece of poetry written by one of his daughters. On the margin I noticed a pencil note by him, addressed to the writer, to the effect—"May a shower of flowers fall on your hands." His delight in that piece was so great. To my inquiry what was that pencil note meant for, he said, that the copy with the note would be sent to Calcutta for circulation amongst his children. There were other notes also on other articles for their use. Thus the development of the poetical talent of his family was largely due to his fostering care.

All his personal friends knew that he had always an eye on the *shobhana* and *sundara* or the beautiful. He would not accept from them any present that was unseemly and disgusting to the eyes. On festive occasions in his house, he would personally supervise the decorations to see that everything was aesthetically perfect. He loved to look on flowers; so they were always kept on his table. On one occasion some young ladies accompanied me to see him. He was delighted to see them, smiled and said, "you have come to see me with a bunch of flowers. Their fragrance fills the room." In connection with this part of his nature one characteristic incident reported to us by members of his household seems to be worth relating. Once a little picture drawn by one of his daughters-in-law came to his notice. He was so pleased with it, that he at once called her to his presence, expressed his great pleasure at her performance, and at once engaged the services of a painter to teach her that art. She became a good painter in course of time. He had a refined taste for the musical art also, and took care to develop it in his family; so much so that the children of that house lisped in music so to say. Even now large numbers of the citizens of Calcutta flock to the celebration of the anniversary festival of the Brahmo

Samaj in his house, largely to regale themselves with the musical concert which forms a part of its programme.

Maharshi Devendra Nath is generally known to the outside public as a saint mainly concerned with devotional studies. Very few people know how varied and vast were his general studies and how many-sided was his culture. Whether in his own house in Calcutta, or on the hill-tops during his residence there, he was found taking note of the general progress of thought in the world, and trying to master the new problems by earnest study. I have already spoken of the visit of my late friend Anandamohan Bose and myself, to Maharshi's *Shantiniketan* at Bolpore. During that visit after breakfast one morning, as we came to Maharshi's sitting room, we found on his table a well-known work on geology which had been highly spoken of in the public press. It was evident that the old father was engaged in its study. We had no idea up to that time that he took special interest in geology; and we were naturally surprised to find him spending his time at that advanced age in its study. As we were talking on the matter the Maharshi returned. Then took place the following conversation between him and Anandamohan.

Anandamohan—We have read of this book in the papers. It is highly spoken of. Are you engaged in its study?

Maharshi—Yes, I am studying it. The newspaper reviews aroused my curiosity and I got a copy for perusal.

Anandamohan—(with some degree of surprise). You studying geology during your residence in this solitary abode!

Maharshi—Why Anandamohan, what is there to be startled at? Is geology unfit for study? Don't you know I am something of an authority on questions of geology? During my long residence on the hills I have made geology a special subject of study. I love the science; I am immensely interested in its development and progress.

Anandamohan—We did not know that. We are delighted to find you so agreeably and usefully employed.

Maharshi—(With smiles on his countenance). The time is coming for this vessel of mine (meaning his life) to start for some other shore, and I am anxious to store up as



MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE.

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much cargo as I can possibly take with me.

On another occasion when Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Journal of Amiel" had just come out, and was noticed in the papers, I hastened to secure a copy, to earn the credit of being its first reader amongst educated Bengalis in Calcutta. After having done so, I flattered myself with the notion that I was its first reader. But soon after when I approached the Maharshi one day, the first question he asked me was, "Have you read the Journal of Amiel"? He was delighted to find that I had done so. Then he went on repeating from memory some of its remarkable passages, thereby proving that he had not only read the book before that but had studied it carefully.

On another occasion he was staying at Darjeeling. I called on him and he asked me whether I had read a piece of poetry by Tennyson which had appeared in the previous month's *Nineteenth Century*. Coming to know that I had not done so, he recommended that piece to me, and advised me to keep close touch with the progressive thought of the civilized races.

It is worthy of mention in this connection that he has bequeathed to the *Shantiniketan* library the works of Kant, Fichte, Descartes, Victor Cousin, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, &c., many of the books bearing his pencil notes. He was well-read in ancient and modern philosophy. Then there was another noticeable trait of his character. He lived in a high altitude of dignified manhood in the midst of all our party conflicts. He never stooped to take notice of any pettiness or personal acrimony. To us, who separated from him, he always extended a helping hand, whenever the prayer for help went up to him. It is a fact of Brahmo history, that even after the schism, whenever the progressive Brahmos approached him, seeking his help in carrying on their work, they found him ever ready to respond to the call. The following incidents that came under my personal observation are instances in point.

After the return of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen from England in 1870, the Maharshi accorded to him a warm welcome, and the good old days of friendship between the two leaders seemed to return. The old sage was invited by the progressive leader to come and occupy the pulpit of

the Brahma Mandir one day, during the anniversary festival of the Samaj in 1871. Devendra Nath came, but the sermon he preached gave some offence to the younger party. In that sermon he referred to the pro-Christian tendencies of Keshub Chunder Sen and described it as *Khrishta-bibhishika*, or the "bogy of Christianity" in the way of the Brahma Samaj. The allusion to him in that way hurt Mr. Sen, and we, his young associates, also felt for him. A letter of protest was forthwith drafted and sent to the old leader, pointing out to him that his preaching was in violation of one of the fundamental principles laid down at the foundation of the Mandir. I was one of the signatories. What must have been my surprise to find that, when after two or three days, I approached the old father as usual, he received me with a smile, and said,—“you have sent that letter of protest but when you invited me to conduct service, you ought to have been prepared to listen to what I considered to be the best and fittest thing for that occasion. If you invite me again I shall perhaps say the very same thing. There is that danger in your way, you are making too much of Christ and Christianity.”

Some time after this came the anniversary celebration of the Sinduriapati Family Brahma Samaj. I was its minister and I had asked the Maharshi to conduct the evening service; to which he had responded with pleasure. At the appointed hour he came and occupied the pulpit. There was a large gathering attracted by his name. Mr. Sen also was there, though occupying one of the back seats. After the service was over I was leading Maharshi to his carriage at the door; the assembled crowd had made way for him to pass by standing aside in two rows on two sides. In passing through the way thus made I noticed Mr. Sen standing aside in one of the rows and I drew the old father's attention to him. Whereupon he threw one of his arms round Mr. Sen's neck, drew him to himself and exclaimed.—“Keshub, Keshub, were you present here, why did you not sit by me and before me? Your very look would have inspired me. Not personally knowing many of the men present, I was rather out of my element all the time. Your presence and nearness would have strengthened me.” We wondered

how dear and near to his mind Mr. Sen was even after so much party struggle. And it is a well-known fact how the old leader caused himself to be carried to the bedside of Mr. Sen during the latter's dying moments, and bent over him to give him his final blessings. That he always occupied a position of lofty magnanimity towards those who had separated from him, will be further shown by the following incident.

When the project of building a Mandir for the newly established Sadharan Brahmo Samaj was in our hands, a few representative men from amongst us, including my late friends Anandamohan Bose and Durgamohan Das, sent to the Maharshi a written application for pecuniary aid. Upon my return to town after a missionary tour I learnt that after the receipt of that application the old father had been making enquiries about the trustees and the trust-deed, and about the price of the land to be purchased, &c. I found my friends despairing of anything like a large donation from him. Within a few days after my return I went to see him. I found Babu Rajnarain Bose seated there. Talk about the Persian saint-poet Hafiz and Baba Nanak was going on. My advent apparently added to the interest of the talk, for the Maharshi's countenance glowed with emotion as he expounded the spiritual truths to be derived from their sayings. At last snatching a brief pause in the conversation I asked him about the fate of our petition for pecuniary aid, in the matter of our Mandir. The Maharshi, who was always full of pleasant humour, looked at me, smiled and said, in the language of the law-courts, "the petition has been filed with the *nathi*" or applications awaiting consideration. Again the talk went on, in the midst of which he rose from his seat, caught hold of my hand and led me into a side-room where he treated me to a hearty luncheon, himself serving at the table with his own hands. After our return to his sitting room, when I stood up to go, he stopped me by saying, "I am giving my *rai* or decision upon your petition."—I stopped; he wrote out a cheque for Rs. 7,000, and presented it to me, saying in English—"This is my unconditional gift". When the *Sadhan-shram*, of which I am the Superintendent, was founded, the Maharshi called me to his presence

one day to hear about its aims and purposes. I gave him every information that he wanted. On that day I had no idea of asking for any pecuniary aid from him. I felt gratified that he had condescended to take notice of our endeavours. But to my surprise when I was about to leave he stopped me and said, "Stop, take some pecuniary aid from me." And he gave me a good round sum as his contribution. Such was his treatment of even those who had separated from him and all whose ways he could not entirely like.

He was calm and unruffled in the midst of the sorest of trials. The following incident was reported to me by Pandit Priya Nath Sastri, his personal attendant, soon after that event happened. At the time of the death of his third son Hemendranath Tagore, the Maharshi was temporarily residing at Chinsurah. When the news of the former's serious illness was taken to him from Calcutta, he became very anxious, and began to send one or other of his attendants both in the morning and the evening to keep himself informed of the former's exact condition and also of the arrangements made for his treatment and nursing. The day following the night on which Hemendranath had died, Pandit Priya Nath Sastri was sent to Calcutta in the morning for the usual report. The latter came and was apprised of the fatal end. He returned to Chinsurah with that intelligence and naturally hesitated to approach the old sage to communicate it to him. He loitered and loitered in his own room, not venturing out of it to show himself to his master. In the afternoon the Maharshi came out of his own room to have a stroll on the veranda, as was his usual habit; but his mind was impatient to hear about Hemendra. He enquired of the servants whether Priya Nath Sastri had returned or not. At this stage Pandit Sastri issued out of his room, and communicated to him the fatal news. The sage stopped for a minute from his walk and made this only observation, "Strange are the ways of Providence that I should be thus spared and Hemendra should go. He leaves his own burden to me;" meaning thereby the cares of Hemendra's family. After this he began to walk as before, without the slightest sign of sorrow or depression. In him there was the true embodi-

ment of the truth contained in that passage of the Gita, where it is said—"A true Muni is he, who is not buffeted by sorrows and sufferings, who does not covet pleasures, and

in whom there is no attachment, fear or anger". Devendra Nath was a true *muni* in that respect.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

THE MEN OF POWER IN GERMANY TO-DAY

THE work recently published by Herr Rodolphe Martin, former Councillor of State, forms a very curious portrait gallery of the men of power in the Germany of to-day.

The author marshalls before our eyes the most diverse physiognomies of the men of influence and power in contemporary Germany, in the domains of politics, high finance, industry, diplomacy and commerce. With a happy mixture of biography of the personalities he is sketching and remarks on the roles they have played, and general considerations on the march of events in the empire within recent years, State Councillor Martin states with great precision and finesse, the innumerable repercussions caused by the acts of those who retain in their hands an important share in the might of Germany. Enamelled with anecdotes and recollections of historical events of not very distant dates, with instructive commentaries on the past and curious previsions of the future, his narrative represents a first-hand document on the actual state of things in Germany, in the highest spheres wherein is exercised the influence of the powerful of today.

THE EMPEROR.

And first and foremost in this portrait gallery stands His Imperial Majesty the Kaiser. The personality of the Emperor William II, even apart from his supreme rank in the country, is rich enough, complex enough, and diverse enough to merit the most complete and careful study at the author's hand, and the successive retouches of that process finish by setting upright before our vision the living portrait of the most powerful man of the day in Germany. When talking of Emperor William, one is sure to blunder on some point or other. A

particular characterization of him, which holds good if applied to a given moment, becomes entirely false when used in relation to another from a different point of view. Alluding to the particular individuality of this nature of his, the author pronounces his model—"a living enigma on the throne"

"Who is it who governs in Germany?" "Undoubtedly the Emperor" answers the intelligent foreigner without hesitation. Many people in Germany thought so too until two years ago. But since the declaration of the guarantees of 17th November 1908 the Imperial will is no longer of the first importance in Germany. General opinion there has begun to prevail more and more every day as it passes, and the Fatherland today is seen for the first time under a perfectly parliamentary regime. To tell the truth, the great disappointment of William II has been not to have found the ideal Chancellor, the object of his strenuous search. He should have met with a Cecil Rhodes, says the author. But Cecil Rhodes is dead and never having put his hand on a man after his own heart, the emperor has not been able to conquer the terrible itching, he has always felt for speaking, writing and telegraphing right and left, on any pretext or excuse, and very often without any excuse at all. This view was overlooked by him, last spring, when he observed that it was true he had formerly spoken and telegraphed too much. He reads one morning in the papers, the announcement of the death of the mother-in-law of a foreign admiral. A brilliant idea comes into the Imperial head and forthwith a special envoy is deputed to place a floral crown on the coffin containing the mortal remains of the deceased lady as the Imperial tribute to her blessed

memory. Unluckily the Emperor was quite ignorant of the fact that the above admiral was at variance with his mother-in-law, and naturally overlooked to assist at her burial. We can well imagine the astonishment of the relatives and mourners of the deceased lady who were present when her remains were consigned to their last resting place, when they saw this crown deposited in the name of the Emperor on the tomb of a lady, who, in life, had never had the honour of knowing His Imperial Majesty from near or from a distance.

About the downfall of the Prince of Eulenburg, the favourite of so many years, State Councillor R. Martin rightly affirms that the unhappy Prince owed his disgrace not on account of his private vices, but chiefly for his political virtues. And this judgment will certainly be endorsed by history. Eulenburg fell into disgrace because he was opposed to Bulow in the Morocco affair, and because he did not wish to have an eventual war with France.

The Emperor William is the most social man in the world. He loves to converse with all manner of interesting personages, and on the subjects of the greatest diversity and speciality. When he receives an excellent bourgeois, a secret commercial Councillor, that is to say, for example, a great merchant who bears this title, the Emperor makes a point of being in his civil costume. He shakes the hand of his visitor, and makes him sit beside him on the canopy, and at every turn when wishing to show a book, or a picture, an object of interest, he rises saying "come then" (*Kommen sie mit*). Then they resume their seats and drink beer, or seltzer water from a siphon.

William II is a great reader of newspapers. He receives, first of all, the *Correspondance princiere* of Wedekind. There are always lying in the Imperial antechamber the great German newspapers of all shades of opinion, and the Emperor while crossing it picks up one of them and runs his eye rapidly over its columns. A great number of press cuttings are daily submitted to him, stuck carefully in an album, in the Press Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign affairs, or the Literary Bureau attached to the Prussian Minstry of the Interior. Very often William II annotates

these cuttings with some words in the margin, written with pencils of every colour, but very often with a green pencil.

The Emperor has always displayed a lucky hand in the choice of persons he names to fill important posts. It is a remarkable fact that in a reign extending over twenty years, people had never had a single occasion to reproach him with a regrettable nomination. Moreover he knows where and how to seek the most competent advice. He discourses freely with businessmen of all ranks. More than any other of the Prussian Kings, he frequents the houses of the bourgeoisie. On more than a hundred different occasions he has partaken of tea or has dined at the houses of the high bourgeoisie, of businessmen, of merchants and financiers, and even of Jews. To cite only a few instances, he has accepted the hospitality of Emile Ratheanau, the powerful founder of the General Company of Electricity of Berlin, and that of James Simon, the great cotton merchant, whose art collections in the beautiful villa in the Thiergarten has often elicited His Majesty's admiration; and at Delbruck the bankers's, where he has often hunted, and at the Mendelssohns'.

No doubt they dine well at the Imperial table. The Court lives on a footing befitting its exalted rank, though relatively economical. In the soiree dances without formality such as are very often held in the Imperial palace owing to the presence of the young princess, the court ceremonial of former days has lost much of its rigid etiquette. The Emperor allows his daughter to dance with simple lieutenants as much as she likes; and it is only on the occasion of official balls that the Princess herself chooses her partners.

As regards the Empress, she always exercises her influence, which is very real, on the Emperor in the interests of peace and concord. It was Her Imperial Majesty herself who was instrumental in persuading her husband, in the constitutional crisis of 1908, to follow the advice of His Chancellor, Prince Bulow.

THE CROWN PRINCE.

As to the Kronprinz or the Crown Prince, the Prince Imperial, the future Emperor, so to say, his straight, frank, and decided

character has already made him a popular idol in Germany. It is an open secret that it was the Crown Prince himself who had the courage to put the Emperor in possession of the details regarding the scandals of the Eulenburg clique but it is not known how the thing was managed.

The Crown Prince has latterly fallen into the habit of sometimes going for supper, after theatre, to the celebrated Restaurant Borchardt in the *rue de France* in Berlin. On the 3rd of May 1907, he was in this restaurant in the special apartment which was generally kept reserved for him, with Lieutenant Gosslar of the first Regiment of Foot Guards, the son of the ex-minister of war of that name, and a boon companion of His Imperial Highness. Gosslar spoke to him of the campaign carried by Maximilien Harden in his weekly review, *Die Zukunft*, during the winter of 1906-07, against the most famous club of the Round Table at the castle of Liebenberg, and its castellan, Prince Philippe d'Eulenburg. On the day after, that is on the 5th of May, the Crown Prince communicated to his father the information he had received from Gosslar. The Emperor immediately took rigorous measures against his former friend and favourite, Eulenburg, and the world knows the rest. German public opinion was very much pleased with the Crown Prince for this loyal act of his.

It was the Crown Prince who in the end proved himself the most implacable enemy of the late Chancellor, Prince Bulow. He had never had any sympathy for Bulow. Above all the frank and loyal nature of the young heir-apparent could not tolerate the political acrobatics of the then Chancellor, whom he considered simply an unscrupulous juggler. At a Tennis Party given by Madame de Friedlaender-Fuld in the winter of 1908-09 in her villa of the Pariserplatz, the Crown Prince had during conversation expressed himself in severe terms regarding Prince Von Bulow. The Prince could not bring himself to forgive the Chancellor for his part in the *Daily Telegraph* affair, that is for having exposed the Emperor and for not defending his master before the Reichstag.

THE CHANCELLOR.

After the retirement of Prince Bulow, his successor Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg, the

present Chancellor, becomes naturally the personality of the first political importance in the Empire. The Emperor nominated him because he stood first in the list of postulants by virtue of the office he held, that of the Vice President of the Prussian State Council, an office second in importance, authority, and rank only to that of the Chancellor. But His Imperial Majesty does not love him. He has never had any sympathy for him. He is not a man to his taste. The Emperor is quite aware of the fact that Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg had ranged himself on the side of his whilom chief, Prince Bulow, on the occasion of the crisis which brought in its train the "declaration of guarantees". The Emperor scarcely restrains himself, in private, from lancinating all sorts of pointed remarks on his Chancellor. Bethmann-Hollweg had scarcely been six months at the Chancellory when, one day, at the Imperial table, some one mentioned the new pun made on the Chancellor, the meaning of which was simply a recommendation to somebody "to be good enough to deprive him of his bed against his slumbering." It is simply a play of words on the two names of the Chancellor. It is impossible to give an equivalent English rendering of: *Holman's Bettweg, sonst schlaef Bethmann-Hollweg in.* William II laughed much on hearing this and it is said he even added that "he would not sleep long at the Wilhelmsstrasse."

Along with real merits, the great defect of the present Chancellor is that he is a pure product of the Prussian Bureaucracy in all its beauty! A man of character, and even a man of great intelligence can never hope to reach the top by way of the bureaucracy. His excellent qualities would always prevent him from bending his head at the behest of the automatic discipline, and without initiative going through all the succeeding grades of the career. It was because Bismarck had quitted the service as being a simple referendary, in order to betake himself to his lands, whence he was sent as deputy to the Landtag of his province, that he was afterwards able to succeed in winning the post of the First Minister. The plague of official Germany is the bureaucracy and the spirit of servility which it engenders. The Emperor has been absolutely spoiled owing to it. Hohenlohe and

Caprivi had both obeyed him blindly. He has never been made acquainted with the actual state of affairs, having never found a contradictor at his side. He has thus lost touch with reality.

Prince Bulow was a distinct personality; and even his enemies acknowledged it. The present chancellor is a chancellor of the occasion, like the Prince Hohenlohe before him. He is one of those whom a sovereign appoints in an emergency. Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg has adopted Prince Hohenlohe for his model. And the latter, cultured man of the world that he was, a past master in the art of diplomacy, and one who had seen so much and observed so much, one day thus defined the supreme rule of life in the Prussian State service, "to dress in black and to hold the mouth shut," with the fine irony of the aristocrat and the great lord whose mind had been disabused.

WEHRMUTH AND BALLIN.

Secret State Councillor Wehrmuth, who holds a high place in the Reichsamt or Imperial Office, and is the Director General of the Great Steam Navigation line, the Hamburg-America, and Albert Ballin are the two most influential personalities in the present-day Germany. But the first one owes his influence to his administrative position, to the post he occupies, while Ballin is a man of influence because he is a man of mark.

Nobody had ever thought that Councillor Wehrmuth would achieve such a splendid career. Was he not the son of the unlucky chief of the Police of the unfortunate king of Hanover, George V? The worthy but unhappy sovereign was not only blind physically, but it was proved on the test being applied to him in an emergency, that he was also morally blind, in that he allowed his chief of the Police to tyrannise over Hanover during many long years. All the historians of the period are unanimous in declaring that Wehrmuth was the evil genius of his master. The son is also imbued with the same prejudices regarding the exercise of authority as his father. It is a misfortune for the liberal spirit in Germany that in these times of emancipation and modern ideas, Councillor Adolphe Wehrmuth, devoted body and soul to reaction

as he is, has been able to scale the summits of the official hierarchy. At the time of the struggle over the customs tariff, he let slip an observation which depicts graphically the line of political thought he favours. He said: "A government is always as strong as it desires to be." But State Secretary Wehrmuth is a model official, and, it must be owned, a hard working one also. Up at four o'clock in the morning in summer, and at five in winter, he walks from his villa of Wilmsdorf, through the Tiergarten, to the Ministry of the Interior, and at half past eight is at his post in his official sanctum. His occult influence extends well beyond the affairs of his own charge--the Imperial Treasury; and his supreme ambition is to become one day, the minister of Commerce or Under-Secretary for the Interior. When the time came for Prince Bulow to retire, it was known that Bethmann-Hollweg would succeed him and that Wehrmuth would get the nomination to the Prussian Ministry of Commerce. At the last moment, however, the expected thing did not happen. But Wehrmuth is there, always at hand, to take Father Time by the forelock when the next opportunity occurs.

Herr Ballin, the head of the Hamburg-America line since 1900, concerns himself very little with the bureaucracy or courtiers. He is one of the great magnates of Hamburg, a king in that republic. The capital of the navigation company over whose fortunes he now presides has been raised from 15 millions to 125 millions of marks. The number of the powerful trans-Atlantic packets which the company owns has passed from 26 to 170. Powerful financier and able merchant that Ballin is, he is one of the advisers most listened to by William II. In all affairs concerning the navy or finance, neither Bulow nor Lucanus, which latter had the reputation of having the master's ear, have obtained more success with the Emperor than the little Jew of Hamburg. The position which Baron de Rothschild occupied, with Napoleon III in the heyday of his power, or which Bleichröder had with Prince Bismarck, and which was the height of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's ambition to occupy, is precisely what Albert Ballin holds with the Emperor William II. He is a

very able man of free spirit and advanced ideas who stood by the side of the Emperor when Bulow left his Imperial master in the lurch, and who is yet destined to see his influence grow and his power increase, when the Hamburg-America line definitely triumphs over its competitor the Norddeutsche Lloyd North German Lloyd Steam Navigation Company).

RHEINBABEN AND TIRPITZ.

Herr von Rheinbaben has been the Finance Minister of Germany since the 6th of May 1901. He is a conservative in his views, and owes his appointment to his party. Although a man of the most open mind and knowing the exigencies of the times, he remains attached to the class of what are known as the Junker aristocrats. Meanwhile from his sojourn at Dusseldorf as President of the Government, he has remained intimately allied with some of the most powerful great industrial families. He has often been the guest of the Krupp family at the princely villa Hugel near D'Essen. He is also connected with the Haniels, who are as powerful in the Rhine provinces, as the Krupps and the Lyssens. Always youthful and active, in spite of his fifty-five years, with a correct and elegant carriage which has become proverbial, Rheinbaben exercises a very great influence in all centres. In fact, he has become an indispensable man; and he is the man of the future and the great rival of Bethmann-Hollweg.

His influence with the Emperor dates, in great part from his tour in the United States. It is now six years since he passed several months in travelling in America. On his return he presented to the Emperor a report giving the most extensive, and as it appears, the most curious and interesting information on the great multi-millionaires of the New World, whose acquaintance he had personally made, magnates of the powerful banking institutions and the chiefs of the great Trusts. He continues to maintain intimate relations with them, and William II has always been very much interested by the narratives recounted, to him, by Rheinbaben, who puts His Imperial Majesty in possession of all the facts and acts of the present men of might in America. Needless to say Rheinbaben has

so far played his cards well in capturing the ear of the Emperor, and it is certainly in this circumstance that he has the greatest chance of stepping into the shoes of the present Chancellor.

Admiral von Tirpitz, Under-Secretary of the German Navy and Prussian Minister of State, has certainly failed in getting the nomination to the heritage of Prince von Bulow. In the story of the development of the war fleet of the German navy, the commanding idea of the reign of William II, Tirpitz's will certainly remain a historical figure. Since Bismarck, no other minister in Germany has achieved so great a practical success as that achieved by Tirpitz. His programme of construction of the war fleet, decreed by the law of 1900, and confirmed and completed by the new law of 1907, assures to the German Empire an automatic increase of its naval forces. These two laws must be considered as having made an epoch in the development of German power. A remarkable fact to be noted in this connection is that this material increase in the strength of the national defence has been, is, and remains a direct attack against the cautious portion of the bureaucracy, represented by the firm of Wehrmuth and Bethmann-Hollweg. If Germany, in the case of a conflict with England, so often predicted during recent years, should be in a position to face her adversaries, both on land and sea, it is to Admiral Tirpitz that she owes her preparedness more than to any other single personage. And it can be easily understood that services such as his must prove an eminent title to Imperial recognition and confidence. And this is the trump card of Tirpitz in the political game of tomorrow.

THE RATHENAU AND MADAME FELIX SIMON.

Just about 1883 Emile Rathenau was an unknown man, although he had then already celebrated his forty-sixth birthday. Today, the name of this septuagenarian Jew, who has never deigned to submit himself to the baptismal or Christening ceremony, is known all over the world, and Emile Rathenau is today one of the most powerful men in Germany. It is not so much his fortune that has helped to make

his influence, but the colossal importance of the General Company of Electricity (A.E.G.) which he founded in 1883, and which is today literally one of the industrial powers of Germany.

When he started this electrical enterprise, the great authority on the subject, Werner von Siemens, did not predict even a year of life to the enterprise. And when Emile Rathenau happened to make the proposal to the Under-Secretary of State for the Posts and Telegraphs, to introduce the telephone in Berlin, the latter pronounced the project as simply insensate, for, according to his calculations, in Berlin there would never be more than 23 persons—the official list—who would become regular subscribers to the service.

The Emperor has a tender spot in his heart for Emile Rathenau, whose instructive and informing conversation he appreciates most. It so happened on one occasion, that the Emperor was to honour with his presence a dinner given, one day, by the old Prince Henckel of Donnersmark and according to usual practice, the list of the convives was submitted to His Majesty's scrutiny and approval. William II cancelled with a stroke the name of a princely personage, accompanied with the remark that the individual in question was a profound bore, and he substituted in its place the name of old Rathenau, with whom His Majesty wanted to have a talk.

Emile Rathenau has a son, Dr. Walter Rathenau. A great friend of Dernburg. Walter Rathenau has visited the German colonies in Africa and the Cape. He is a convinced and enlightened advocate of German colonization. Although a member of the General Company of Electricity and co-partner of the Commercial Society of Berlin, he does not take part in business. "But he is in no need of a career," says his father, "for he is financially independent." He has published a volume of *Impressions*, in which he handles pretty roughly his co-religionists, the Jews, to whom he has given this epigraph—"Listen, Oh Israel!"

Father and son, both not having manifested the least desire to embrace Christianity, they have never been able to turn their thoughts towards a peerage. Thus M. de Goldsmidt-Rothschild, remains, even today,

the sole unbaptised Jewish figure in the Prussian nobility.

Madame Felix Simon is, with Mesdames Krupp and Stumm, one of the most powerful women in Germany today. She has even much more influence than the other two, for she owns the *Gazette of Frankfort* (*Frankfurter Zeitung*), and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of Königsberg. Madame Krupp is the widow of the Steel King, and Madame Stumm that of the late king Stumm of Industry. The Stumms of the Saar basin are the great rivals and competitors of the Krupps of the Ruhr basin. There has never been any intercourse between Halberg near Saarbrücken, and Hugal near Essen the residence of the Krupps. Old Krupp never put his foot, not even once, at Halberg, and the late king Stumm never deigned to visit the Krupp establishments.

Madame Felix Simon, the only daughter of Leopold Sonnemann, has inherited from her father two powerful journals, of which the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is frankly democratic, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of Königsberg, liberal-nationalist. Madame Felix Simon is quite democratic and she reads the *Frankfurter Zeitung* by preference. Her husband does not concern himself with the paper, which is conducted by her two sons. But they have no proprietary interest in it. The mother has jealously kept all power in her own hands, and the influence of the *Gazette of Frankfort*, a journal most admirably edited, is very great in Germany. As to the father, Felix Simon, the owner of valuable race horses and a member of the Union Club, he has very extensive aristocratic connections.

THE PRESS AND HARDEN.

The Press today has great influence in Germany. It has taken much longer time to acquire it than in all other European countries with the exception of Russia and Turkey. It is only within this twentieth century that it has scaled the height which other European countries had made their own long before. If one wishes to measure the road covered by it within recent years, he has only to go back to the period when the good poet Hoffmann of Fallersleben humorously made himself merry at the expense of the journals of the good old times, in his famous *verses*:—"Oh! how

interesting a newspaper is in our good country of Germany! The Prince has made his entry in such and such town, and so on."

Nowadays, however, the journals speak out their minds quite frankly, and discuss everything. The most striking example of this change has been given by the campaign of the *Zukunft* of Maximilien Harden, who brought about the downfall of Prince Phillippe Eulenburg and the discomfiture of the too famous camarilla, in the wake of the scandals provoked by the revelations of the singular practices of the 'Round Table' at the Castle of Liebenberg.

He held there among intimates a court on a small scale, and there were hatched the intrigues which had their inevitable effect on the internal and external politics of the country. It was here that the downfall of the Chancellor Caprivi was decreed, on the 27th of October, 1894, because he had inspired an article, written by Herr Fischer, Judicial Councillor, against Count Eulenburg, the president of the Council of Ministers. And the pitiless campaign carried on by Harden in his weekly Review, *The Future*, brought in its train the ruin of that ultra-smart set, by showing it to the world in its true colours.

Harden—his real name is Wittkowsky—has become famous in the Press since he took upon himself with ardour, the defence of Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, after his fall,

Afterwards he contributed to the columns of the *Gegenwart* and in 1892, founded *Die Zukunft*. This weekly sheet at once made its mark by its copious and reliable

news on matters political, economical, and financial. Harden maintains excellent relations with the Rathenaus. The latter are in close and intimate alliance with the powerful Israelite Banker, Carl Furstenburg, the master of the "Commercial Society of Berlin" (Berliner Handelsgesellschaft), which has a capital of one hundred million marks; and with Ballin. A brother of Harden, the Government Councillor Witting, is the Director of the National Bank of Germany, and Witting was an intimate friend and confidant of Bulow. The Director of the *Zukunft* is therefore one of the best informed men in Germany, on all topics of the day, as well as those of tomorrow.

The most curious thing is that Harden lives in a very retired fashion in his villa at Grunewald. He himself goes out very little, but those who want to speak to him call on him at his residence. Parliamentarians, financiers and diplomats visit him when it suits their interests to do so, that is to say, very often. Except in his home, Maximilien Harden scarcely, if ever, makes his appearance in Berlin Society. The attachés at the Embassies, who go everywhere, must have attended hundreds of dinners in the worlds of high Finance, and Politics, without meeting once the celebrated publicist and polemic. He hardly shows himself in public. He generally prefers his own company. He allows his pen to speak or that of his colleagues, which latter, however, he inspires and even takes care to edit before publication.

K. K. ATHIAVALE.

SAKUNTALA: ITS INNER MEANING

(Translated from the Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore.)

Wouldest thou the young years blossoms
and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed,
enraptured, feasted, fed,
Wouldest thou the earth and heaven itself
in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakuntala!
and all at once is said.

—Goethe.

GOETHE, the master-poet of Europe, has summed up his criticism of *Sakuntala* in a single quatrain; he has not

taken the poem to pieces. This quatrain seems to be a small thing like the flame of a candle, but it lights up the whole drama in an instant and reveals its inner nature. In Goethe's words, *Sakuntala* blends together the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its maturity; it combines heaven and earth in one.

We are apt to pass over this eulogy lightly as a mere poetical outburst. We are apt

to consider that it only means in effect that Goethe regarded *Sakuntala* as fine poetry. But it is not really so. His stanza breathes not the exaggeration of rapture, but the deliberate judgment of a true critic. There is a special point in his words. Goethe says expressly that *Sakuntala* contains the history of a development,—the development of flower into fruit, of earth into heaven, of matter into spirit.

In truth there are two unions in *Sakuntala*; and the *motif* of the play is the progress from the earlier union of the First Act, with its earthly unstable beauty and romance, to the higher union in the heavenly hermitage of eternal bliss described in the last Act. This drama was meant not for dealing with a particular passion, not for developing a particular character, but for translating the whole subject from one world to another,—to elevate love from the sphere of physical beauty to the eternal heaven of moral beauty.

With the greatest ease Kalidas has effected this junction of earth with heaven. His earth so naturally passes into heaven that we do not mark the boundary-line between the two. In the First Act the poet has not concealed the gross earthiness of the fall of *Sakuntala*: he has clearly shown, in the conduct of the hero and the heroine alike, how much desire contributed to that fall. He has fully painted all the blishments, playfulness and fluttering of the intoxicating sense of youth, the struggle between deep bashfulness and strong self-expression. This is a proof of the simplicity of *Sakuntala*; she was not prepared beforehand for the outburst of passion which the occasion of Dushyanta's visit called forth. Hence she had not learned how to restrain herself, how to hide her feelings. *Sakuntala* had not known Cupid before; hence her heart was bare of armour, and she could not distrust either the sentiment of love or the character of her lover. The daughter of the hermitage was off her guard, just as the deer there knew not fear.

Dushyanta's conquest of *Sakuntala* has been very naturally drawn. With equal ease has the poet shown the deeper purity of her character in spite of her fall,—her unimpaired innate chastity. This is another proof of her simplicity.

The flower of the forest needs no servant

to brush the dust off her petals. She stands bare; dust settles on her; but in spite of it she easily retains her own beautiful cleanliness. Dirt did settle on *Sakuntala*, but she was not even conscious of it. Like the simple wild deer, like the mountain spring, she stood forth pure in spite of mud.

Kalidas has let his hermitage-bred youthful heroine follow the unsuspecting path of Nature; nowhere has he restrained her. And yet he has developed her into the model of a devoted wife, with her reserve, endurance of sorrow, and life of rigid spiritual discipline. At the beginning we see her self-forgetful and obedient to Nature's impulses like the plants and flowers; at the end we see her deeper feminine soul,—sober, patient under ill, intent on austerities, strictly regulated by the sacred laws of piety. With matchless art Kalidas has placed his heroine on the meeting-point of action and calmness, of Nature and Law, of river and ocean, as it were. Her father was a hermit, but her mother was a nymph. Her birth was the outcome of interrupted austerities, but her nurture was in a hermitage, which is just the spot where Nature and austerities, beauty and restraint, are harmonised. There is none of the conventional bonds of society there, and yet we have the harder regulations of religion. Her *gandharva* marriage, too, was of the same type; it had the wildness of Nature joined to the social tie of wedlock. The drama *Sakuntala* stands alone and unrivalled in all literature, because it depicts how Restraint can be harmonised with Freedom. All its joys and sorrows, unions and partings, proceed from the conflict of these two forces.

Sakuntala's simplicity is natural, that of *Miranda* is unnatural. The different circumstances under which the two were brought up, account for this difference. *Sakuntala's* simplicity was not girt round by ignorance, as was the case with *Miranda*. We see in the First Act that *Sakuntala's* two companions did not let her remain unaware of the fact that she was in the first bloom of youth. She had learnt to be bashful. But all these things are external. Her simplicity, on the other hand, is more deeply seated, and so also is her purity. To the very end the poet shows that she had no experience of the outside world.

Her simplicity is innate. True, she knew something of the world, because the hermitage did not stand altogether outside society; the rules of home life were observed here too. She was inexperienced though not ignorant of the outside world; but trustfulness was firmly enthroned in her heart. The simplicity which springs from such trustfulness had for a moment caused her fall, but it also redeemed her for ever. This trustfulness kept her constant to patience, forgiveness and loving kindness, in spite of the cruellest breach of her confidence. Miranda's simplicity was never subjected to such a fiery ordeal; it never clashed with knowledge of the world.

Our rebellious passions raise storms. In this drama Kalidas has extinguished the volcanic fire of tumultuous passion by means of the tears of the penitent heart. But he has not dwelt too long on the disease,—he has just given us a glimpse of it and then dropped the veil. The desertion of Sakuntala by the polygamous Dushyanta, which in real life would have happened as the natural consequence of his character, is here brought about by the curse of Durbasa. Otherwise, the desertion would have been so extremely cruel and pathetic as to destroy the peace and harmony of the whole play. But the poet has left a small rent in the veil through which we can get an idea of the royal sin. It is in the Fifth Act. Just before Sakuntala arrives at court and is repudiated by her husband, the poet momentarily draws aside the curtain from the King's love affairs. Queen Hansapadika is singing to herself in her music room :

"O honey-bee! having sucked the mango-blossoms in your search for new honey, you have clean forgotten your recent loving welcome by the lotus!"

This tear-stained song of a stricken heart in the royal harem gives us a rude shock, especially as our heart was hitherto filled with Dushyanta's love-passages with Sakuntala. Only in the preceding Act we saw Sakuntala setting out for her husband's home in a very holy, sweet, and tender mood, carrying with herself the blessings of the hoary sage Kanva and the good wishes of the whole forest world. And now a stain falls on the picture we had so hopefully formed of the home of love to which she was going.

When the Jester asked, "What means this song?" Dushyanta smiled and said, "We desert our lasses after a short spell of love-making, and therefore I have deserved this strong rebuke from Queen Hansapadika." This indication of the fickleness of royal love is not purposeless at the beginning of the Fifth Act. With masterly skill the poet here shows that what Durbasa's curse had brought about had its seeds in human nature.

In passing from the Fourth Act to the Fifth we suddenly enter a new atmosphere; from the ideal world of the hermitage we go forth to the royal court with its hard hearts, crooked ways of love-making, difficulties of union. The beauteous dream of the hermitage is about to be broken. The two young monks who are escorting Sakuntala, at once feel that they have entered an altogether different world, "a house encircled by fire!" By such touches at the beginning of the Fifth Act, the poet prepares us for the repudiation of Sakuntala at its end, lest the blow should be too severe for us.

Then comes the repudiation. Sakuntala feels as if she has been suddenly struck with a thunderbolt. Like a deer stricken by a trusted hand, this daughter of the forest looks on in blank surprise, terror, and anguish. At one blow she is hurled away from the hermitage, both literal and metaphorical, in which she has so long lived. She loses her connection with the loving friends, the birds, beasts and plants, and the beauty, peace, and purity of her former life. She now stands alone, shelterless. In one moment the music of the first four Acts is stilled!

O the deep silence and loneliness that then surround her! She whose tender heart had made the whole world of the hermitage her own folk, today stands absolutely alone. She fills this vast vacuity with her mighty sorrow. With rare poetic insight Kalidas has declined to restore Sakuntala to Kanva's hermitage. After the renunciation by Dushyanta it was impossible for her to live in harmony with that hermitage in the way she had done before.... She was no longer her former self; her relation with the universe had changed. Had she been placed again amidst her old surroundings, it would only have cruelly exhibited the utter inconsistency of the whole situation. A

mighty silence was now needed, worthy of the mighty grief of the mourner. But the poet has not shown us the picture of Sakuntala in the new hermitage,—parted from the friends of her girlhood, and nursing the grief of separation from her lover. The silence of the poet only deepens our sense of the silence and vacancy which here reigned round Sakuntala. Had the repudiated wife been taken back to Kanva's home, that hermitage would have spoken. To our imagination its trees and creepers would have wept, the two girl friends would have mourned for Sakuntala, even if the poet had not said a word about it. But in the unfamiliar hermitage of Marich, all is still and silent to us; only we have before our mind's eye a picture of the world-abandoned Sakuntala's infinite sorrow, disciplined by penance, sedate and resigned,—seated like a recluse rapt in meditation.

Dushyanta is now consumed by remorse. This remorse is *tapasya*. So long as Sakuntala was not won by means of this repentance, there was no glory in winning her.... One sudden gust of youthful impulse had in a moment given her up to Dushyanta, but that was not the true, the full winning of her. The best means of winning is by devotion, by *tapasya*. What is easily gained is as easily lost.... Therefore, the poet has made the two lovers undergo a long and austere *tapasya* that they may gain each other truly eternally. If Dushyanta had accepted Sakuntala when she was first brought to his court, she would have only added to the number of Hansapadikas, occupied a corner of the royal harem, and passed the rest of her life in neglect, gloom and uselessness!

It was a blessing in disguise for Sakuntala that Dushyanta abjured her with cruel sternness. When afterwards this cruelty reacted on himself, it prevented him from remaining indifferent to Sakuntala. His unceasing and intense grief fused his heart and welded Sakuntala with it. Never before had the king met with such an experience. Never before had he had the occasion and means of loving truly. Kings are unlucky in this respect; their desires are so easily satisfied that they never get what is to be gained by devotion alone. Fate now plunged Dushyanta into deep grief and thus made him worthy of true love,—made him renounce the role of a rake.

Thus has Kalidas burnt away vice in the internal fire of the sinner's heart; he has not tried to conceal it from the outside. When the curtain drops on the last Act, we feel that all the evil has been destroyed as on a funeral pyre, and the peace born of a perfect and satisfactory fruition reigns in our hearts. Kalidas has internally, deeply cut away the roots of the poison tree, which a sudden force from the outside had planted. He has made the physical union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala tread the path of sorrow, and thereby chastened and sublimated it into a moral union. Hence did Goethe rightly say that *Sakuntala* combines the blossoms of Spring with the fruits of Autumn, it combines Heaven and Earth. Truly in *Sakuntala* there is one Paradise lost and another Paradise regained.

The poet has shown how the union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala in the First Act as mere lovers is futile, while their union in the last Act as the parents of Bharat is a true union. The First Act is full of brilliancy and movement. We there have a hermit's daughter in the exuberance of youth, her two companions running over with playfulness, the newly flowering forest creeper, the bee intoxicated with perfume, the fascinated king peeping from behind the trees. From this Eden of bliss Sakuntala, the mere sweetheart of Dushyanta, is exiled in disgrace. But far different was the aspect of the other hermitage where Sakuntala,—the mother of Bharat and the incarnation of goodness,—took refuge. There no hermit girls water the trees, nor bedew the creepers with their loving sister-like looks, nor feed the young fawn with handfuls of paddy. There a single boy fills the loving bosom of the entire forest world; he absorbs all the liveliness of the trees, creepers, flowers and foliage. The matrons of the hermitage, in their loving anxiety, are fully taken up with the unruly boy. When Sakuntala appears, we see her clad in a dusty robe, face pale with austerities,... doing the penance of a lorn wife, pure-souled. Her long penances have purged her of the evil of her first union with Dushyanta; she is now invested with the dignity of a matron, she is the image of motherhood, tender and good. Who can repudiate her now?

The poet has shown here, as in *Kumara-*

sambhava, that the Beauty that goes hand in hand with Moral Law is eternal, that the calm, controlled and beneficent form of Love is its best form, that Beauty is truly charming under restraint and decays quickly when it gets wild and unfettered. This ancient poet of India refuses to recognise Love as its own highest glory; he proclaims that *Goodness* is the final goal of Love. He teaches us that the love of man and woman is not beautiful, not lasting, not fruitful,—so long as it is self-centred, so long as it does not beget Goodness, so long as it does not diffuse itself in society over son and daughter, guests and neighbours.

The two peculiar principles of India are the beneficent *tie of home life* on the one hand, and the *liberty of the soul* abstracted from the world on the other. In the world India is variously connected with many races and many creeds; she cannot reject any of them. But on the altar of devotion (*tapasyá*) India sits alone. Kalidas has shown, both in *Sakuntala* and *Kumara-sambhava*, that there is a harmony between these two principles, an easy transition from the one to the other. In his hermitage

human boys play with lion cubs, and the hermit-spirit is reconciled with the spirit of the householder.

On the foundation of the hermitage of recluses Kalidas has built the home of the householder. He has rescued the relation of the sexes from the sway of lust and enthroned it on the holy and pure seat of asceticism. In the sacred books of the Hindus the ordered relation of the sexes has been defined by strict injunctions and Laws. Kalidas has demonstrated that relation by means of the elements of Beauty. The Beauty that he adores is lit up by grace, modesty, and goodness; in its intensity it is true to one for ever; in its range it embraces the whole universe. It is fulfilled by renunciation, gratified by sorrow, and rendered eternal by religion. In the midst of this Beauty, the impetuous unruly love of man and woman has restrained itself and attained to a profound peace, like a wild torrent merged in the ocean of Goodness. Therefore is such Love higher and more wonderful than wild and unrestrained Passion.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A GREAT OCCASION AND AN APPEAL

IN May 1911, happens the 2500th anniversary of the enlightenment of Gautama Buddha, perhaps the greatest historical figure in human history, and undoubtedly the greatest and the noblest son of India of the historical period. On the full-moon day of Asarha (July), the Gentle Master preached His first sermon in the Deer Park near Benares, and in October, He sent His first disciples to preach the Law of the Dharma. There can be no greater occasion for India to begin to pay her long neglected homage to the memory of her most adorable Teacher, by a great national festival and pilgrimage to either Budh-Gya or Sarnath. It seems inexplicable as to why India with her genius for hero-worship allowed one of her ideal heroes to drop altogether from national recognition. To say, that Buddha is regarded by Hindu

India as one of the ten *avatars* of Vishnu, is to utter only a half-truth. Among all the literary references of Buddha's avatarhood in Sanskrit literature, that of Jayadeva in his immortal lyrics only seems to show a national as well as a historical sense. To Hindu India, whether to the orthodox or the common people, the name of Buddha is little known and less does He inspire any of them to nobler thoughts or actions. Even in Budh-Gya, where millions of Hindu pilgrims go to perform rites in memory of their departed ancestors under the Akshaya Bat, and incidentally with their characteristic devotion offer a few flowers and a prayer at the feet of the Blessed One, never do they realize the greatness of the occasion or ever suspect that He is the real object of the pilgrimage continued from the old days, but now diverted! Yet during the

historical period what greater personality arose either in India or outside, and to whom more than anyone else is our eternal homage due than to Buddha?

Apart from the spiritual gifts of India, of which Buddha Himself was a production, it was the impulse of His great personality that made the history of India glorified for more than a thousand years. On the wake of this impulse an empire was established by the immortal Asoka, on the foundation of piety and love—something that is unique in the whole range of human history—enlightened kingdoms vied with each other in learning, commerce flourished and extended to remote regions by sea and land so that Nineveh, Taxila, Benares, Loyang, Nara on the one hand and Alexandria, Broach, Ceylon, Tumlook, the Chinese seaports, as well as those of the intervening countries became single points in the avenue through which flowed to and fro the commerce of the world and the culture of India. The mighty activity of the merchants with their heavy laden ships and caravans, and of the gentle monks of those days, filled with a zeal of world conquest by the message of Freedom, and crossing oceans, mountains and continents, can only be compared with that of the modern age. During the period arts and industries attained a high perfection, our intrepid forefathers founded kingdoms across the seas in Java and Cambodia and built the unrivalled temples of Borobudur (Java) Ayuthia (Siam) and Cambodia, still unsurpassed in grandeur or vastness. The same impulse brought about the exquisite art of Sanchi, Ajanta and Magadha and gave to Asia her religion and art ideals. It was during this period that Hindu Medical Science developed in the Universities of Taxila, already famous in the lifetime of Buddha, and in Nalanda, and the illustrious Buddhist scholar Nagarjuna strengthened Hindu Medico-chemistry by his discovery of the processes of distillation and sublimation which he used for practical purposes for the first time. In the same period Hindu logic, astronomy, algebra and other sciences were developed, most of the philosophical thoughts of India were systematised and the Sanskrit language found some of its noblest and highest expression. It is not possible to enumerate the

achievement of India during this period in a short compass, as it is the history of a civilisation at once varied in its nature, deep in culture and noble in its ideal. In short the history of India during this period is the history of her greatest achievements.

Unfortunately for us, there has yet been written no true history of India, from which we may drink deep and draw our inspiration. Here is a noble work that lies before us, to fire our imagination and summon all our energies for a supreme and life-long effort and service. What greater service can there be than this service of discovering and knowing the Motherland? We shall have to read the history of India anew not in the dry-as-dust method of our universities, and re-write it with a new synthesis, for which we shall have to bring together all the ardent devotion and love of our hearts as well as that thoroughgoing scientific spirit afraid of no analysis,—synthesis, for the inspiration of which we might as well go to Europe as to our own Kapila, Buddha or Sankara. There is a continuity in our history which we shall have to discover and realize. There is no doubt that in such a history the history of the Buddhist period will easily take a pre-eminent place because of its authenticity and its glory. The epic period with its Ramachandra and Krishna has been inspiring India for ages and will continue to do so, but the old ideals need fresh infusions and hence the Buddhist period with its central figure the Teacher Himself and its noblest production Asoka, should take a warmer and nearer place in our hearts, the more so because of our thoughtless neglect of it. Nor less warm should be the Mahomedan period with its Akbar and Chand Bibi, its Sher Shah and Ali Vardy Khan, and even the Christian period with its failings, re-discoveries and the new impetus. It has been left for India, our world-old Mother, to gather under Her august *anchala* all the great cultures of the world and no one of these can New India afford to neglect or not to weave into her national life. Each period has its great and noble gifts and let us realize that in this firmament one star differs not from another in glory. To the loving Mother none of her children are less beloved.

But to return to our theme of our dear

and beloved Teacher. He, who would not attain to the final beatitude until he had seen the whole Universe with its last atoms obtain the path to salvation, He is forgotten in his own country and neglected by His own children! O India! expiate this grievous sin by taking back your own Teacher to your hearts! It is His mighty heart with its melting kindness that can sooth and cure all the ills of our suffering multitude. Renunciation and Karma Yoga are two of the greatest ideals of our civilization and in Him do we find the ideal Renunciation and the ideal Karma-Yogin. Among all the modern Indians it was the late Swami Vivekananda, who by his almost personal adoration of Buddha, seems to have tried to expiate the sins of his countrymen, that had the glorious vision of the Motherland with the continuity of her history, as well as the truest realization of the greatness of Buddha when he says,—

"He is the one man who ever carried Karma Yoga into perfect practice. Show me in history one character who has soared so high above all. The whole human race has produced but one such character; such high philosophy; such wide sympathy, this great philosopher, preaching the highest philosophy, yet had the deepest sympathy for the lowest of animals, and never put forth any claims for himself. He is the ideal Karma-Yogin, acting entirely without motive, and the history of humanity shows him to have been the greatest man ever born; beyond compare the greatest combination of heart and brain that ever existed, the greatest soul power that has ever been manifested. He was the first who cared to say, 'Believe not because some old manuscripts are produced, or because it is your national belief, or your father's belief, but reason it all out and after you have analyzed it, then, if you find that it will do good to one and all, believe it, live up to it and help others to live up to it.'"

There can be no more pathetic figure than the gifted and gentle Dharmapala from far off Ceylon crying in the wilderness of a heartless and beguiled age exhorting the Indians to recognize their own Teacher. This daughter, Ceylon, the fairest pearl on her mother's brow, has been cherishing the great gift of the mother with loving adoration for ages and now she comes back with the same gift for her old and venerable mother. What can be more natural than this affection. Let us accept it with love and gratitude. For years Dharmapala has been trying to take the control of the Budh Gya temple from the hands of the present owner and place it in the rightful hands of Buddhists.

But to the shame of Hindu tolerance he had to go to the courts of justice and has not yet succeeded. Let this occasion be used by the Mohant of Budh Gya, the princes and the people, to restore the temple to proper hands and make it fit for a great centre of pilgrimage both for the outside world and India, by building Sarais, Dharmasalas and hospitals. Let not the princes or merchants, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsi, forget their accustomed benevolence and toleration on this worthy occasion.

To the younger generation of India I make a special appeal. We expect little active help from the older generation. Let us show that we are worthy of our steel and that our devotion to the Motherland is not a mere idea but a dynamic and constructive force. Let young men from all parts of India and of all creeds go out into the villages for a year, even as the Bhikshus went 2500 years ago, and speak of the great Renunciation, the Life and the Message to the people, of the Master and of the great pilgrimage. Let them make it a period of renunciation and of service for the sake of the Blessed Teacher. Let the same young men of the Ardhodaya Yoga festival of Calcutta and of the Pandharpur festival of Maharashtra organize a larger confederation of the young men of the whole of India to accomplish this work. O young men of Punjab, Aryavarta, Maharashtra, Banga, Kalinga, Andhra, Dakshinatya and Lanka, forget for a while everything else and devote all your energies to this purpose, organise your local centres in every town and city and go out among the people. India is just waiting for such a great occasion and the young men are ready to carry out some great work. You will be astonished to see the idea spread with lightning rapidity. It is for you to start and organize it. Let us prove that we can accomplish something and let us realize our potentialities. Let us prove that the ancient Motherland is ever young and inexhaustible in her energy and that no task is too great for her. Let us make this occasion a great national festival, for what greater day can there be than this anniversary when the Teacher proclaimed the Blessed Tidings of Freedom! Are we not his own children, the inheritors of His Blessings?

As the passing years will bring other memorial days of our heroes, in whom our Mother is so bountiful,—days of Prithwi Raj and Sher Shah, of Akbar and Protap, of Chand Bibi and Shivaji, of Lakshmi Bai and Ali Vardi and others,—let us observe them and out of this observance will come the realization of that forgotten Unity of the Motherland and continuity that runs like a thread through our chequered history,

and through the strength born of this shall we attain the supreme consummation—the fulfilment of the divine purpose for which India has been preparing all these centuries. Let us begin with the first of our heroes! “Awake, arise, and stop not till the goal is reached.”

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SOME GLIMPSES OF INDIA IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

THE period before the invasion of Alexander the Great is justly regarded as one of the dark periods of Indian history. Nevertheless, the steady advances of modern research tend to throw light on these dark periods and it is necessary that we should from time to time strike a balance between what is unknown and what has become known. In the present paper we shall consider some available sources of information regarding the history of India in the 5th century B.C. and try to draw a picture of our country presented by that dim and distant epoch.

The first source of our information is not supplied by India but comes from abroad. In some of the inscriptions of Darius the Persian emperor (521—485 B.C.), there is mention of India as one of the Persian satrapies, meaning thereby that part of India which comprised

“The course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea including the whole of Sindh and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus. It was distinct from Aria (Hirat), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Gawaria (North Western Punjab).”

Thus the inscription at Persepolis or Takh-ti-Jamshad enumerates 23 satrapies of Darius of which India is mentioned as forming the 20th. In the Behistun (Bisaton) inscription of 516 B. C. countries like Asia, Gandaria, etc., which were included in the India of Asoka the Great are mentioned as parts of the empire of Darius. This will be evident from para. 6

column 1 of the inscription which we quote below:—

“(1) Says Darius the King—(2) These are the countries which belong to me; (3) by the grace of Ormazd I have become king of them; (4) Persia, Susiana, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those which are of the sea (*i.e.* the islands), Saparda, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Barangia, Asia, Charasmi, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandaria, the Sacæ, Sattagydia, Arachotia and Mecia; (5) in all 23 provinces.”*

In the Nakshi Rustum inscription also there is not only a mention of those parts of Afganistan and Beluchistan which belonged to the India of Asoka, but also a separate mention of India itself. We quote here the following paragraph from the above-mentioned inscription bearing on this:—

“(3) (i) Says Darius the king:—(ii) By the grace of Ormuzd, these are the countries which I have gained besides Persia. (iii) I have established my power over them. (iv) They have brought tribute to me. (v) That which has been said to them by me, that they have done. (vi) That which has been given (to them) by me, that they have possessed—Media, Susiana, Parthia, Asia, Bactria, Sogdiana Charasmia, Zaranigia, Arachapis, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India, the Sacæ of Emodus (?), the Sacæ of the valley of (?) Tigric, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparta, Ionia, the Scythians, beyond the sea (namely) the Scorda, the Ionians, the Teberines (?), the Badians (?) (or Boctians ?), the the Cossians, the Souromsteæl. (?) and the Greeks.”†

Thus even in the remote period of the 5th century B. C. India was not an isolated

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, Notes.

† “The Ancient Persian Sculptures” by K. D. Kiash.

* V. A. Smith—Early History of India.

country but there was developed a considerable intercourse between Persia and India—a fact which may be taken to explain the traces of Persian influence on Indian administration and art. Another remarkable evidence of India's political and foreign relations is afforded by the fact mentioned by Herodotus that there were Indian archers in Xerxes's army with "iron-tipped cane arrows." These archers from India formed a valuable element in Xerxes's army.

Herodotus is indeed an important source of our information regarding both the political and economical condition of North Western India. According to him, the part of India which formed Darius's satrapy "paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold-dust.*" This is taken to be worth fully a million sterling and the value of this enormous sum indicates that the Indian satrapy was the richest in the whole Persian empire.

The fact of India paying her tribute in gold naturally leads to the question—Where was the source of all this gold? According to Herodotus "there is abundance of gold in India partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers and partly seized in the manner I have described".† The last phrase refers to his famous story of the gold-digging ants, which is too interesting to be passed over.

'The Indians,' he says, 'bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and Practiyyce were very warlike and they were sent to fetch gold from the near deserts. In these places lived ants larger than foxes and very swift of speed. They heaped up sand like other ants and this sand was mixed up with gold. Each Indian took three camels, one female and the other two males, the former being placed between the latter two. The female was such as, had young whom she was compelled to leave behind. The camels were harnessed together and the Indian sat upon the back of the middle one. He carried sacks which he filled with the plundered sand. The Indians used to plunder in the morning when it was hottest (for such was the impression of the writer). After filling the sacks hastily with sand, they returned about sunset with all possible speed, for otherwise the ants which hid themselves underground during the hot morning would come above ground during the cooler hours of the rest of the day and would kill them. The female camel anxious to meet her young dragged the other camels who were prone to slackening their pace.'

This story is repeated by subsequent writers like Pliny, Aelian, Chrysostom and

even by more trustworthy persons like Megasthenes and Nearchus.

The real origin of the theory of the ant-gold was first explained by Dr. Wilson who pointed out that the Sanskrit name for small fragments of alluvial gold (gold dust) was *paippalaka* = ant-gold in reference to their resemblance to ants in size and form. The Greeks accepted a too literal meaning of the word and supposed that gold was dug out by ants. The further addition of the myth referred to by Pliny who says that "the horns of the gold-digging ants were preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythral" has been explained by Prof. V. Ball, F. R. S., an eminent geologist, Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Schiærn. The explanation may be thus given in Prof. Ball's words:—

"The so-called myth was not cleared up till by chance information was received as to the customs and habits of the Tibetan gold-miners of the present day. The *myrmeces* of Herodotus and Megasthenes were Tibetan miners and their dogs. The horns mentioned by Pliny were the gold-miners' pick-axes. I have been informed by an eye-witness, Mr. R. Lydekker, that the picks in use in Ladak consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles."

So it seems that the fable was not without a basis of truth. That gold was abundant in North Western India is proved by the following testimony of the eminent geologist, Prof. Ball:—

"The Indus itself and some of its tributaries are known to have been auriferous which in the lapse of time after yielding large supplies of gold became too exhausted to be of much present consideration".*

We thus see that the wealth of India was already famous even in the early days of Herodotus. There are also a few other evidences which indicate that India was a rich country. The Baveru Jatak which relates the adventures of Indian merchants taking to Babylon by sea the first peacock for sale indicates according to Prof. Buhler that "the Banias of Western India undertook trading voyages to the shores of the Persian Gulf or of its rivers in the 5th or perhaps in the 6th century B.C.† In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Digha Nikaya of Sutta Pitaka belonging according to Rhys Davids to the 5th century B.C. there is a reference to Indian

* *Indian Antiquary*, 1884. A Geologist's contribution to the history of ancient India.

† Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet; p. 84.

* Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 487.

† Mc. Crindle's Classical Literature,—Herodotus.

ships sailing on the ocean far away from land.

Finally much light is also thrown on some features in the economical condition of India by the discovery on the Nepal frontier of the Piprahwa Stupa belonging to 450 B.C., the construction and contents of which lead to several inferences. As V. A. Smith has remarked, the stupa gives 'definite information' that among Indian craftsmen of 450 B.C. there were skilled masons, accomplished stone-cutters and dainty jewellers.

"The masonry of the stupa is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid; the great sand-stone coffer could not be better made; and the ornaments of gold, silver,

coral, crystal and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill in the arts of the lapidary and goldsmith."

An examination of the crystal bowl and the steatite vases accompanying it shows that they are all turned on the lathe* "and we thus learn that the Indian lapidaries were familiar with the use of the lathe in or about 450 B. C." Equally evident is the skill of the ancient Indian craftsmen in "shaping, polishing and piercing gems of extreme hardness as well as the extensive use of jewellery of an elaborate kind."

NORENDRA NATH LAW.

* See *Imperial Gazetteer* new ed., vol. 11.

NAVIGATING THE AIR

THE problem of aerial navigation has interested men perhaps for 4,000 or 5,000 years. But the difficulties and the disastrous results which befell some of the inventors and investigators led people to think, a few years ago, that the flying-machine was a dangerous toy of no real utility and that man must leave the navigation of the air to the birds and be satisfied with locomotive speed. Again happily the scientific searchers of the Western world were not born of present Hindustani parents. (The Hindustanis had a glorious past and the future Hindustanis will have). They neither spend their time in waging war against child widows nor in suppressing the progress of their brothers of lower status.

The scientific scholars of these countries have the motto "To do or to die." Though men—men of great originality and talents—like Dr. Wolfert and Engineer Otto Lilienthal of Germany were unfortunately killed after making some valuable researches yet the followers of their path, through untiring devotion, exertion and careful investigations have unquestionably attained marvellous success within a few years.

It is therefore interesting to review the present state of the question and the probable uses of the coming airships.

These flying machines may be divided into three general classes:—

- (1) Spherical Balloon.
- (2) Dirigible Balloon or lighter-than-air machine.
- (3) Aeroplane or heavier-than-air machine, which is divided again into two classes.
 - (i) The Monoplane.
 - (ii) The Biplane.

I think it is not necessary to give a description of the spherical balloon which is nothing but an air-tight bag generally made of silk and filled with light gas and which floats in the air. This kind of balloons is not the wonder of the day.

It has been also proved that the spherical balloons are the sports of the wind and every attempt to make them navigable failed. So we shall leave the poor spherical balloon here.

Now let us see what a dirigible balloon is. The dirigible balloon, as now usually constructed, has a cylindrical gas-bag, pointed at the ends (as illustrated) and carries a car with driving and steering apparatus below.

The bag is filled with hydrogen gas which is lighter than air. The complete structure with its occupant or occupants,



SPHERICAL BALLOON.

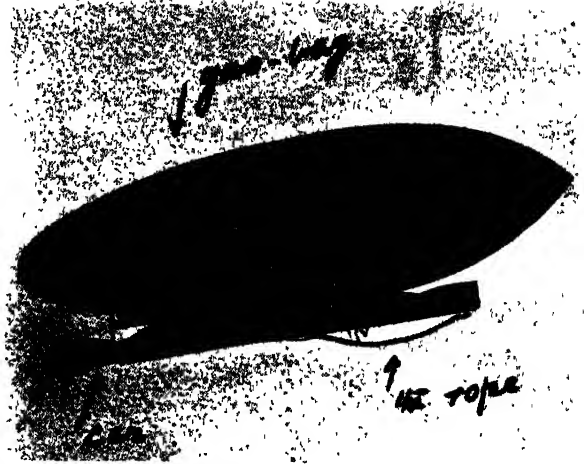
is designed to be very slightly heavier than the volume of air displaced, so left to itself it would not rise. The gas bag is designed to rise when the forward end is slightly elevated and the driving screw rotated by the motor. The balance may be maintained by a rope hung below in the form of a wide spread V, a weight being hung on the rope so that its shifting alters the centre of gravity.

Within the hydrogen gas bag it is customary to place centrally a small bag or envelope, arranged to be distended with air, or relieved of air, according to the condition of the gas-bag. By this means the tendency of the gas bag to burst under reduced atmospheric pressure or to shrink under increased pressure or from leakage, is counterbalanced and the bag can be kept normally full under all ordinary conditions.

ITS EARLY HISTORY.

Men always fight with nature to harness her. The early aerial navigators or rather balloonist never liked to be at the mercy of the wind and so their constant effort was to make it navigable.

Giffard was the first to apply in 1852 an artificial motor to an elongated balloon.



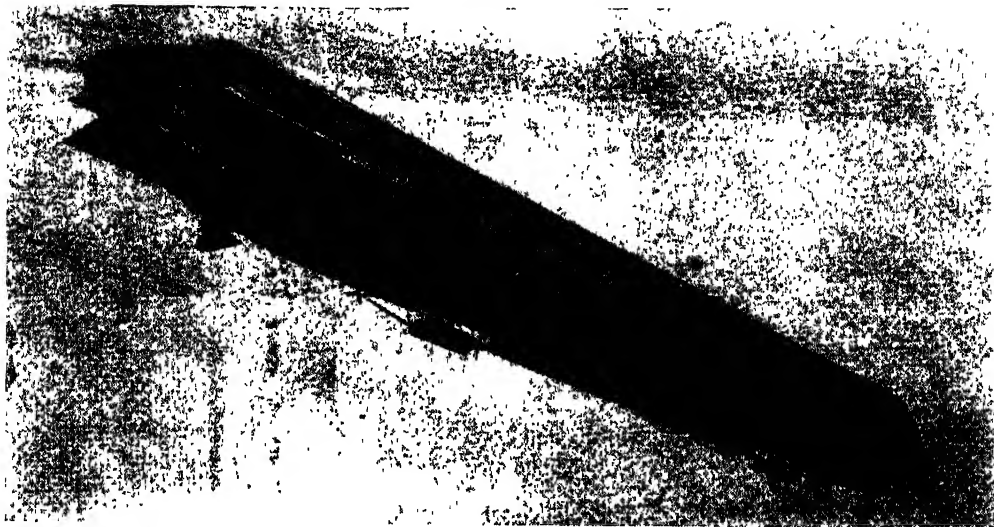
DIRIGIBLE BALLOON.

This motor consisted of a steam engine of 3 horse-power, which weighed with its appurtenances 462 pounds, and Giffard attained a speed of only 6.71 miles per hour, although his balloon was 144 ft. long and 39 ft. in diameter, or about the size of a tramp steamer. After this many followed him. We have no time to trace those gradual developments but one thing we can note here that they could not attain a high speed for want of motive power of sufficiently light weight.

ITS DEVELOPMENTS.

Meanwhile the gasoline motors had been increasing in efficiency and diminishing in weight. Taking this opportunity Mr. Santos Dumont, a young Brazilian, astonished the world with his brilliant achievements in 1901.

His No. 6 balloon with which he won the Deutsch prize was 108 ft. long, 20 ft. in diameter and was provided with a gasoline motor of 16 H. P. which might be driven up to 18 to 20 H. P. He attained a speed of 19 miles per hour, though small but a marked advance over any previous performance. He built his No. 9 balloon for visiting purposes. It was only 50 ft. long and 18 ft. in diameter and was provided with a 3 horse-power motor. Its speed was only 10 miles an hour but it was handy to ride around to breakfast or afternoon teas.



ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP.

Mr. Santos Dumont, the then highest authority on the subject, prophesied this :

"An airship the length of the 'Deutschland' constructed with the proportions of my No. 6 would transport 1000 voyagers of my own weight with a sufficiently powerful motor and the necessary petroleum from New York to Havre in two days."

Now let us see how much of this prophecy has been fulfilled by Count Zeppelin, who recently made a record-breaking forty-hour-flight at the age of 72. Count Von Zeppelin began his experiments in aerial flight when he was only 18 years of age and after years of costly failure finally he was crowned with success—a success which electrified the whole world. He has made already many flights some of which has met with serious mishaps and I will not describe those but I will close this article by giving a description of his record-breaking third ascent on July 1908.

This ascent proved to be the most remarkable yet made by a dirigible balloon. Starting from Mauzel at 8-30 A. M. Zeppelin No. IV passed over Constance along the Rhine Valley to Schaffhausen down the Reuss to Lucern over the lake Lucern to Zurich and then back to the shed where it descended at 8-30 P. M. after a journey lasting 12 hours and covering at least 200 miles. It should be noted that although there was only a very slight

breeze at the time, the course of the vessel lay over a tract of country, broken up by hills, valleys, and lakes and in close proximity to the high Alps all of which generate air currents horizontal and vertical.

This ship is cigar-shaped and consists of a strong aluminium frame over which is stretched a covering of silk. From end to end it measures 420 feet and its diameter is 38 feet. There are two cars (as illustrated) each of which contains a sixteen horse-power motor.

These motors are independent of one another and work propellers which are rigidly connected to the body of the balloon.

A sliding weight is used, if required, to raise or lower the front of the balloon and is moved by means of a winch along a steel support on which it is carried. The construction of the outer envelope provides a smooth surface and also protects the gas bags from injury.

Here I leave the subject of dirigible balloons with the hope of describing my personal experience in gliding and discussing the "Aeroplanes" next time, which for their speed, size and price are the future hopes of the aviators.

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INDIAN PEASANT PROPRIETORS IN MAURITIUS

"It is upon the progress and prosperity of these small planters that the future of the colony must largely depend"--Report of the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909, para 52.

OUT of the hundreds of thousands of unfortunate men and women touted away from the district of Arrah and the Presidency of Madras, a few thousand have been able, mainly by their frugality and love of agriculture, to strike root into the soil of Mauritius--and the roots have gone very deep indeed--so deep, in fact, that the French or semi-French planters and the Government consider this an accomplished fact and know that it is impossible to initiate, in Mauritius, anything like the Transvaal anti-Asiatic laws.

The following paragraphs copied verbatim from the report of the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909 correctly represent what ought to be the policy of the British Government towards the Indian population:--

RELATIONS OF GOVERNMENT TOWARDS INDIAN POPULATION.

One of the most difficult of the problems which lie before the Mauritius Government is that of its relations with the population of Indian descent. For about three quarters of a century it has been found possible for the Colonial Government to regard the Indian as a stranger among a people of European civilisation—a stranger who must indeed be protected from imposition and ill-treatment and secured in the exercise of his legal rights but who has no real claim to a voice in the ordering of the affairs of the Colony. From what we have learnt during our enquiry, we very much doubt whether it will be possible to continue to maintain this attitude. The Indian population of the Colony is easily governed and has, we believe, no natural inclination to assert itself in political matters so long as reasonable regard is paid to its desires on a few questions to which it not unreasonably attaches importance. In our opinion the fact that the first settlers in Mauritius were of French and African origin, and that as a consequence of the history of the island the legal and social system of the Colony is mainly French in character, ought not to preclude the Government from taking steps to relieve the Indian population from the provisions of a system which press heavily upon them and are regarded by them as a real grievance. It is no

sufficient answer to their representations to say that they or their ancestors came to Mauritius of their own will and must accept the conditions in force there. Such an argument might be conclusive in the case of a small section of the community—such, for example, as the Chinese—but it loses its force when it is urged against the aspirations of British Indian subjects who outnumber the rest of the inhabitants by more than two to one and who play so important a part in the industrial life of the community.

FREEING INDIANS FROM FRENCH LAW.

We have already alluded (paragraph 147) to one of the minor complaints of the Asiatic community—the preference shown in the customs tariff to the butter used by the European community as compared with the ghee used by the Indian. A much more important matter is the strong objection which both Mohammedans and Hindus entertain to being fettered in the disposition of their property by the French law of succession. We have already (paragraphs 63–65) commented on the manner in which, in our opinion, that law tends to hamper the evolution of the sugar manufacturing industry. In like manner, it tends to produce among the Indian small planters an undue and uneconomic sub-division of their holdings. The Indian witnesses who pressed this question upon our notice asked that the Mohammedan and Hindu laws of succession should be recognised and enforced by the Mauritius Courts in the case of the estates of deceased Indians. Such a proposal cannot be rejected as impracticable. A similar system exists in India and in other colonies with an Eastern population. We do not, however, recommend its adoption, since we believe that the real grievance which the Indians feel can be remedied by simpler means. Our proposal is that the limitations imposed by French law on the power of disposing of property shall not apply to any person domiciled in Mauritius who on his marriage and with the written concurrence of his wife notifies to the Civil Status Officer his desire that those limitations should not apply to any estate of which they, or either of them, may die possessed.

INDIAN MARRIAGES.

Another matter on which, in our opinion, relief ought to be afforded to the Indian is the law of marriage. By Mauritian law no marriage entered into in the Colony is valid except after a civil ceremony performed by a duly authorised Government Officer of the Civil Status Department. A large proportion of the Indians marry according to the rites of their own faith, but do not care to incur the trouble and expense of a ceremony—to them meaningless—before the Civil Status Officer. As a result, while such unions are regarded as perfectly regular by all persons of the same race, their offspring are sub-

ject to all the legal disabilities of illegitimacy. We cannot regard this condition of affairs as satisfactory, and we consider that some steps should be taken to alter it.

Perhaps the most convenient arrangement would be to appoint in each district as unpaid assistant Civil Status Officers a certain number of Mohammedan and Hindu priests of good standing with their co-religionists, and to register and recognise as valid all marriages entered into before them according to their own rites by persons of the same religion.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION.

No Council can legitimately claim to speak authoritatively for Mauritians as a whole which does not contain a substantial proportion of members who represent that hitherto unrepresented community of Asiatic descent which plays such an important part in the life of the Colony and comprises more than two-thirds of its population.

INDIAN EDUCATION.

Although the community is almost entirely an agricultural one, hardly anything is done to give either theoretical or practical instruction in agriculture. The code contains provisions which appear to be excellent under which half-time schools may be established for the instruction of Indian children in the obligatory subjects of ordinary schools up to standard IV. In such a school an Indian dialect may be substituted for either French or English, and the teachers must be able to speak and write at least one Indian language. Advantage has, however, not been taken of these provisions in practice, the reason given being that there is no public demand for the establishment of such schools. In our opinion, the adoption of schools of this character—half-time or otherwise—in which simple instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and gardening should be given, as far as possible, in the mother tongue of the child, and in any case not more than two languages employed, should be made compulsory in the country districts where the existing primary schools are attended largely by Indian children. At present the child of an Indian agricultural labourer or small holder learns, out of school, to speak his Indian mother tongue and the local dialect, founded on French, and known as Creole. In school he is taught a certain amount of English and French, which, if he follows his father's calling, he will seldom or never use again. He thus obtains a smattering of four languages and an adequate knowledge of none. The nature of his schooling naturally leads him to aspire to become a clerk or adopt some other calling not entailing manual labour. The field of employment open to such youths is small in a colony like Mauritius, and the result is that a considerable proportion of them become unemployed loungers, living on the scanty earnings of their parents. It is for these reasons, amongst others, that we strongly recommend the introduction of technical and agricultural training.

NO LAND-TAX.

Because it was pointed out amongst other objections that if levied on area it would fall unjustly on the Indian peasant proprietors, who commonly buy the poor and less profitable lands, such a tax would operate as a hardship upon "poor men struggling to make a living out of a small market garden or cane-piece."

It will be seen from the foregoing extracts that so far as the free Indian population of Mauritius is concerned there is little resemblance between our colony and any other. Here the Indianisation of the colony has been going on for years, and though now the descendants of the original French planters think that their forefathers practised false economy by not providing for the compulsory return of Indian immigrants to their mother country after their contracts of service were over, it is too late now to mend what is supposed to have been a gross political blunder. Indianisation in Mauritius is the bogie of local politicians calling themselves "Mauritians" in a narrow sense of patriotism—and herculean efforts are being made in the columns of the so-called "oligarchic" papers of Mauritius to rouse the white or pseudo-white French population of Mauritius against the aspirations of those, who or whose forefathers had come to Mauritius on the invitation of the then masters of the soil, from whom gradually ownership of land is passing by a peaceful process of industrial evolution to the hard-working and grateful sons of Behar, who love mother earth better than any other section of the local population and sacrifice their fat and blood to enrich the soil. The so-called "Mauritians" (exclusively so-called) do not like to do manual labour and there is no wonder that land yields her favours to those who tenaciously stick to her even at the cost of some of the necessities of life.

Indians cultivate about 92,000 acres of land for white planters and about 40,000 acres on their own account. The protector of immigrants estimates the price of the land possessed by these small Indian planters at about Rs. 1,800,000. Besides Indians possess land on which fruits, vegetables, maize and other food-stuffs are grown. About 22½ per cent. of the total sugar-cane grown in the colony belongs to the Indian peasantry, as will be seen from the figures for 1907:—

Total weight of sugar-cane	
crushed	... 1,580,517 tons.
Sugar-cane belonging to	
Indians,	... 351,662 tons.

"The yield per acre of the small Indian planter is less than half that of the large estates. This must not be attributed to lack of enterprise or industry on the part of the Indian planter, though there is certainly

inferior culture; for it must be remembered that it is the unprofitable lands of estates that have been parcelled out. Parcelling out of land among Indians is the fate of lands which do not find purchasers among the estate owners. But it is of course apparent that the Indians have not funds sufficient to carry on anything like proper cultivation. They are obliged to economise on the items of labour and manure."

Thus wrote Sir Graham Bower, the then Colonial Secretary, on the 23rd of June 1909, to the Royal Commission. Now these small Indian planters possess the political franchise; but they are not able to exercise a free vote on account of their economic dependance upon the white planters or factory-owners, to whom purchase-money may be partly or wholly owing, or from whom advances may have been obtained for buying manure, etc., or upon whose facto-

ries most Indians depend for the sale of their sugar-cane and crushing of it to manufacture sugar. There is at present an election going on in Mauritius and the so-called oligarchs threaten to boycott sugar-cane belonging to small Indian planters in their respective districts in case they vote for what is locally known as the Action Liberale (Liberal party) which is running one Hindu and one Mahomedan candidate to secure the co-operation and the votes of the overwhelming Indian majority in favour of their other Mauritian candidates of a liberal type.

MANILAL M. DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B.,
*Barrister-at-Law. Delegate from Mauritius
to the Indian National Congress, 1910.*

THE GENERAL ELECTION, AND AFTER

MANY people here did not like the idea of two General Elections in twelve months' time. The issue presented to the Constituencies was absolutely the same. The Election of January, 1910, gave the Liberal Government a workable majority in the House, and nothing absolutely had happened since then to cause any sudden change of public feeling in the country. It was, therefore, generally believed that the Election of December, 1910, would make practically no difference in the relative strength of the Ministerialists and the Opposition as between the old and the new House of Commons. The actual results of the last Election have absolutely verified these forecasts. After the General Election in January, 1910, the combined Ministerialists numbered 397 as against 273 on the Opposition. At the time of the Dissolution, the Ministerialist strength had been deduced to 396, owing to the desertion, on the last day of the last Parliament, of Sir J. D. Rees. As the result of the General Election of last month, the combined Ministerialists number 398 as against 272 Unionists. So, practically, Mr. Asquith can offer no surer proof of possessing the confidence of the country than

what he had before the General Election. In the last Parliament, the Liberals, without their allies, the Labourites and the Nationalists, counted 275 as against 273 Unionists. If anything, therefore, they have lost one seat at the last Election, though the gain has not been of the Unionists but of the Labourites. A look at these figures absolutely proves the contention of those who held a new General Election absolutely unnecessary to test the opinion of the country upon the issue of the House of Lords. The situation remains unchanged. And it is difficult just at this moment to form any positive forecast of the immediate future. What will the Government do? Will they proceed at once with their promised legislation regarding the Lords? And if they do, and if the Parliament Bill dealing with the Lords' Vote be passed by the House of Commons, as there is no doubt it will be, will the Lords accept it without any further struggle? It does not seem likely. It is notorious that the power behind the present Conservative Party in this country is Mr. Garvin, the editor of the *Sunday Observer*. And Mr. Garvin has not as yet wiped off his war-paint. In successive issues of his

paper, he has been calling upon his following to gird up their loins for a fresh fight. And Mr. Garvin, whatever his politics or his policy, is really a very shrewd man of affairs. Whatever his Liberal opponents might say of him, Mr. Garvin is not a man to engage in a fierce fight without calculating the probabilities of the result. It is generally believed that the General Election of December last was prompted from high quarters. It is believed that when Mr. Asquith suggested the question of guarantees to the King, the necessity of another General Election to find out the real wishes of the people in regard to the Lords' Veto came as a counter-suggestion. If this be so, it is difficult to see how the last Election in any way alters the old situation. Not only the Liberals have failed to score a larger majority in the House than what they had before, on the contrary an examination of the actual votes secured by them would indicate a much weaker mandate. And the Tories are not slow to make the best of these facts. The question is, will the King accept the results of the last Election as more decisive than those of the previous one? And if he does not, as he reasonably may, what will the Government do? The situation is the most complex that has been known in British history for a very long time past. And the chances are that another attempt will be made to settle the issues between the two dominant political parties in the country by mutual consent. A second conference between the leaders of the two parties is one of the probabilities of the present situation here. The other probability is that the King may direct his Ministers to proceed simultaneously with their scheme of limiting the Lords' Veto and reconstructing the Upper Chamber. In fact, the two questions are organically bound up with one another. The two must be discussed together, and settled simultaneously, if any reasonable and abiding results are sought to be achieved. But the question of reconstructing the House of Lords is a far more difficult question than that of limiting their present Legislative Veto. A Veto Bill may under existing conditions be easily passed at least through the House of Commons, but any scheme of constructive

reform that is likely to be brought forward by a Liberal Cabinet will not command the acceptance of all their allies. There is a considerable volume of opinion among Radicals and Labourites against any but a purely elective Second Chamber. There are some people who do not care for a Second Chamber at all, and who would like to reform the House of Lords off the British Constitution altogether. It is not easy to say how the Irish Nationalists who hold within the hollow of their hands, the fortunes of the present Government, will regard any attempt to postpone the question of the Veto until the cognate problem of the reform and reconstruction of the Upper Chamber has been discussed and settled. Mr. Redmond and his people want Home Rule for Ireland above all else. In the course of the last few months Mr. Redmond has repeatedly assured his people and his friends and compatriots in every part of the world that the winning post of the race run for more than a hundred years by successive generations of Irish patriots is well within sight. It is this assurance that has encouraged Irish Americans and Canadians to subscribe so freely to the funds of the Irish Nationalist Party. They are impatient for the realisation of their long cherished hopes. They are not likely to brook the delay that the simultaneous consideration of the question of the reform of the Lords and their legislative veto will necessarily involve. All these are the difficulties before the present Government. Personally, I do not think that Mr. Asquith will be eager to promote Mr. Redmond's cause in the face of all these complications. Yet Mr. Redmond holds the life of the present Government in his own hands. An examination of all these complexities, a survey of all these currents and cross currents in present-day British politics, suggests the possibility of a very early reshuffling of the Party cards. There are a good number of sober Liberals who have been chafing under the difficulties that Mr. Redmond's peculiar position has imposed upon them and their Party. There are Liberals who do not really like the preponderance of Radical and Socialist opinions in the Councils of the Party. Both these classes of Liberals would not be sorry to enter into a co-alition with the Moderate

section at least of the Unionist Party. It is not, therefore, an absolute impossibility that to avoid the complications arising out of the possible refusal of the King to accept the last Election as indicative of a decisive verdict of the people in regard to the question of the House of Lords and to destroy the present Irish ascendancy in the British Parliament, the new year may see the growth of a coalition between the Liberals and the Conservatives. Such a coalition would temporarily solve the problem of the House of Lords. It would at the same time obstruct the immediate settlement of the Home Rule question. That question is after all not so simple as some people might think it to be. Ireland would not be satisfied with what is known in your country as local self-government. She wants the same measure of freedom that is enjoyed by the self-governing colonies, neither less nor more. And Home Rule for Ireland on the Colonial pattern must be followed by a

change in the Constitution of the present House of Commons. Ireland cannot be left to herself in the way that the distant dominions of the British Empire have hitherto been left. Home Rule in Ireland would directly necessitate the establishment of a Federal Council at Westminster composed of Irish and British representatives for the control of foreign policy and such other matters that fall outside the province of the local administration in Ireland. The necessity of the situation would really involve similar Home Rule for Scotland and Wales as well as England. To develop such a Federal system within the United Kingdom would require some time. If not for anything else, at least for gaining this time, a coalition of the Liberals and the Conservatives in the present confused condition of British politics would not be absolutely detrimental to the general interests of the British Empire.

E. WILLIS.

London, January 6, 1911.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIMITED LIABILITY PRINCIPLE IN BRITISH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

THE distinguished Bengalee businessman, Mr. R. N. Mukherjee, C. I. E., in his presidential speech at the last Industrial Conference in Allahabad emphasised the importance of remodelling the legislation regulating business companies in India in accordance with the provisions of the British Companies Act of 1908. The legal aspect of modern industrial organization does not generally receive as much attention in the writings of economists or discussions of industrial thinkers as it deserves. Mr. Mukherjee has done well in calling the attention of those who are interested in the industrial development of this country to that aspect.

The British Companies Act of 1908 marks the latest development in England of an economic principle which has now been universally accepted throughout the civilized

world as essential to the efficient organization of business enterprises. That principle is based on two conceptions, *viz.*, that all possible encouragement should be given to the development of the joint-stock method of business organization through the investment of the floating capital of the community and that at the same time sufficient provision should also be made for preventing the growth of fraudulent enterprises and safeguarding the interests of investors. The former object is achieved through limiting the liability of investors to the amount of their respective shares. The latter object is achieved through enforcing a body of restrictions and a certain prescribed method of procedure with regard to the constitution and management of "limited" companies. The importance of limited liability as a factor of modern

industrial development cannot be over-estimated. It is not very difficult to understand that the great works carried out by private or joint-stock enterprise would have been plainly impossible if the old law of partnership liability had prevailed in them. Undertakings like the London Water Companies, the great railroads, the Suez Canal and other like enterprises would have been impossible if every shareholder was liable for the whole costs of failure, while the gains were limited of course to his share in the undertaking. It must also be clear that a healthy and permanent advancement of industry depends, in the last analysis, on honest and judicious promotion of enterprises and on guaranteeing sufficient security to the legitimate interests of investors.

To realise the full significance of the British Companies Act of 1908 it is necessary to review the whole history of legislation regarding business companies in England; because the Act of 1908, besides representing the latest development of the policy of Governmental regulation of companies in England, has incorporated into it all the previous Acts of the same kind. The Companies Act of 1862, and the seventeen Acts amending it were consolidated by the

Act of 1908. Hence the title Companies (consolidation) Act of 1908. In this paper an attempt will be made to review the history of Companies legislation in England till the passing of the Companies Act of 1908. Consideration of the nature and importance of that Act will be deferred to a future occasion.



MR. R. N. MUKHERJEE, C. I. E.

The modern limited liability system in English trade and industry is mainly based upon the Companies Act of 1862. But it must be borne in mind that this Act did not introduce any new principle, but merely granted facilities for extending one which had long been in use. The Act made it possible to obtain the benefits of incorporation in England by registration only, and relieved the promoters of joint-stock enterprises from the necessity of procuring a Royal Charter or Special Act of Parliament, which up to that time had been the recognised method of procedure.

The principle of limited liability was well known to Roman Law, although in early Rome corporate rights were rarely granted where trade was the sole object. From Rome the principle developed during the Middle Ages into the partnership known as *Commenda*, in which one partner was liable

for a fixed sum only. And the Commenda by a natural process of evolution has now become the *Société en Commandité*, besides being the progenitor of the Limited Liability Company. The discoveries of the sixteenth century gave a fresh stimulus to corporate enterprise and led to the formation of new companies with limited liability throughout Europe among which the East India Company was the most prominent. But it was left for the legislation of the middle of the nineteenth century to devise a mode of acquiring limited liability which should conform more closely to the demands of modern commercialism than the former cumbersome and lengthy process could do.

The Act of 1862, already referred to, was followed by other Acts which modified several of its provisions. Thus the Act of 1867 permitted the constitution of limited liability companies *with directors having an unlimited liability*; allowed companies to reduce their capital; and particularly, in order to secure shareholders from fraud, provided that any prospectus not specifying any contract made on behalf of the company shall be deemed fraudulent on the part of the promoters. The Act of 1879, passed in consequence of the bankruptcy of the City of Glasgow Bank which frightened all shareholders in joint-stock banking companies with unlimited liability, permitted any unlimited company to be re-registered as a limited company, by the passing of a special resolution to that effect and increasing the nominal amount of its capital, provided no part of such increased capital shall be capable of being called up, except in the event of, and for the purpose of, the company being wound up. And by the Act of 1880 power was given to the Registrar of joint-stock companies to strike the names of defunct companies off the register, when the Registrar has reasonable cause to believe that the company is not carrying on business or is not in operation, or when no answer has been received after a reasonable time to enquiries for returns according to the Act.

Here it may be worthwhile to summarise the provisions of the Companies Acts, which aimed to prevent fraud, as existed in England before the enactment of the legislation of 1908. Thus;—

(i) With regard to *promoters* who are responsible for the creation of the Company: From the time they first conceive the idea of forming it, they are in fiduciary position towards it; and all profits made by them, but not disclosed to the company, belongs to the company. Further they cannot sell any property of their own to the company till they have first provided it with an independent board of directors; failing this the sale may be set aside, and, furthermore if while they are promoters they buy or acquire property and sell it to the company at a profit, the company is entitled to the benefit and profit of their contract, and consequently to the property at the price they gave for it.

(ii) With regard to *directors*: They must act for the benefit of the company independently of all other interests. They must not enter into any engagement by which their interest will conflict with their duty. If a proposed director is interested, as a vendor or otherwise, in the sale of property to the company, he should not join the board until after the completion of the sale, when all conflict between his interest and his duty has ceased, and he should not merely postpone taking his seat till after the allotment of shares, as is so often the case. A director shall not accept shares from a promoter or vendor. There is, however, no objection to a director qualifying with shares obtained from the vendor or promoter, if obtained *bona fide* before he joined the board. Directors and officers of the company are also liable to a multitude of penalties for knowingly or wilfully permitting a neglect of various statutory obligations. To appropriate money for any purpose other than for the benefit of the company is criminal.

(iii) With regard to the *prospectus*: A prospectus should be plain and straightforward, setting out impartially every fact within the knowledge of the persons issuing it. The "waiver" clause—that is, the devise by which, after setting out some of the contracts entered into, the prospectus states that an applicant for shares is deemed to waive his right to the publication of any other contract—is fraudulent except under some special circumstances.

Before proceeding to an enquiry into the practical results of the series of English Companies Laws, it may be advisable to

have a general comparative view of similar laws of some other countries. It appears from this comparison that the laws of the United Kingdom *as they existed before the passing of the Companies Act of 1908*, seemed to provide less security against the perpetration of fraud in the formation of joint-stock companies than the laws of France, Italy or Germany. In the United Kingdom, any seven persons by subscribing to a memorandum of association containing certain preliminary facts, and by each subscriber stating in the same memorandum the number of shares he proposed to take, which must not be less than one share, be it for 1s. or for 1000£, could form themselves into a company with limited or unlimited liability, have it registered, and advertise the same as for any amount of nominal capital, however small the amount really at the time subscribed. The Registration Office where such memorandum must be registered, being only the recipient of such particulars as the promoters or members of such companies were pleased to bring before them, the Registrar had no power to verify the facts proposed to be registered. By the French law on partnership *en commandite* by shares of 1867, the capital of such companies cannot be divided into shares of less than 4 £ each when the capital does not exceed 8,000 £, nor of less than 20 £ each when the capital exceeds that amount. The partnership, moreover, is not held definitely constituted till after the entire capital has been subscribed, and one fourth at least on each share has been paid up, the subscription and payment being proved by a declaration signed by the manager in a notarial act; while shares and coupons are not transferable till the fourth of the amount has actually been paid up. The Italian law likewise prescribes that no company is to be held constituted till the whole capital has been subscribed and three-fourths of the

capital has been paid up. In Germany a special permission by the Government is necessary for a *societe en commandite* by shares. These shares cannot be for less than 200 *thalers*, and before the company is registered the entire amount must have been subscribed. The French law recognises four kinds of societies, *viz.*—

(i) *Societes en nom collectif*, in which the social obligations are guaranteed by the unlimited liability of all the partners.

(ii & iii) *Societes en commandite simple and "par actions"*, in which the social obligations are guaranteed by the unlimited liability of one or more of the partners *commandite*, and by the limited liability of *commanditaires*.

(iv) *Societes anonyms*, in which the social obligations are guaranteed by limited liability.

In this connection it may be noted that the principle of combining limited liability for shareholders and unlimited liability for directors, permitted by the Act of 1867, has not found favour in the United Kingdom, scarcely any company having taken advantage of the same. The reason alleged for this is that were an unlimited liability laid on the directors, fewer persons might be found ready to assume that position.

We may now turn our attention to the consideration of the practical effects which the laws discussed above had upon the English economic life. From 1862 to 1884 inclusive there were registered in the United Kingdom 24,140 joint-stock companies, with a nominal capital of 2,710 millions. Of these companies as many as 22,617 were limited, and only 523 unlimited companies; so completely has the principle of limitation superseded the former one of unlimited responsibility. The following table indicates the growth of joint-stock companies during this period and their relation to trade and financial movements:—

(Table showing the average number and capital of joint-stock companies between 1863 and 1884).

Years.	Number of Companies.	Total nominal capital.	Total amount of exports and imports.	Proportion of trade to companies and capital £1,000,000.	Trade of companies. £100,000 capital.	Minimum rate per cent. of discount charged by the Bank of England.
1863—67 ...	812	130,181,000	491,695,000	1.65	3.77	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
1868—72 ...	693	83,724,000	577,243,000	1.20	4.35	3 $\frac{1}{4}$

Years.	Number of Companies.	Total nominal capital	Total amount of exports and imports.	Proportion of trade to companies and capital	Trade of companies.	Minimum rate per cent. of discount charged by the Bank of England.
		£	£	£1,000,000.	£100,000 capital.	
1873—77 ...	1,140	92,031,000	656,554,000	1·73	6·89	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1878—82 ...	1,287	153,469,000	667,491,000	1·93	7·14	3 $\frac{2}{3}$
1883 ..	1,266	167,680,000	732,329,000	2·41	4·35	3 $\frac{9}{16}$
1884 ..	1,541	138,401,000	685,786,000	2·24	4·79	2 $\frac{19}{20}$

It appears from the above table that the joint-stock companies exhibit a great increase in number and capital of the companies registered since 1880. The increase arose, however, mainly from the re-registration of banking and other companies, with a nominal capital of 146 millions, and calls were received on them amounting to £21,900,000, or in the proportion of 15 per cent. To this should be added the co-operative companies. The number of such companies rose from 340, 930 in 1873 to 576, 477 in 1883. The amount of share capital rose from £3,334 104 in 1873 to £6,871,590 in 1883.

As regards the prosperity of these companies which eventually succeeded, it may be observed that in the case of 216 companies of the most varied character representing many important enterprises, the annual percentage of dividends amounted on an average to about 6·97 per cent. in 1880 and 6·94 per cent. in 1884. The largest dividends were made by insurance companies and next by banking, gas and water companies.

Another very important result of the limited joint-stock principle was the growth of banks and large increase of bank deposits full of interest and availability of capital for industrial and commercial purposes both at home and in the colonies.

It must now be observed that the limited liability Acts discussed above, while they produce highly beneficial results, produced some serious evils also—One of the glaring evils was the rapid conversion of many bankrupt private concerns into joint-stock limited companies. Sometimes this operation was a beneficial one. Very frequently the conversion was due to a desire to procure more capital than the partners of a private firm can command.

In other cases the object was to secure the more easy distribution of the property of particular partners and to keep together a business which would otherwise be lost. The unrestricted limited liability also encouraged speculation of the most unscrupulous kind. It was estimated that 64 p.c. of the companies registered between 1856 and 1886 were failures. About £500,000,000 were sunk in gambling stocks, e.g., American railway shares, Indian gold-mine shares and other securities of similar character. About £328,000,000 of capital were wiped out, and as many millions were lost in Eries, Grand Trunks etc.

It is easy however to exaggerate these evils. It must not be forgotten that abuses arose not so much from the law as from the ignorance of the law and non-compliance with the same on the part of the promoters and directors. Limited liability was, further, only one of the causes of the high speculation referred to. The increase of national wealth must also be largely reckoned in accounting for the enormous speculation. Nor must the fact be overlooked that the majority of the companies that failed after a period of working more or less prolonged were perfectly genuine concerns. They might be hazardous but they were not fraudulent. It must also be admitted that if millions of pounds were squandered in chimerical projects, millions were also made in enterprises that would never have been undertaken had there been no limited liability law. Furthermore, if speculation was enormously increased, so were investment transactions. Even the craze in mining shares under the Limited Liability Acts did not reach the insane heights which characterised the "South Sea Bubble."

Besides, there were enormous failures even under unlimited liability. The best illustration of this statement is the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878.

Considering all circumstances it may safely be said that limited liability is to be preferred to unlimited liability. Limited liability is good from the point of view of the community as a whole, because it encourages commercial enterprise. It is good from the shareholder's point of view also. Because in case of failure his whole fortunes will not be lost.

To admit however the general desirability

of limited liability does by no means involve the proposition that its present application to the commercial system is faultless. These faults ought be remedied as far as possible by legislation. The French and German laws are helpful in this connection. But it should be borne in mind that much depends upon the watchfulness of the investing public.

How far, and in what ways, evils discussed above have been remedied by the Companies Act of 1908 may be reserved for consideration on a future occasion.

SATISH CHANDRA BASU.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Second Afghan War. (1878-79-80). Vol. III. By Colonel Hanna. Archibald Constable & Co., London.

Colonel Hanna's valuable work, the history of the Second Afghan War, (1878-79-80) its causes, its conduct, and its consequences, was brought to a conclusion early last year by the publication of its third volume. It is a masterly and complete record of the events of that war. That episode of Anglo-Afghan history caused much excitement in England and in India, on account of the disaster to British arms and the loss of men, money and prestige involved therein. Indian affairs are generally kept outside British party politics. To this fact is due the standing indifference of the British voter to Indian matters and the neglect of the latter, by the Parliament and the Press. The Second Afghan War was, however, used by Mr. Gladstone in his famous Midlothian Campaign in the eighties of the last century as one of the weapons for the overthrow of the Disraeli Administration, which led to the resignation by Lord Lytton of the Viceroyalty of India.

Colonel Hanna's account of the War is very valuable because the author himself took part in them as an officer on the staff, and therefore writes from first-hand knowledge, but what is of the greatest value to the Indian publicist, and the Indian reader is the moral of the book, expressed in Colonel Hanna's direct, trenchant and picturesque style. He always calls a spade a spade.

The author comes straight to the point, and tells his story with the vigour born of truthfulness and the consciousness of strict honesty of purpose. The book is remarkably free from cant and the author bestows blame and praise with great freedom from personal sympathies and antipathies. In the first chapter is given a vivid and remarkably human account of the troubles which the War brought on the people of the Punjab, troubles which were the begin-

ning of the unrest which culminated in the now historic Punjab Colonies Bill of 1907.

Mr. Thorburn, in his work on "Punjab in Peace and War," has given a very graphic account of the hardships from which the people of the Punjab suffered during that War, and Colonel Hanna has now corroborated that account in the very first paragraph of the third volume of his book. The chapter which begins with this paragraph is named "March of Death." It begins thus:—

"The summer of the year 1879 was a season of suffering for the people of India. In the south there was famine, due to a failure of the spring crops, and further north, where Nature had shown herself more bountiful, the poverty of the peasant denied him the enjoyment of her gifts, even the necessities of life often exceeding his purchasing power.

"But it was in the Punjab that the burden of the moment was heaviest and the outlook least hopeful. Lying nearest to Afghanistan, that province had contributed far more than its share of the labour and transport which had been used up on the three lines of advance, and with the troops still beyond the frontier, and still needing to be fed and kept supplied with the carriage, without which there could be no withdrawal when the word to withdraw should be given, the demands on its resources were nearly as constant and as exacting as during the continuance of hostilities. Agriculture languished under the scarcity of labour, and trade was carried on with difficulty in a country from which animal transport had almost disappeared, and where railways continued to be diverted from their normal uses to the service of the military authorities."

This is followed by an account of the hasty and ill-advised withdrawal of the troops after the fateful treaty of Gandamak, which was accompanied by great losses in men and animals.

In the chapters which follow are to be found a detailed account of the mission of Sir Louis Cavagnari to Kabul, and its tragic consequences, followed by the

famous March of Lord Roberts to the capital of Afghanistan, which resulted in the declaration of martial law and the deportation of Amir Yaqubkhan to India. The chapter on "Martial Law" and on "the foraging and burning of villages," have been written with a scrupulous regard for truth. The author next describes how "the difficulty with regard to evidence was got over by permitting Mohammad Hyat (afterward Nawab Mohammad Hyat Khan C. S. I.), the Indian civilian, to whom the task of beating up witnesses was assigned, to examine informers in secret, the commission accepting his report of their deposition instead of insisting on their appearing before it in person, which left the accused in ignorance of their accusers, and deprived them of the chance of proving their innocence by the production of rebutting evidence."

As regards the spirit which inspired the commission, Colonel Hanna says:—

"In ordinary circumstances a tribunal consisting of officers, however destitute of judicial experience they might be, would have refused to send men to the gallows on doubtful and tainted evidence; but Roberts's force, from the highest to the lowest, was so imbued with the conviction that, in intent, if not in actual fact, every Afghan was a participant in the crime it had been sent to avenge, that the duty laid upon the Commission seemed more that of selecting a certain number of scapegoats from a guilty population, than of carefully investigating and deciding each case on its merits. A similar state of mind had prevailed in the Mutiny and had found expression in indiscriminate and wholesale massacres; but, at that time, the Indian Government had at its head a wise and humane statesman—Lord Canning—and the Indian Army, a wise and humane soldier—Lord Clyde—both of whom did their utmost to stem the spirit of revenge which they saw to be breaking down the moral sense of their subordinates. When it is remembered that in flat contradiction of the great bulk of the evidence already in Lord Lytton's hands, his instructions to Sir F. Roberts, a commander whose recent doings in Khost had proved him to have more faith in force than in justice, were based on the assumption that every Afghan might justly be held responsible for the massacre of the British Embassy, there is little to wonder at in the bitter and callous temper which animated the British officers and men occupying Kabul, and left its fatal mark on the proceedings of the Military Commission."

We are, however, bound in fairness to point out that the chief of Lord Roberts's staff, Sir Charles Macgregor, was not without his doubts as to the justice and wisdom of these summary executions. "I do not believe," he wrote in his diary, "that it ever does good to kill men indiscriminately and I will not lend myself to it." But this conviction and resolve of Sir Charles could not prevent indiscriminate executions. The inevitable result followed. Even the *Times of India* admitted that "the work of vengeance was so complete as to have become somewhat indiscriminate." In the Proclamation of Amnesty issued by Lord Roberts under orders of the Home Government, "he regretted that a good many innocent persons," had been hanged. How "the process of settling the country by terrorising its people" was carried on is vividly described in the chapter on "Foraging and village burning," and what results it brought in its train, in the chapter on the

"Rising Storm." An instance of the former is quoted from a letter of the correspondent of the *Pioneer*. The extract is given below:—

"All Bahadur Khan's villages, some ten in number, were marked down to be looted and burnt, and Sikhs and Sowars were quickly engaged in the work. The houses were found stored with bhusha, straw, firewood, and twigs for the winter, as well as a small quantity of corn, and as there was not time to clear them out, and we could not afford to leave a force for the night in such a dangerous position so near to the hills, orders were given to fire the villages and destroy the houses and their contents. No better men than Sikhs could be found for such work, and in a few minutes Bahadur Khan's villages were in flames, and volumes of dense black smoke pouring over the valley, a high wind aiding the fire with frantic earnestness."

Before applying the torch, the earthen corn bins, which are the special feature of all Afghan peasant houses, were smashed to pieces, and every hole and corner ransacked in the hope of discovering hidden treasure; whilst outside, soldiers and camp-followers vied with each other in chasing down ducks, fowls, and donkeys, and the cavalry scoured the country, driving in the villagers' few cows and sheep.

With so many hands ready to help, a few hours sufficed to complete the work of destruction, and by evening the force, with all the loot worth removal, was back in camp, leaving the Dara Nirkh Valley "full of smoking ruins and blazing stacks."

These chapters afford conclusive proof, so often furnished, and so often ignored by men in authority, all the world over, of the folly of a "policy of terror," how a "campaign of retribution" ripened into a "harvest of hatred," and how "the exactions and barbarities" of the avenging army resulted in dangerous and widespread disturbances.

There is a striking parallel between the causes, conduct, and consequence of the Afghan War of 1838-42, and the causes, conduct, and consequences of the Afghan War of 1878-80. Both arose from the fear of Russia, yet neither had Russia for its object. Each was begun under a fatal misconception of its character, cost, and probable duration. Each, though in intention, directed solely against a Prince, became in its progress, a struggle with a People. Each ran a long and chequered course, and was marked by incidents little creditable to British honour and British humanity. Each closed with a march which surrounded political failure with a halo of military success, and gave an air of freedom to an inevitable retreat. Each left behind it, to the people of India, a legacy of indebtedness and poverty, to the people of Afghanistan, a legacy of bitter memories and deep distrust of British promises. Each failed of its object, nay, more than failed. Instead of establishing on the throne of Kabul a sovereign devoted to British interests the one ended in the restoration of the able Prince to depose whom it had been begun; and the other, in the nomination to the Amirship of the last man on whom from its own point of view, the choice of the Indian Government should have fallen, because he was the man apparently most likely to prefer Russia's influence to that of Great Britain.

Discussing the consequences of the War, in an earlier part of the same chapter, the writer points out how, as a result of the War, "slowly, but surely, one tribe after another...has come to

regard the Indian Government with ever-growing distrust and dislike; to disbelieve utterly in the fairness of the intentions of a neighbour which, with or without pretext, has not scrupled to penetrate deep into their territories and makes no secret of its determination to bring them under its authority. The one fatal consequence of the War of 1878 was just the change of policy towards the border tribes, and it is directly traceable to an unfortunate concession made by the Gladstone Cabinet to views that it did not share. The annexation of Quetta and Pishin, and the creation of outposts in Kakar territory to protect the Harnai railway made possible that "insidious creeping over the country like a mist" so indignantly repudiated by Sir William Mansfield when Commander-in-Chief in India. The fruits of this method have so far been one big war and many little wars; the locating a number of small garrisons in inaccessible regions, in the midst of hostile peoples; a large addition to India's military forces; a big increase in her military and political charges; the concentration of a large part of her army within sight of the north-west frontier and the creation of a fresh school of alarmists, men wilder in their visions of coming evil than their predecessors."

Colonel Hanna is justified in observing that "the subsequent creation of a separate North-West Frontier Province by Lord Curzon and the policy of pampering to the vanity of the border tribes by bribing them with big doles of money" is not likely to "leave any good fruit." Constant and ever-increasing raids into British territory resulting in enormous loss of life and property are among some of the latest fruits of these unhappy measures.

Quoting Lord Lawrence as to the antecedent conditions on which India's foreign Government can enjoy security in the face of a threatened invasion, he winds up with the following weighty observations:—

"On such broad foundations as those described by Lord Lawrence something greater may be achieved than mere immunity from panic in the face of danger threatening from without, namely, the creation of a strong and prosperous India, loyal to the connection to which she owes her unity; but they can never be laid whilst money which should be left in the people's pockets or spent on reproductive works, is wasted on fortifications and strategic railways, the maintenance of an army greatly in excess of its legitimate strength, and the up-keep of outposts which serve no purpose save to irritate and provoke the tribes whom they are supposed to control."

The following extracts should receive the attention of the present day administrators of India:—

"A national Government, embarking on the most indefensible of wars, can always count on the blind support of the majority of its countrymen; an alien Government appeals in vain to the passions and prejudices of its subjects. The former Afghan wars had no national enthusiasm behind them; the war of the future will be waged in the teeth of national condemnation. The educated native knows that India, with her land frontier triply guarded by river, desert, and mountain, has no reason to fear foreign invasion; and no sophistry can convince him that the Scientific Frontier of the Forward Party will add to his security or fail to add to his burdens; and it must not be forgotten that the educated native

has to-day greater opportunities of influencing his uneducated countrymen than he had seventy or even thirty years ago."

"Political reforms mock a nation's hopes so long as material conditions remain unimproved; and because Militarism and Poverty always have been, and always will be indissolubly allied, the dearest wish of every lover of England and India must be to create in both countries a Forward Party which shall take as its watchword, 'Progress founded on Peace.'"

The whole book affords a valuable object lesson to those who insist on a policy of "Sword and Fire" in the East, and who place their greatest faith in repression, suppression, and confiscation in the Government of Eastern Countries. Never was its futility and mischievousness more effectively brought out than by the consequences of the Afghan War as recorded by Colonel Hanna.

L.

Oh, to be Rich and Young! By Fabes T. Sunderland, Author of "The Spark in the Clod," "The Origin and Character of the Bible," &c. American Unitarian Association. 25 Beacon Street, Boston Mass., U. S. A. Price one dollar.

The exterior and get-up of this book are as beautiful as its contents are inspiring. We have nothing but praise for it. It is eminently fit to be placed in the hands of our young men and women. They will read it with great pleasure and profit. When we say this we do not mean that the middle-aged and the old will not find it attractive and profitable reading. On the contrary the closing pages, nearly half of the book, ought to interest this class of readers at least as much as younger persons.

The book is divided into three sections, (I) Wealth which all may win, (II) Beauty which all may attain, (III) Perpetual youth for all. We quote below a paragraph from the first section.

"And yet, problems of the right distribution of material wealth, and of the abolition of physical poverty, are not the only ones, or even the greatest, that are before our age. Man is not a body merely; he is a living soul. Soul poverty is as real as bodily poverty, and even more serious in its results; and soul wealth is even more important than any possible wealth consisting in material things. Is not our whole generation forgetting this to an alarming extent?"

Statistical and Economic Study Among Indians: by D. E. Wacha. "Gujarati" Printing Press, Sassoon Building, Fort, Bombay.

This is a reprint of an article contributed by Mr. Wacha to the "Gujarati" newspaper. He regrets that whenever statistical and economic questions come up for serious considerations, whether in the council chamber, in the press, or on the platform, Indian criticism is found to be more or less superficial. "Take the enhanced silver duty. Even here no educated opinion, based on currency, was offered. Is it a wonder that the government authorities had an easy time of it, and that they laughed in their sleeves at the incompetence of a large majority of Indians to deal with the question in the way in which it ought to have been dealt?" Regarding the burning question of

the economic drain, the learned writer observes: "What we mean to say here is that there is no lack of enlightened Indians who with sufficient economic grasp could prove to the hilt the reality of the economic drain. Only they have not studied the subject as it ought to be to enable them to clinch many a superficial and plausible fallacy in which officials, high and low, including the Secretary of State, indulge, and in the bargain unfairly reprobate our countrymen as if the fact of the drain itself, let alone its causes, was not an absolute fact." Incidentally, Mr. Wacha recommends to Indian students of statistics Sir Robert Giffen's "Essays on Finance" (two vols.), the quarterly journals of the Royal Statistical Society, and a paper in that Society's journal for October 1908 by Mr. Atkinson, Accountant-General of the United Provinces, as the most valuable contribution which has hitherto appeared on the causes of the prevailing high prices in India. For the study of economics Mr. Wacha suggests the establishment of schools on the model of the London School of Economics. While commending this leaflet to the public we cannot but express our regret that Mr. Wacha, who is one of the extremely few Indians who may be called experts on finance and statistics, should himself be so fond of hiding his light under a bushel instead of coming out in the open with a standard work on the subject for the enlightenment of his countrymen.

Indian and Imperial Preference: by V. G. Kale, M. A., Professor, Fergusson College, Poona, Trichinopoly. Wednesday Review Press, 1910. Price 0-4-0.

This is a neatly printed booklet of 99 pages octavo in which the problem of Free Trade *versus* protection has been ably discussed from the Indian standpoint. The learned professor's conclusion is that a rational system of preference, acceptable to India, can be built only on a liberal and high conception of Imperialism. But from all that he says it is clear that in his opinion such a conception of Imperialism is far from the minds of the tariff reformers of England, whose object is to bolster up British industries and commerce, if need be, at the cost of India. In the opinion of Professor Lees Smith of the London School of Economics, if England adopts protection, India must be sacrificed to the interests of British capital or she must be allowed fiscal freedom to erect a tariff wall against British goods. No one can reasonably doubt as to which of these alternatives is likely to prevail, specially in view of the fact that the chief branch of British manufacture which requires an open market in India—the Lancashire textile industry—is one which is a serious competitor of the only indigenous industry controlled and financed by Indians. A policy of Imperial preference where one party is to have all the preference and the other subjected to all the losses and sacrifices is hardly one calculated to evoke the enthusiastic support of either the government or the people of India. The remedy lies in granting fiscal autonomy to the Government of India with power to discriminate, so far as is consistent with the dominant interests of India, in favour of British manufactures imported into the country. Professor Kale's Essay is the most comprehensive contribution to the Tariff Reform question from the Indian point of view, and as such it deserves to be widely read both here and in England. X.

The Sailor King: by Annie A. Smith, M. R. A. S., London, Shaw & Co., 3, Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Hill, E. C., with preface by Sir George Birdwood.

This beautifully illustrated and handsomely printed volume of 285 pages closes with a poem by William Watson, which contains the following lines:

Let nations see, beneath your prospering hand,
An Empire mighty in arms, its fleets and hosts
Keeping far vigil round your hundred coasts.

To a Britannic subject of his Majesty, this is the natural point of view from which to contemplate the sovereign. He sees his national glory reflected in and represented by his king, and a perusal of the record of the latter's achievements at home and abroad satisfies his personal vanity. His loyalty resolves itself into a subconscious recognition of this fact, and its roots are fed from the perennial springs of self-love. Even the colonies can and do share to a certain extent, in this feeling. To the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor, however, such mental participation in the glories of the Imperial position of England is obviously out of place, and his imagination cannot revel in the thought of his own position in the Empire for there is nothing in it either to stimulate his pride or gratify his self-esteem. To the Indian, therefore, loyalty to the throne must always remain a purely personal sentiment, and apart from the fact that this sentiment is deeply ingrained in the Indian character, it is fostered by the knowledge that the king stands above and beyond all party, that he has no interest in keeping us down, and that he cannot but be desirous that all his Indian subjects should have justice done to them, and be happy, prosperous and contented. We also know that the King is a constitutional monarch and is incapable of directly asserting his will in the administration of the Empire except by the exercise of the moral influence of his august position, and hence we do not attribute to him any of the numerous disabilities from which we suffer at the hands of our rulers.

The book before us gives us a short sketch of the life of our present King George V from his birth up to his accession to the throne. Three chapters are devoted to his Indian tour of 1905-6. In view of his Majesty's gracious intention to hold a Coronation Durbar at Delhi next year, this publication must be considered opportune. A perusal of this book shows how carefully royalty is brought up and trained in England for the highly responsible duties which await him in after life. This should be an object lesson to many of our ruling chiefs. The King, as is well-known, adopted the navy as a profession before the demise of his elder brother raised his status to that of the Heir Apparent, and from all accounts he is an expert sailor. He has visited all the colonies and dependencies and knows his people beyond the seas. His sympathy with his Indian subjects found expression in his well-known Guildhall speech. We commend the book to those for whom it is intended.

Her Majesty the Queen and Her Majesty Queen Alexandra have accepted copies of this book. X.

Report of the Fourth Industrial Conference of the United Provinces held at Benares on the 26th March, 1910. Tara Printing Works, Benares.

These Conferences are becoming quite a feature of the industrial awakening of the country and they

no doubt prepare the ground by disseminating much useful knowledge, though one might wish them to be followed by more in the way of practical work. The resolutions passed by the Conference dealt with the need of a Technological Institute for the U. P., more liberal help to Co-operative Credit Societies, reduction of railway rates on goods, organisation of new industries, and opening of Swadeshi stores at all important centres. Papers were read on the following subjects: The Allahabad Exhibition, Spinning and Weaving as cottage industries, Indian Paper Industry, Capital and Credit, Soaps as an Indian Industry, Lac and Spirit Varnish, Tanning Industry in India, Trade in Oilseeds, U. P. Carpet Industry, Brocade and Kinkhab, Embroidery, Metalware, Weaving cotton and silk, Municipal Taxation in the U. P., the Handloom Industry, the Weaving School of Barabanki. The presidential address is given in the form of an appendix. There is no index or table of contents, and this seems to be a serious drawback in a publication of this kind. The book deserves a wide circulation among those who are interested in industrial matters.

"At the Feet of the Master."

This small and beautifully got up brochure, printed at the Vasant Press, Adyar, is from the pen of J. Krishnamurti, whose past lives have appeared in the pages of the "Theosophist" for 1910 under the title "Rents in the veil of Time".

The stories of the past lives of this Brahmin lad of fourteen who hails from Madras, (be they real or imaginary) have no bearing on the book under review. The book only deals with the four well-known qualifications of the Advaita Vedanta, Viveka, Vairagya, Shatsampatti, and Mumukshutwa—which the young and inspired writer translates as Discrimination, Desirelessness, Points of Good Conduct, and Love. We need not quarrel with him on the rendering of the Sanskrit terms.

The treatment of these four subjects is perhaps one of the best that we have come across. The six Points of Good Conduct have found in this book a better exposition than anywhere else.

The writer of course lays no claims to originality. He says, "These are not my words; they are the words of the Master who taught me."

Mrs. Besant in her preface to this book endorses the above extract, saying, "The teachings contained in it were given to him by his Master in preparing him for Initiation and were written down by him from memory—slowly and laboriously, for his English last year was far less fluent than it is now. The greater part is a reproduction of the Master's own words; that which is not such a verbal reproduction is the Master's thought clothed in His pupil's word."

Non-Theosophists will probably demur to the statements made above; yet none the less the high thoughts from a lad of fourteen in such a lucid and chaste style are standing enigmas for Analytical Psychologists.

SRIS CHANDRA VASU.

"Mystical Traditions."

Price 4s. To be had of: *Ars Regia Libraria Editrice del Dr. G. Sulli-Rao. Milan (Italy.)*

Isabel Cooper Oakley has by writing the 'Mystical

Traditions made another valuable contribution towards the revival of mysticism in Europe.

The book under review is "the first fruit of the International Committee for Research into Mystic Traditions" of which Mr. Oakley is the President

Mrs. Oakley has been toiling for long years to revive the mystical traditions of Europe. "Visiting famous Libraries (all over Europe), delving into long-buried volumes, following faint traces, unravelling tangled clues" and still finding scanty encouragement from the indifferent public! Such has been the lot of Mrs. Oakley. But as a true worker she went on and on "until her patient toil won encouragement from one who had guarded the Tradition and fanned its almost expiring flame through the Middle Ages."

The first part of the book deals with "Forms and Presentments" of Mystical Traditions and has been splendidly done.

The second part needs a word of comment. Traditions always belong to particular societies and sects. The religious traditions are the peculiar heritage of that body of men called 'Priests, Brahmins, Mullahs or Monks'. The Mystical Traditions likewise are the special heritage of men who have always found themselves in a hopeless minority. When the orthodox opinion in any country or in any age is arrayed against any particular teaching or doctrine, the holders of such doctrines are forced to clothe them in a language understood only by the initiated few. These Mystical Traditions lose their allegorical character as soon as they are accepted by the majority. Pythagorus and Aryabhatta both knew the Heliocentric System of Astronomy, but as the public opinion of their time was against it, they had to propagate it by symbols and signs.

Another reason which in olden times sanctioned these Mystical Traditions was the anxiety on the part of the keepers of these Traditions to save the teachings from the profanity of the unprepared masses. The masses in every clime are primarily idolators. The idol is the supposed physical form or simply the mental image of any entity, which, it does not much matter. The Mystic Traditionists being always iconoclasts have always spoken to the public at large in metaphors and symbols. Even Christ had to speak in parables when addressing the masses and reserved the more explicit teachings of deeper import for the admitted disciples.

Once admit the existence and necessity of secret teachings, it naturally and abundantly follows that there ought to be a secret system of writing as well. This secret system of writing has been known as 'Hieroglyphs' or the writings of the priests in the West and as 'Devanagari' or the script of the gods in India. The purpose of inventing such a system or systems of writing has been mainly to preserve the teachings from perishing.

These secret writings of the West are dealt with in the second part of the book and will be found of great interest and service to those who are studying the symbolism contained in the Sacred Books of the world.

SRIS CHANDRA VASU.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus: Vol. VI. Parts I and II. Vaiseshika Sutras of Kanada with the commentary of Sankara Misra and Extracts from the gloss of Jayanarayan. Translated by Babu Nandalal Sinha and published by Babu Sudhindra-nath Basu, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 3; Annual Subscription:—Inland Rs. 12; Foreign £1.

The Vaiseshika Philosophy of Kanada has ten chapters, each chapter being divided into two *Ahniks*. In the parts under review, the first four chapters and nine Sutras of the first *Ahnik* of the fifth chapter have been given. The contents of the parts are:—

- (1) The Sanskrit Texts of the Sutras.
- (2) The Meaning of all the words of the Sutras.
- (3) The English Translation of the commentary named 'Upaskara' by Sankara Misra.
- (4) Extracts from the gloss of Jayanarayana in English.

It is the 17th part of the Series and is being ably edited and translated. We wish it every success.

The book is expected to be completed in two more parts. The get-up of the book is excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

Chharao Galpa: (Rhymes and fables) by Professor Lalit Kumar Bannerjee, M. A. Bhattacharya and Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta. Price annas 4.

We welcome this addition to child-literature from the hands of one eminently fitted for the not-very easy task of interesting, amusing and instructing little boys and girls. Prof. Bannerji is well-known for his comical talents, and he has turned them to good use by rendering in prose and verse some of the fables of the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesha* in easy and graceful language, brimming over with fun, for the delectation of the coming generation. The illustrations will add to the gaiety of the youthful readers, who are sure to be attracted by the novel recreation provided for them within the artistic covers of this little book. The preface by Principal Trivedi, though short, well repays perusal. We have much pleasure in recommending the book to Bengali parents.

X.

Bharat-bhraman (or Travels in India). By Dharanikanta Lahiri Chaudhuri. Bhattacharya and Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 807 + XVI. + VII. Royal 8 Vo. 200 illustrations separately printed on art paper. Cloth gilt. Price Rs. 7.

This book has been neatly printed on superior thick paper. The illustrations too are good. The binding is very gaudy and costly, though the figures embossed in gold on the cloth cover are not as finely executed as could be desired.

In this work the author describes his travels in northern India and British Baluchistan, including Behar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the N. W. F. Province, Rajputana and Central India, and in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The book covers more ground than any similar Bengali or English

publication that we know of. It is the duty of every educated and patriotic Indian to know India as thoroughly as his means and leisure permit. Without such knowledge he can never love and serve India. This work will certainly arouse such a desire for such knowledge in the reader's breast, and will also give him much help in practically fulfilling such a desire. It contains a mass of valuable and interesting information not easily available to the generality of readers, conveyed in a polished style. We could only wish that the diction had been less Sanskritised and nearer to the language in everyday use. A pedestrian style is more suited to a book of travels, though occasionally it may warm up to the heights of poetic and ornate prose.

All school and college libraries in Bengal ought to possess a copy of the book. Well-to-do people should also purchase it. The money will be well spent. Seven rupees is not a small sum in India. But the book is undoubtedly cheap for its price. The illustrations are interesting from more points of view than one. They furnish us with specimens of the various styles of architecture which have prevailed in different parts of India in different ages. We find many specimens of sculpture, too. What memories of the chequered history of India pass through our minds when we look at these pictures! They are an education in themselves.

GUJARATI.

A Shorthand Gujarati Primer by Madhubhai Babarao Divatia. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 8. Paper cover. Price 0-2-0 (1910).

Methods of shorthand writing have now become the life and soul of a certain branch of literature in Europe, and any attempt, therefore, to train the Gujarati language into that channel would be extremely commendable. Looking at the little pamphlet before us, we must say that the writer has made an admirable effort to adapt Gujarati to shorthand. He is of opinion that it is bound to present some difficulties in practice, and we too are of opinion that whatever difficulties there might be in the path of its success could only be seen when the method was extensively in use. This is the first attempt of its kind, and it deserves a thorough trial, especially as its extensive practice is bound up with great possibilities in future.

A Life of King Edward VII, The Peacemaker, by B. G. Shastri, B.A. and Ratilal Jivanlal Lakhia, B.A. LL.B. Printed at the Jaina Printing Works, Surat. Cloth-bound. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1910). Illustrated.

Up till now no such readable sketch of the life of our late Sovereign has been published in Gujarati. The joint authors have made a close study of all the incidents of the life of the King-Emperor, and reproduced them in a lucid narrative form, in their own words. The language employed by them being very simple and the story interesting, we have no doubt that it would be extensively popular amongst the masses, who do not know English, and for whose special benefit it has been published. The pictures are nice, and the get-up of the book is commendable too.

Sahitya Vilas by Ratanram Norotamram Bhat, Assistant Teacher, Sarvajani High School, Surat. Printed at the Surt Gujarat Standard Press, Thick cardboard. Pp. 363. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1910).

This is a compilation of selected writings—prose and poetry—from the works of famous Gujarati authors, ancient and modern. There is nothing very new or original about the work, excepting that it embraces some of the most recent writings; e.g., we see an admirable selection from the life of Govardhanram Tripathi, written by Kantilal and reviewed by us in January last. It is prefaced by a short introduction, which takes a bird's-eye view, of the history of Gujarati literature, and we confess it is a bird's-eye view in its literal sense, as the writer merely skims over the surface of his subject, and indulges in a few epigrammatic statements. At the end of the book we find an equally scant statement on the methods of essay writing,

where he emphasises the use of simple language and a style unburdened with Sanskrit words. We wish he had held to that standard in the introduction written by him. As for the selections we were surprised to find amongst them, a couple of extracts from the writings of the late Narayen Hemchandra. He is known as an extensive and wholesale translator of Bengali works into Gujarati, and we believe there his merits end. They possess no other merit save and besides this, that they give us some information about the literature of Bengal. They are more like the reproductions of Bengali works, in Bengali idiom and grammar in Gujarati types, rather than *bonafide* translations. His style is ungrammatical and unidiomatic: it is mutilated Gujarati and nothing else. Fortunately, these two selections do not offend so much against grammar, &c., as his other writings.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM.

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space.

Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore on the Philosophy of Indian History.

The translation of Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore's article on the Philosophy of Indian History published in the Modern Review for December, 1910, should not be allowed to pass without a word of dissent. The position there taken up is wholly illogical and might well make us despair of ever profiting from the lessons of history. The people have a right of expecting better from a thinker and patriot like Rabindra Babu. The following lines are intended to draw attention to the error underlying the principle held by him.

According to his theory the chief merit of the Hindu race in the past lay in the establishment of harmony and order. And how was it accomplished? By, as he says, "setting limits to and fencing off the rival conflicting forces of society." If this means anything it means the institution of caste.

Of course no European nation and least of all the English nation would think of creating harmony in the body politic by prescribing for its members any artificial limits within which they should move and have their whole being. The Western peoples would, so far as they are concerned, prefer strife and unrest to the quietus that can be purchased by dwarfing man and denying him education and proper outlets for the free exercise of his God-given faculties.

But if we have a lurking love for the principle, why need we despair of England proving unequal to achieve in India what she cannot and would not do at home? Already the native Indian is relegated, by a combination of circumstances, to a subordinate place in the country of his birth. The law-givers, the warriors, and the great magnates of wealth and enterprise, all come from a foreign land. Although

We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

in theory there is no objection on the part of our rulers to admit the children of the soil to these classes, in practice only a negligible number can find admission in them. To make the system perfect and rigid, it is only necessary to draw hard and fast lines, so as to render any exception impossible.

If that is the moon for which the Indian heart is yearning in unison, our masters might be induced so far to modify their sense of right and wrong in regard to Indian humanity as to grant us our wishes. The presence of the Mahomedans in our midst would not apparently offer any real obstacles. So far as can be judged from circumstances, the highest ambition of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects does not seem to soar beyond occupying the comparatively higher grade in life at present held by the Hindus. It might therefore be inferred that any re-arrangement which would reserve these grades exclusively for them would be most welcome to them. It would remain for us to sink to a subordinate position to make the arrangement complete. We should not take any exception to such a procedure because that is the Hindu way of securing peace and social harmony. The measure might involve a little force at first to bring the recalcitrants amongst us into line with the system. But if we are denied all education and taught to look upon our lot as a part of the Divine-ordained scheme of the universe, we would, in a few generations, be reconciled to our position and the Indian society would present a serene and unruffled surface scarcely marred by a billow.

Let us not forget that a system somewhat like the above must have been followed in ancient India. Those of the aborigines who loved their independence had to seek shelter in inaccessible hills and jungles far from the reach of the Hindus. Those that

were allowed to remain in the fertile plains had to surrender their manhood and were taught to look upon themselves as less than man whose chief duty in life was to serve their masters and to pay them divine homage. Why should we cry in pain if this time the whole Hindu race assumes the role which it assigned to the non-aryan aborigines.

To be earnest, a dispassionate consideration of the history of India should not make us shut our eyes to the glaring fact that our degradation is not of today. It must have been caused by great national sins. By all means let us remember with pride all that is noble and glorious in the past but let us not, if we are not determined to sink deeper into degradation, neglect to prove the causes that contributed to the downfall of the Hindu race. In the great crisis of our national history we have been again and again found wanting. We may therefore well despair of ever rising in the social scale if we are unable to discover the weak spots in our national character and institutions and if we fail to try vigorously to remove the latent seeds of degeneration that lie buried in them. It might cost dear to our national, or it may be, sectional pride, but it has to be done. In the name of all that is good, let us not try to glorify caste which has reduced the great bulk of the people to the condition of mere brutes and has only left us a legacy of pride and vanity and bitter memories, while it has allowed the admixture of races to such an extent as to leave no caste, however high, a pure type of the Aryan in race.

NARENDRAKRISHNA MITRA.

NAZIRABAD, LUCKNOW,
24th January,
1911.

Note by the Editor.

Babu Rabindarnath Tagore's opinion on the system of caste is to be found in the following extract from a letter of his to Mr. Myron H. Phelps of America, published in *The Modern Review* for August, 1910:—

"It has ever been India's lot to accept alien races as factors in her civilization. You know very well how the caste that proceeds from colour takes elsewhere a most virulent form. I need not cite modern instances of the animosity which divides white men from negroes in your own country, and excludes Asiatics from European colonies. When, however, the white-skinned Aryans on encountering the dark aboriginal races of India found themselves face to face with the same problem, the solution of which was either extermination, as has happened in America or Australia, or a modification in the social system of the superior race calculated to accommodate the inferior without the possibility of either friction or fusion, they chose the latter. Now the principle underlying this choice obviously involves mechanical arrangement

and juxtaposition, not cohesion and amalgamation. By making very careful provision for the differences, it keeps them ever alive. Unfortunately, the principle once accepted inevitably grows deeper and deeper into the constitution of the race even after the stress of the original necessity ceases to exist.

Thus secure in her rigid system of seclusion, in the very process of inclusion, India in different periods of her history received with open arms the medley of races that poured in on her without any attempt at shutting out undesirable elements. I need not dwell at length on the evils of the resulting caste system. It cannot be denied, and this is a fact which foreign onlookers too often overlook, that it has served a very useful purpose in its day and has been even up to a late age, of immense protective benefit to India. It has largely contributed to the freedom from narrowness and intolerance which distinguishes the Hindu religion and has enabled races with widely different culture and even antagonistic social and religious usages and ideals to settle down peaceably side by side—a phenomenon which cannot fail to astonish Europeans, who, with comparatively less jarring elements, have struggled for ages to establish peace and harmony among themselves. But this very absence of struggle, developing into a ready acquiescence in any position assigned by the social system, has crushed individual manhood and has accustomed us for centuries not only to submit to every form of domination, but sometimes actually to venerate the power that holds us down. The assignment of the business of government, almost entirely to the military class, reacted upon the whole social organism by permanently excluding the rest of the people from all political co-operation, so that now it is hardly surprising to find the almost entire absence of any feeling of common interest, any sense of national responsibility, in the general consciousness of a people of whom as a whole it has seldom been any part of their pride, their honor, their *dharma*, to take thought or stand up for their country. This completeness of stratification, this utter submergence of the lower by the higher, this immutable and all-pervading system, has no doubt imposed a mechanical uniformity upon the people but has at the same time kept their different sections inflexibly and unalterably separate, with the consequent loss of all power of adaptation and re-adjustment to new conditions and forces. The regeneration of the Indian people, to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition. Whenever I realize the hypnotic hold which this gigantic system of cold-blooded repression has taken on the minds of our people whose social body it has so completely entwined in its endless coils that the free expression of manhood even under the direct necessity has become almost an impossibility, the only remedy that suggests itself to me and which even at the risk of uttering a truism I cannot but repeat, is—to educate them out of their trance.

NOTES

A World Court of Arbitration.

The most enlightened and the soberest intelligence of the world is declaring that war is the central enemy to the world's progress. It is such an enemy primarily because it holds in its grasp so large a proportion of the human energies and material resources of all the leading nations of the world, and employs them not for progress or for human benefit but for waste and destruction. For example, the astounding, the almost unthinkable fact stares us in the face, that nearly seven-tenths of the total revenue of the United States Government is spent for objects connected with war. In other great nations the case is as bad. Of course all this vast wealth comes from the people and belongs to the people, and ought to be used for their benefit, to give them better food, better homes, better schools. Why should the people be thus robbed of their own? How can humanity advance when thus impoverished, and bowed to the earth beneath war burdens?

But war does even worse than waste untold wealth and measureless human energy. It injures the moral life of the world, and hinders the world's moral progress. It depraves the moral sense of communities and nations. It vitiates national ideals. It degrades the personal ideals of young men by associating honor, in their thought, with what is brutal, instead of with what is noble; with efforts to injure others, instead of with efforts to benefit others; with destruction of life, instead of with the saving of life. War is the most conspicuous and the most hideous form in which the barbarism, the cruelty and the unreason of the past reach down and perpetuate themselves in the present.

In earlier and darker ages of the world doubtless war had its necessary place. But those ages are gone. Among civilised peoples there is no more need or place for war to-day than for lynch law, or duelling,

or the vendetta. Civilization substitutes local and national courts for pistols and bludgeons; it must soon substitute an international court for our equally barbarous machine guns and battleships. As a means for settling difficulties between enlightened nations nothing more bungling, more unreasonable, more brutal or more dishonorable, not to say more enormously and uselessly expensive, can be conceived than the method of war. Certainly no method can be less able to afford a guarantee that the settlement effected will be just.

But at last the nations of Christendom have arrived at a stage in the world's progress where if they will they can now have a great International Court of Arbitral Justice, composed of the wisest and ablest jurists of the world,—a court in which differences between nations can be settled with dignity, with honor, with economy, by reasonable and humane methods, and with practical certainty of justice to all concerned.

The way was opened for such a court by the two Hague Conferences, and two important steps were taken in the direction of its actual creation. One was the establishment of a Prize Court to settle controversies arising out of war; the other was the adoption of thirty-five articles as a basis for a Court of Arbitral Justice to settle controversies arising in times of peace (controversies of such a nature as to be liable to lead to war), and the recommendation that such a Court be established by the various Powers through international diplomatic conference and action.

It is most honorable to the United States that our Secretary of State, the Hon. Philander C. Knox, with the full assent of President Taft has set himself to the task of bringing about the creation of such a court. The success that he has met with thus far is encouraging in a high degree. At the recent Lohe Mohouk Peace Conference the Hon. James Brown Scott, Solicitor for the Department of State, read a paper which has

since been published, giving an authoritative account of what Secretary Knox has done. Says the Paper—

"Secretary Knox has recently addressed a circular identical note to the Powers, requesting them to collaborate with the United States in the establishment of a truly permanent tribunal, composed of professional judges, which tribunal shall be at The Hague ready to receive cases when they are presented, and to decide them according to law and evidence, without the delay or friction so often involved in the creation of a temporary tribunal. The expenses of this Court are to be borne by the nation participating in its constitution, and the decisions of this Court will not merely decide the individual questions submitted, but develop the common law of nations just as clearly and scientifically as the Courts of England and the United States have developed the common law of these individual nations. The Secretary of State, the Hon. Philander C. Knox, authorizes and directs me to say officially, that the responses to the identical circular note have been so favorable, and manifest such a willingness and desire on the part of the leading nations to constitute Court of Arbitral Justice, that he believes that a truly permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, composed of judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility, representing the various judicial systems of the world, and capable of ensuring the continuity of arbitral jurisprudence, will be established in the immediate future, and that the Third Peace Conference will find it in successful operation at The Hague."

The information as to what has been done and the prospects on the future, communicated by Secretary Knox through the Hon. James Brown Scott, is most encouraging. It may well give renewed hope to all friends of peace. But we must not deceive ourselves with the thought that such a permanent Court Arbitral Justice as is contemplated and desired, is yet a certainty. Plainly it is far from that. There is much indifference among the nations regarding it; there is much misunderstanding as to its nature and desirability; there is much positive hostility to it. The most that can be said is that its establishment now seems somewhat strongly probable. But to turn this probability into certainty everything possible must be done to create a powerful public sentiment in our own and other countries in support of Secretary Knox and those who are co-operating with him.

If a public sentiment can be created and maintained in our own and even three or four of the other leading nations which will be enlightened enough and strong enough to say "The court ought to be

established, and it must be established," then the result will be that the great deed, one of the most significant in the history of the world, and immeasurable in its good to mankind, will soon be accomplished.

The event will be nothing less than epoch-making in human history. With such a High Court of Nations once securely set up, we have a right to expect that there will follow a gradual and in the end a very large reduction of armaments, a gradual waning of the war spirit, a slow but sure replacing of military ambitions among nations by the far nobler ambitions of peace and the recovery of the vast financial resources which have been so long prostituted to uses of war, and their employment at last for ends of human benefit.

I will not say that then will come the Millenium, for nothing is plainer than that the human race is yet very far from its final goal, and has many a tedious hill to climb and many a long struggle to pass through before it can reach any halting place where it will have any right to sit down and claim that its ends are even measurably attained. But this I will say, that with the horrible and insane game of war once thus outlawed by the leading nations, the greatest of all known obstacles to human progress will have been removed, and the way will be open as it never yet has been, for a concentration of the resources and energies of mankind upon efforts for the promotion of human welfare.

War is the arch-enemy of civilization. Nothing is more clear than this.

With the setting up of a World Court of Arbitration the need for and the justification of war will practically cease.

Then why should not the whole civilized world give its voice for the setting up of such a Court?

REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M. A.
HARTFORD, CONN.,
U. S. A.

Policy of Subsidising Vernacular Papers.

On the conclusion of the contract by the Government with Rai Narendra Nath Sen Bahadur for subsidising him to the amount of Rs. 62,500 a year for bringing out a Bengali weekly "healthy in tone," there has been some speculative writing as to

who the real father of the policy was. To one who cares to enquire into the origin of the policy in connection with this country, it would be interesting to peruse the pages on the subject of the "Imperial Rule in India" by Mr. (now Sir) Theodore Morrison, now a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

He was the first to conceive the general policy of subsidising vernacular papers under Indian management to counteract Indian criticism of Government measures by representing the Government case. As now Sir Theodore is on the India Council, we are not surprised to see his suggested policy taking shape. It is not unlikely that some of the other provinces may have their "Sulabh Samachars" in the near future. Any how, Bengal has been selected as the first field for experimenting on the scheme. The Government provides, as we are told, for practically a free distribution of 25,000 copies of the journal.

As to the usefulness of subsidized newspapers, we think if a newspaper be not known to be subsidized it may influence the minds of a certain class of ultra-moderate readers. But the *Sanjibani* has spoilt the Baker-Sen game by a disclosure of the whole plan. Supposing, however, that the disclosure has not affected its chances of success, one may well ask, is it worthwhile to try to influence such men? It is the "seditiously inclined" people whom the Government wants to influence most. But none of them will care to read a subsidized paper. You can bring water to a horse, but you cannot make him drink, if he is not inclined to. And even if "seditious" people read such a paper, they will do so simply to criticise or ridicule its writings. As for students, who are perhaps to have the thing free, we suppose it will make them as loyal as Lee-Warner's *Citizen of India* has done. We, therefore, think that the new Government venture will be an unjustifiable waste of the poor ryots' money, which would have been better spent upon sanitary measures or the extension of primary education.

If the Government really wants to state its case, it should do so by a more frequent use of the press communiqué, or by starting a paper of its own openly and in a straightforward manner. Mr. Sen's Bengali paper will not be the right thing, but a mongrel,

a cross-breed. It will neither be purely Sen, nor be purely the great white Sarkar.

An "Untouchable" Hero.

We take the following from the *Englishman* :—

A pleasant function was performed by the Viceroy on Sunday at Howrah Station where His Excellency presented the King Edward Medal to Ram Lal Bauri, a porter in the service of the East Indian Railway for an act of heroism in saving the lives of some children.

It appears that on the 14th March, 1909, Ram Lal Bauri was sitting upon the brake of the first of eight wagons, which were being shunted upon the Panchgatchia Colliery siding belonging to the Lutchipur Coal Company. As the wagons went around a curve, he noticed three children, playing upon the line. He jumped off, and picked up two of the children, and was trying to get hold of the third, when the wagon reached her and ran over her. He also was knocked down but escaped injury.

On Sunday, when brought before the Viceroy on the station platform, Bauri was found to be in a state of nervousness too great to be attributed to mere modesty. In fact, he was shaking with fright and as His Excellency approached nearer and nearer and finally pinned the medal to the hero's breast, the latter almost collapsed. A volley of cheers from the spectators followed by further cheers for the Viceroy completed his confusion, and when removed from the scene by friendly hands he heaved a sigh of relief.

Bauri being spoken to, it transpired that he had been labouring under the impression that the object of the function was to kill him, because he had failed to save the life of the third child. He had taken no food since the morning, when he was informed that his presence would be required, as he was in momentary expectation of death.

The sight of the police and soldiery only served to confirm his belief that his last hour had come. Bauri is now a wiser and a happier man.

Among those who were present to do him honour were the Agent, the District Traffic Superintendent, the Station Superintendent and their respective staffs.

Of course, the item that Ram Lal Bauri was in momentary expectation of death is accounted for by the reporter's attempt to adorn the tale in a humorous manner. But Ram Lal's nervousness proves conclusively that his was an act of unconscious heroism.

Non-Bengali readers and many Bengalis, too, do not know that the Bauris are the lowest Bengali "untouchable" caste, living for the most part in the districts of Bankura, Midnapur, Manbhum, &c. Will anybody tell us what justification there is for treating Ram Lal Bauri as an "untouchable" person, whilst others, even when they are cowards or persons of a notoriously wicked character, continue to be considered "touchable", nay, even holy?

Tolstoy's Flight.

Thirteen years ago Tolstoy wrote a letter to be handed to his wife after his death. The text of this letter has been now published. It removes all doubts as to the reasons of Tolstoy's flight from his home at Yasnaya Polyana in November last, and shows that far from having quarrelled with his family, he was merely carrying out a purpose long meditated. It is printed below :—

Long have I been tormented by the discord between my life and my beliefs. To compel you all to change your life, the habits to which I myself had accustomed you, I could not; and to leave you ere this I also



COUNT TOLSTOY.

could not, believing that I would deprive the children, while they were little, of that small influence which I could have over them, and would grieve you; on the other hand, to continue to live as I have lived these sixteen years, struggling and irritating you or falling myself under those influences and temptation to which I had become accustomed and by which I am surrounded, I also cannot, and I have now decided to do what I have long wished to do—go away, because, first, for me, in my advancing years, this

life becomes more and more burdensome and I long more and more for solitude, and, secondly, because the children have grown up, my influence is not needed, and you all have livelier interests which will render my absence little noticeable.

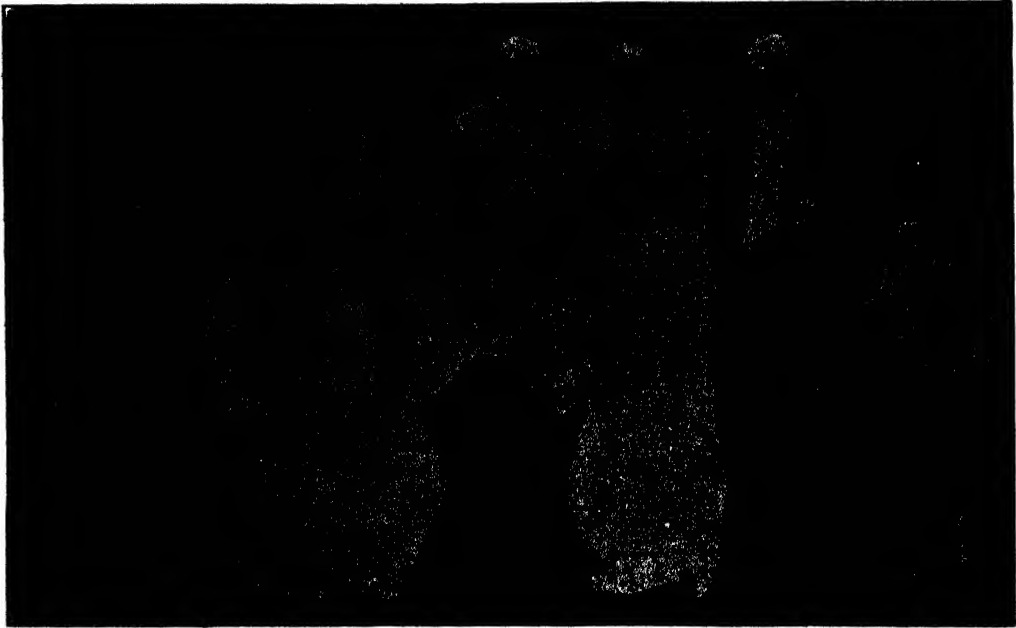
The chief thing is that just as the Hindus, nearing 60, retire into the woods, and as old religious men seek to devote their last years to God and not to jokes, puns, gossip, or tennis, so for me, entering my 70th year, the all soul-absorbing desire is for tranquillity, for solitude, and, if not for entire harmony, at least not for crying discord between my life and my beliefs and conscience.

If I did this openly, there would be entreaties, pleadings, criticisms, quarrels, and I might weaken, perhaps, and not fulfil my decision—yet it must be fulfilled. And so, pray forgive me if my act causes you pain, and, above all, in your soul, Sonia, leave me free to go, and do not repine, or condemn me.

That I should have gone away from you does not mean that I am displeased with you. I know that you could not—literally could not—and cannot see and feel as I do, and therefore could not and cannot change your life and sacrifice yourself for something which you do not recognise. And therefore I do not blame you, but on the contrary recall with love and gratitude the long 35 years of our life, especially the first half of this period, when you, with the maternal devotion of your nature, so firmly and energetically bore that which you considered to be your duty. You have given me and the world what you could give. You have given great motherly love and devotion and you cannot but be prized for that. But during the last period of our life, the last 15 years—we have drifted asunder. I cannot think that I am to blame, because I know that I have changed, not for myself nor for other people's sake, but because I could not otherwise. Neither can I blame you that you did not follow me, but thank and lovingly remember and shall continue to remember you for what you gave me.

The following extracts from *Current Literature* make clear the immediate causes of his flight :—

Clad in the coarse garb of a Russian peasant, wearing high boots, with \$17.00 in his purse, Leo Tolstoy, eighty-two years of age, broken-hearted at the sight of suffering that he could not relieve, stole out of his house a few nights ago, seeking solitude in which to spend his last days. He left an affectionate note for his wife the Countess, asking her forgiveness, requesting her not to seek for him, and saying: "I want to recover from the trouble of the world. It is necessary for my soul and my body, which has lived eighty-two years upon this earth." Accompanying him was his physician, Dr. Makovetsky. In a third-class carriage they journeyed by rail to Optina Pustina and applied at night at the monastery. "I am the excommunicated and anathematized Leo Tolstoy," said the Count; "is there any objection to my staying here?" Reassured, the two travellers spent the night, and the next morning walked six and a half miles to the Shamardinsky convent, where the Count's favorite daughter spends her days among five hundred other nuns. Here he was overtaken by another daughter, who contrived, before bidding her father adieu, to slip \$150 into the



THE TOLSTOY FAMILY PARTY.

This group, taken on the Count's eightieth birthday, presents (from the reader's left to right, standing) his daughter Alexandra, who followed him and nursed him at the little railway station as he was stricken with fever. The man at her left is the Count's son, Michael, whose management of the estate and treatment of the peasants so incensed the Count that he sought solitude. To his left the Count's son-in-law Suchotine, and next the Count's son, Andrew. Those seated are the niece Princess Cleolenskaj, the latest married daughter Tatjana Suchotina, the Count, the Countess, his sister Marie (the nun), resident of the convent at Shamardinsky, to which the Count first went after his recent flight from home. In his farewell letter to his family the Count wrote: "I can not continue longer to live a life of luxury."

pocket of Dr. Makovetsky. A day or two later Tolstoy and the doctor left the convent, taking the train for Moscow, leaving it at a junction for another train going south, intending, it is surmised, to join a colony of Tolstoyans in Caucasia. At a little railway station but eighty miles from home he was seized with a high fever and had to abandon his purpose. No more pitiful and tragic figure does the world present than this old man in a peasant's rough clothing, overwhelmed by the sorrow around him wandering away from a home of luxury which he despises.

Why? The *Petersburger Zeitung* tells why. The estate at Yasnaya Poliana is in the charge of the Countess and her second son, to whom it has been deeded. Recently rents have been raised, cheap labor introduced, and "business methods" applied to make the revenues grow. How the Count has viewed these proceedings can be easily inferred from the brief account which he published a few weeks ago, entitled "Three Days in a Village," which was promptly suppressed by the Russian government. It is a plain, simple, but terribly realistic description of village life surrounding the estate from which he has fled. In the *Boston Transcript* Mr. Archibald J. Wolfe gives a two-column description of the book, with extracts. "The cumulative effect," we are told, "is one of heart-breaking hopelessness and misery, and it ends in a brief but scathing arraignment of the un-

happy people's rulers." The first part of the narrative, entitled "Wanderers," begins as follows:

"Lately something entirely new has been the experience of our villages, something never seen or heard before. Every day there come to our villages, which counts eighty homesteads, from six to a dozen hungry, cold and ragged way-farers. These people, all in rags, filthy in the extreme, come to our village and seek out the constable. The constable, to keep them from dying in the street from cold and starvation, takes them about among the villagers, meaning by villagers the peasants. The constable does not take them to the landowner who has, in addition to his ten sleeping apartments, dozens of other places, in the office, in the stable, in the laundry, in the servants' hall and elsewhere; nor does he take them to the priest or the deacon, nor to the merchant, all of whom have houses which may not be large, but are still roomy; but he takes them to the peasant whose whole family, wife and mother-in-law, children big and little, live all in one room eight to ten arshins long. And the owner receives this hungry, frozen, evil smelling and filthy man and not only provides him with a night's lodging, but also feeds him."

Not the wanderers only, but the villagers as well, make up the picture of abject poverty. In other chapters he describes them. A woman comes seeking

his aid. Her husband has been drafted into the army and her children are starving. He starts out to see the authorities and get the husband released from service if possible. On the way they meet a girl of twelve, an orphan, the head of a family of five children. Her father had been killed in a mine. Her mother had worked herself to death in the field. The little mother wants to have the youngest child taken to an institution. In another hovel they find a man dying of pneumonia. It is bitterly cold. There is no fire in the hut, no mattress or pillow for the sick man. Then comes this passage:

"We drive home in silence. At the front door is a carpeted sleigh with a pair of magnificent horses. A swell coachman in heavy coat and fur hat. It is my son, who had driven over from his estate to pay me a visit.

"We are seated at the dinner table. There are plates for ten. Only one seat is vacant, that of my grand-daughter. The child was quite sick and was dining with her nurse. A special meal had been prepared for her diet: bouillon and sago.

"We had a heavy dinner of four courses with two kinds of wine, with two butlers waiting on us, flowers on the table, conversation.

"'From where are these glorious orchids?' asks my son.

"My wife replies that a lady from St. Petersburg had sent them, anonymously.

"'These orchids cost one and a half roubles apiece,' says my son. And then he tells us how at some concert or entertainment the whole stage had been smothered with orchids."

This is what Tolstoy fled from. One may term the act irrational, for how could he relieve the misery of Russia by adding one more to the army of pitiful wanderers? But what an eloquent protest to the world is this irrational act, and how it shrieks its way around the whole habitable globe, startling all civilized nations.

The Gaekwar on the Conditions of India's Progress.

An address was presented at the Hindu Boarding House, Allahabad, to His Highness the Gaekwar during his recent visit to that city. His Highness made a graceful and instructive speech in reply, addressing the audience as "My dear countrymen and friends." We are indebted to the *Leader* for the following passages from the speech:—

Gentlemen, you have heard something of the progress of Japan, how that little island has gone ahead not only politically, but what is more important, in the domestic and the social circle. India also to achieve advancement, to get progress if it deserves to get it, must improve. Its social institutions must be based upon broad principles and feelings of love. Otherwise no progress is to be or can be expected. If you compare the institutions of your country with those of other countries you will find much it will be necessary to alter. Progress must not be retarded, as it will be if you stick where you are, and do not make any headway.

Another fact which I wish to bring to your notice is

this that education, especially Primary Education, is of paramount importance. Unless there is education for every body in India there can be no real progress. Here the Local Government is trying to teach its cultivators some of the modern methods and improvements. They are people who can neither read nor write, people who can not, many of them, even count. They can not be expected to sympathize with the aims and objects of the organizers of the Exhibitions. You must prepare the people by education, even by compulsory education, though it be of the most elementary kind. I am a great believer in compulsory education, and I should like to impress this upon you that education is the very backbone of progress. In China, Japan and other countries you will find how much they have done in this respect. India deserves greater endeavours than have yet been made on that behalf.

There is a third subject on which I wish to speak, though some of you might not think it wise to refer to it in this sacred city. That is the Liberalization of Religion. In our old history, Religion has shifted from time to time. Is it not yet time that Religion should once again grow a little more liberal? It is not necessary for me to say anything beyond these few words because a hint is quite sufficient, and the question is full of delicacy and difficulty.

Another subject is the position of women in India as compared to those of other countries. If you want to go ahead, you must improve the condition of your women. We have rendered the half of our population useless, nay, not only useless but mischievously useless, because they actually hinder progress instead of co-operating towards it. Well, they are not to be blamed for that. It is we men who are to be blamed for not having educated them, not having taught them to know better. If you want to carry yourselves towards the goal of progress, you must carry your women with you. You must allow them to enter into the full life of a woman. Before they are expected to learn anything, to know anything even, they are married, they have to enter into a state of wedlock. The time has come when you should boldly set your shoulders to the task and change all this.....

One of the things you have referred to in your address is the foundation of libraries.

Gentlemen, you know I have introduced compulsory education, and I can say that it is progressing as well as it can or as it could. There are great difficulties of course, the greatest of which are perhaps unseen. But all difficulties are in our path merely that we may get over them. We had a difficulty for want of teachers. We started a training school, and allowed men to enter it on condition that they would turn out teachers; and in the course of a few years we shall have quite a large number of teachers ready to enter into their work. Well, another difficulty was that the effect of a short education was not likely to last long. We have started institutions to remove that also, and many libraries have been founded. Libraries are considered so important in the West that it is one of the duties of a State to maintain some. The libraries in Baroda number over twenty-five hundred, and their number will increase largely in the future. We are also considering how to afford State help to such useful institutions. Unless such institutions are spread, the little education given will be thrown away.

I am trying* to do so in Baroda; but besides them, something like clubs can also be established in villages where men can meet and talk about their ideas.....

We may live abroad and live abroad for a long time, but there are certain traits, certain characteristics, and institutions which proclaim us to be one. Whether we come from the Punjab or Bengal or from Burma, we have a common character, which is the basis of a common nationality. Well, gentlemen, I need not tell you that we Indians, whether we live in the Native States or in British territory, have common aims and common interests. Such is my belief, and although we live under separate Local Governments, our interests are identical, and it is our duty and our interest that we should combine with each other in our endeavours towards progress.

Government and the Nagari Script.

Sometime ago, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares and some other similar associations sent up a prayer to the Government of India to the effect that in the new coins to be issued bearing King-Emperor George V's effigy the value may be indicated in the Devanagari character in addition to the other script or scripts. This perfectly reasonable prayer has not been granted. We understand that the only definite reason given by the Government for their answer is that there are serious minting difficulties in accommodating two vernacular scripts on the coins. This explanation is unsatisfactory. Two vernacular scripts in addition to English can be very easily accommodated on the rupee and pice at any rate.

As to the present practice of indicating the value of the coins in Persian, the Government of India say that it is an inheritance from the Mogal Emperors and that in retaining the Persian script the Government of India merely carry on the continuity of the numismatic tradition.

But who ever asked the Government to omit the Persian and use the Devanagari script instead? The prayer was for the use of the Nagari *also*. Besides, "the continuity of the numismatic tradition" is not a historical fact; for not only was Nagari used on some Muhammadan coins, but on the coins bearing Queen Victoria's *crowned* effigy, issued during a long course of years, neither Persian nor any other Asiatic script is to be found.

The chief reason, though not disclosed, may be identical with that which has led to the omission of the Nagari script from the new all-India ten and five rupee Government currency notes. Currency notes of

these values formerly had the values indicated in Nagari also. What has led the Government now to boycott this most widely used script? Has it anything to do with the movement in favour of making Nagari the common script for India; Nobody knows.

For would-be Emigrants.

Mr. G. D. Kumar of the *Swadesh Sevak*, Vancouver, gives much useful information to would-be emigrants in a letter to the *Panjabee*. Says he:—

The United States and Canada and Argentine are big countries with opportunities for all. There is a lot of work of all kinds. The tide of the European immigration is flowing into these countries all the year round. To the United States of America there come in millions of immigrants every year. Canada absorbs more than a quarter of a million, and the people of southern Europe, *viz.*, Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese, migrate to Argentine shores. When the field of activity is so much overcrowded in India just at present, it behoves our public men to stir in the matter and open up further channels for steady outflow of our countrymen to all parts of the world. Already there are half a million of our countrymen settled in South Africa, Australia, West India Islands, Fiji, Demerara, Trinidad, Jamaica, Mauritius, Malaya States, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, and other parts of the world, but most of these men are either in Government service, in Military Police, or come under indentured labor, which is a kind of serfdom pure and simple. The countries like Canada, U. S. A., Argentine, and Mexico are free, and every man of means and brain is welcome here. There are many steamship companies running to the Pacific coast of America, the principal ones being:—I. Canadian Pacific Railway. II. Blue Funnel Line, running from Colombo to Vancouver, B. C. III. Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Japanese Mail, running from Hong Kong to Vancouver, B. C. Tacoma, Seattle, Wash. IV. Osaka Shosen Kaisha running to Victoria, B. C. and Seattle, Wash. V. Tokyo Kishen Kaisha running to San Francisco and Mexico. VI. American and Indian Line from Calcutta to New York, U. S. A., *via* the Suez Canal, Agents Norton and Son, Produce Exchange, New York City. The average price of deck passage from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Colombo, to the Pacific ports of Vancouver, Victoria, B. C. Seattle, Wash. San Francisco, California, Manzanillo, or Salina Cruz, Mexico, is about Rs. 200.

A man must be physically fit, *i.e.*, have no internal disease, or disease of the eyes, *e.g.*, granular lids or any contagious disease, and must be very strong. It takes 2 months from Calcutta to here if the steamer connections are made on time.

The Canadian Immigration Act requires that a man must come direct from India to here and on landing he must show Rs. 600 cash. So it is better to buy a through ticket from Calcutta to here and transfer at Hong Kong. Tickets for all other ports in U. S. A. or Mexico can be had at Hong Kong. Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, Calcutta, Bombay,

Colombo, and Hong Kong, could supply all the information regarding the above steamship companies.

Hindus here are well established on the Pacific coast and a good few are doing well in business, and there is a good chance for young men just out of colleges and going in for some business as well as for study in Medical and Mechanical and Chemical lines in foreign lands.

The climate is very bracing and a man must have at least one suit of European clothes for winter.

Further information can be had of the writer, whose address is Swadesh Sevak Home, 1632, 2nd Avenue, W., Fairview, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Falling Birth-rate in Britain.

The Report of the British Medical Association shows that the decrease in births in England is becoming alarming. Thirty years ago, we are told, 35.4 births were registered for every thousand of the population. In the last three years (1907-1910) the average went down to 26.6. The birth-rate of Germany during the same period was 32.4. Is the falling birth-rate in England due to Neo-Malthusian notions and voluntary limitation of the number of children, or to diminished fecundity originating in decreasing race vitality? In the Australian colonies also the British race is not multiplying fast enough. In South Africa the Boers multiply more rapidly than the British.

Education in Russia.

The main features of the Elementary Schools Bill which has just been passed by the Duma are, the *Westminster Gazette* points out, the establishment of local School Councils, which are to supervise both the Communal schools—which have lay teachers—and the Church schools, hitherto controlled solely by the Holy Synod, and taught by the parish priests or other ecclesiastical persons; the introduction of compulsory attendance, in so far as the existence of school accommodation permits; and the provision that the teaching shall take place in the language spoken locally, and not, as the Extreme Right desired, solely in Russian. As the school course is for one year only, the restriction would have been an absurdity; and so not only German and Polish children, but Letts and Estonians, Lithuanians, Armenians, and Georgians are to learn the three R's through the medium of their native tongues.

So even Russia is going in for compulsory attendance, which must end in universal education. India is the only civilised country where universal education is considered not only impracticable but possibly pernicious.

America in the Philippines.

With British statesmen and politicians and journalists, for the most part, it is a settled belief that British rule in India is a settled fact, it will endure and ought to endure for ever. But they do not seem to look upon the position of America in the Philippines exactly in the same light. Therefore is it that we find the special correspondent of *The Times* giving a fairer account of the situation in the Philippines than is usually the case with writers in that Tory journal. The correspondent says:—

The one paramount question in the Philippines is that of the permanence of American rule. It lies at the root of all political discussion, and is a constantly disturbing factor in every undertaking, social or commercial. Talk of America selling the Philippines to another Power may be set aside as idle. She will do no such thing; but, subject to the highly improbable contingency of the islands being wrested from her by force, she will remain in possession until such time as she sees fit to turn the land over to the Filipinos themselves, in accordance with her policy as originally proclaimed. That policy can best be given in the words of President Taft when he was Secretary of War.—

Shortly stated, the national policy is to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the islands, and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government. . . . When the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor alike, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it.

This is clear and unequivocal; but it should be noted that the question of the "fitness" of the Filipinos for self-government at any given time is a matter solely for the decision of the Congress of the United States. If it rested with the Filipinos themselves they would be independent now.—

Whereas the Philippine nation, being positively convinced that it possesses the actual capacity for self-government as a civilized nation, aspires ardently to be independent. . . .

So begins a resolution adopted by the first Philippine Assembly (the elected Legislative Chamber of the islands) for presentation to Congress; but meanwhile the Government proceeds as if the islands were an integral and permanent portion of the territories of the United States, and the Filipinos are expected to regard the Stars and Stripes as their national flag. The use of the flag in the islands is indeed characteristically American and interestingly paradoxical.

As the British people expect the people of India to regard the Union Jack as the national flag of India, the American expectation need not appear paradoxical to Britishers. The correspondent proceeds:—

On the 4th of last July (as in preceding years) celebrations of the customary American kind were held throughout the islands. The 4th of July is Independence Day, and its observance commemorates

the winning of their independence by the American colonies. There would on the surface appear to be obvious difficulties in celebrating the day with any heartiness amid a people which in its turn is, at least ostensibly, yearning to be independent; and the Fourth of July orator in the Philippines has in truth a delicate task. But, so far as outward observance goes, many Filipinos join in the ceremonies. This year in the city of Manila there was a gigantic procession, divided into two sections, a military and a civic,.....

Everywhere, throughout the length of the parade, fluttered the Stars and Stripes, the flag of freedom; and beneath it in the rout of miscellaneous vehicles which brought up the rear of the procession, large signs here and there caught the eye—"We Demand Immediate Independence!" "Liberty or Death!" "Independence regardless of Race, Creed, or Color!" There are Americans in the Philippines who think that it might be wiser if, for a time at least, the Fourth of July were to be a little less demonstratively celebrated.

Three weeks later, on July 25, Manila was again *en fete* in honor of Mr. John M. Dickinson, United States Secretary of War, who had arrived in the islands on the preceding day. As one part of the festivities a body of 5,000 Filipino school children sang American patriotic songs massed in a huge open-air grand stand.

The 5,000 children were dressed some in red, some in white, and some in blue; and they were so seated that the whole grand stand made one great American flag. At the close of the proceedings the children stood up and gave three cheers for the Secretary of War, 5,000 childish trebles shouting in unison "Heep! Heep! Hoorra!" in the queer clipped speech of the Oriental. It was very pretty; and afterwards I spoke to one of the leading Filipino public men and asked him what those children, down in their little hearts, really thought of the flag which they patterned so charmingly and waved with so much enthusiasm, and there was no hesitation in his reply:—

They hate it—everyone of them! The Americans will tell you that that is not so; but I tell you that every child is taught at home to hate the Stars and Stripes. The Americans know nothing of our nature; they never will know anything. We are Orientals, and we do not show our feelings; and, therefore, you will hear that the mass of the people is indifferent and has no real yearning for independence. It is not true. We wave the flag because, for the present, we must; and we hate it more and more.

The speaker was a politician; and any American will tell you that such talk is the stock-in-trade of the *politico*, and that, but for the agitators, the people at large would be contented enough under American rule. None the less, so far as there are any political parties in the Philippines, their creeds differ only in the degree of their professed animosity to American domination and the urgency with which they demand independence.

Roughly there are two chief parties, the *progresistas*, who are willing to accept for a while the authority of the United States as a necessary evil, looking to independence as the goal to be attained at as early a date as possible, and the *Nacionalistas*, who demand independence at once. The *Nacionalistas* have a majority in the Assembly and undoubtedly command the larger following in the people; but they themselves have at times been split into various groups

the names of which—*Independistas*, *Immediatistas*, *Urgentistas* (which last are more immediate than the *Immediatistas*)—sufficiently indicate their natures. Public men, indeed, it may be said, vie one with another in popular favor only by outbidding each other in the ferocity of their demands for liberty.

The Filipinos have a flag of their own, the so-called Katipunan flag, the flag of brotherhood or comradeship, which is divided longitudinally into equal parts of red and blue, with at the base, a white triangle on which is set a yellow, or golden, sun surrounded with three stars. As a result of riots in the city of Manila a few years ago, in which the flag figured largely, it is now forbidden by law to make such a flag or to have one in one's possession. One lies before me as I write, and before the tailor would make it he had to be given official guarantees of immunity from punishment. There are believed to be great numbers of such flags about the islands, inside the bamboos which make the framework of native houses and in similar places of concealment. It may be so or not; but, while the banning of the Katipunan flag was undoubtedly wise and even necessary, one is tempted to wonder whether the display of the Stars and Stripes is either necessary or wise. The American people is given at all times to what seems to Europeans an excess of the flag-waving habit. It appears to be considered a necessary function of patriotism, and, in the United States, is used as one of the most effective instruments in the training of the masses of immigrant children in the sentiment of citizenship. But the Filipinos are not intended to be citizens of the United States. They are being trained to become an independent, self-governing nation. America is not to be their motherland, but only their foster motherland; and one is tempted to doubt whether a sentiment of temporary patriotism is worth cultivating even if such a sentiment be thinkable. On the other hand, if there is in even a limited number of the people, any real distaste for the Stars and Stripes, is it not merely a provocation to animosity to thrust it into the hands of the school-children and insist that they wave it and cheer it? Certainly there are Filipino orators who see therein, or affect to see, proof that America never intends to surrender the country; and to the visitor it looks as if, by this immoderate insistence on the use of the flag as the national emblem, the Americans were but putting weapons in the hands of the demagogue and helping to keep alive the agitation for immediate independence which is now the chief obstacle in the path of good government and of the healthful development of the islands.

The United Provinces Exhibition.

The official handbook of the United Provinces Exhibition begins with the following sentences:—

"Of late years several exhibitions have been held in different parts of India under the auspices of the National Congress. Of these the principal were at Benares, Madras and Bombay, the last having been held at Lahore in the cold weather of 1909-1910. Most of these were on a modest scale, and, generally speaking, they hardly covered more than the period during which the Congress was holding its meetings.

The only exhibition on a large scale held in India of recent years, was that held at Nagpur in the year 1908. The success which attended the efforts of its promoters has for some time past led those interested in the development of the industry of the country to wish for an exhibition commensurate with the importance and dimensions of the trade of India, . . .

One feels curious to know why the Calcutta Congress Exhibition of 1906-1907 has not been mentioned. Certainly it was not less important than the smallest of those referred to by name. The Congress Exhibitions were kept open for far longer periods than the actual days of the Congress meetings. As for the "modest scale," it is true that these Congress Exhibitions did not aspire to be dubbed "the show of the century;" but so far as "the development of the industry of the country" is concerned Indians are of opinions that the least of these Congress Exhibitions served that purpose better than the too-much advertised Allahabad show. In their anxiety to establish its claim to be the biggest exhibition held in India in recent years,—and it should be admitted that it is a big exposition containing many notable exhibits from which much can be learned, the promoters have cleverly confined their survey to the period dating from the holding of the first Congress exhibition. If they had included just two or three years more than a quarter of a century in their retrospect, they would have alighted upon the Calcutta International Exhibition, which was bigger than the United Provinces Exhibition.

The Allahabad show has, however, signalled itself by its indecent enthusiasm for the singing of a certain dancing girl, who has been engaged merely to add to the income of the promoters. It was once given out that this woman had been retained to demonstrate the excellencies of the classical Indian music and dance, whatever that may mean. But a recent shameless Exhibition communique tells us that the woman's soft voice, "the adaptation of the hand and the eyebrows to the sentiment," "the brisk and lively *thumry*," &c., have proved more than a match for the admittedly superior art and skill of some really first-rate male singers. We are told that these poor fellows were "hissed to silence and hooted out of the stage,"—because, because, they were males, not pub-

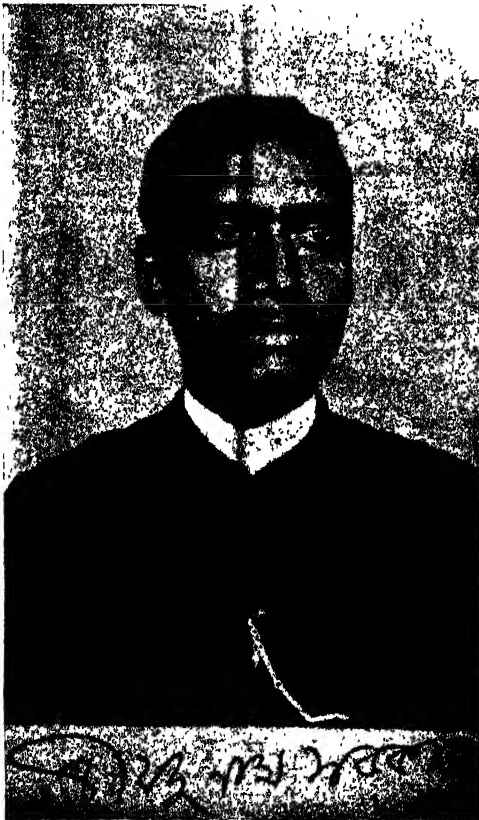
lic women given to making amorous gestures, for that is what in plain language "the adaptation of the hand and the eyebrows to the sentiment" of *thumries*, &c., means. No wonder that the Allahabad Social Conference passed a resolution "regretting" (it should have been "strongly condemning") the engagement of the woman. No wonder that even so busy and unobtrusive a lawyer as the distinguished and scholarly Dr. Satis Chandra Banerji has been moved to write a strong letter of protest in the columns of *The Leader*. But of course the promoters have been and are still defiant of enlightened public opinion.

In the eyes of the Government, it is a mortal sin for Indian students to have any thing to do with politics. They must not hear even Mr. Gokhale, they must not cheer him, or serve him as honorary attendants or draw his carriage. But we have not heard that the Government has issued any circular telling male students, and particularly the female students who have been carried to Allahabad over long distances to be edified by the Exhibition, not to profit by "the adaptation of the hand and the eyebrows to the sentiment" of love songs not very famous for purity, refinement or delicacy of feeling.

The Indian National Congress.

The Allahabad session of the Indian National Congress was attended by 639 delegates, and the number of visitors was limited only by the capacity of the pandal. It was therefore a far more successful session than the previous one held at Lahore. To this success many causes contributed. No doubt, there are Congresswalas who will attend the Congress wherever it may be held. But there are others whose attendance depends on circumstances. Now, there were several such favourable circumstances which increased the attendance. They were, the comparatively central situation of Allahabad, its sanctity as a place of pilgrimage in Hindu eyes, the Exhibition held there (with the demonstrations in aviation), the marked prevalence and preponderance of Moderate politics in the United Provinces, and the presence of Sir William Wedderburn. That in spite of all these advantages the attendance of delegates was not more than what it was,

shows that the Congress has lost its old charm and drawing power. Will the Congress leaders enquire why it is so, and apply the remedy in a dispassionate spirit? For all thinking and sober men cannot but admit that there ought to be a national organisation for the formulation of political demands, working on lawful lines. The Congress was and to a great extent still is such a body and can again be made what it was.



PROFESSOR JADUNATH SARKAR,
Et. 40, December, 1910.

The North Bengal Literary Conference.

The North Bengal Literary Conference was fortunate in having for its president so dispassionate and scholarly a historian as Professor Jadunath Sarkar. His address was mainly devoted to the consideration of the attempt that is being made by some Musalman leaders to make Urdu the vernacular of Bengali Musalmans. He showed by arguments drawn from reason and history

that the attempt must be futile and will retard the educational progress of the Bengali Musalmans.

Sir William Wedderburn's Presidential Address.

The tone of Sir W. Wedderburn's presidential address at the last Congress was unexceptionable. A few points in his speech, however, require some comment. He said that the King-Emperor Edward's promise of "the steady obliteration of race distinctions in making appointments to high office," has been given effect to by Lord Morley's appointment of Indians to his own Council, and to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Local Governments. That these appointments have been made is true, and it is not necessary to underestimate their value. But the point is, whether of the total number of high appointments already existing or being continually created, the Indian share has remained the same, has increased, or has decreased? Will anybody in a position to do so call for or prepare a return? We have grave misgivings on the subject. We find an uninterrupted stream of raw British graduates being appointed to the Indian Educational Service week after week, the only exception being the appointment of Babu Rajendra Nath Sen to a chair in the Sibpore Engineering College.

Sir W. Wedderburn seems to think that the Extremist propaganda and methods have produced nothing but crime and suffering, which, of course, every sane man must condemn and deplore. But we think it is worth investigating whether the presence of the Extremists in the country did not give rise to or at least stimulate the desire of the Government to "rally the Moderates" (Lord Morley's phrase) by reforms and concessions. It would seem that though the Extremists have themselves suffered, their wickedness and excesses have obliged the Government to appreciate the worth of the Moderates hitherto pining away in the cold shade of neglect. Another indirect result has been a thorough discussion of what ought to be the political ideal of India. A third indirect result is the conviction produced even in the minds of the Extremists themselves that they cannot make India independent by physical

force. We are not in a position to discuss thoroughly the question indirectly raised by Sir W. Wedderburn. We only want that men should think on the subject.

Sir William advocated the doing of Congress work by united effort. The three divisions of this work are, according to him: I, constructive work in India, educating and organising public opinion; II, Representations to the Government of India regarding proposed reforms; and III, Propaganda in England. Of the first, he says: "This part of the work has been in great measure accomplished." He wishes us therefore to carry on "a vigorous propaganda in England, in order to bring the appeal effectively before the High Court of the British Nation." While we feel the great need that there is for a vigorous propaganda in England, we cannot admit that the constructive work in India "has been in great measure accomplished." This may be true to some extent if we have in view only the small minority of educated men. But the great mass of the people have as yet no political consciousness worth speaking of. India is at present a poor country. The wealthier classes are not yet moved by a sufficiently strong political impulse to feel compelled to spend freely for a political propaganda either in India or England or in both countries. Under the circumstances the funds available for political work are small, not sufficient for such work in both or even either country. We have, therefore, to choose between the two. *Such being the case*, we are inclined to place a higher value on awakening our own people to a consciousness of their political condition than on a propaganda in England. If funds were available for both kinds of work, we would spend twenty times as much on the English work as we do now.

We are not blind to the fact that under present conditions, produced by the repressive laws regarding the press and public speaking and by the methods of the secret police, it has become very difficult and risky to do any political preaching among our countrymen. In England you are free to work on constitutional lines, so long as you can spend money to obtain the services of lecturers, writers, &c. This would perhaps necessitate our confining our attention to the work in England, for the time being.

Sir William Wedderburn's peroration is worth quoting.

In India there is a new-born spirit of self-reliance. That is good; but do not let it degenerate into dislike for the people of other lands. Race prejudice is the palladium of your opponents. Do not let any such feeling hinder you from cultivating brotherhood with friends of freedom all over the world, and especially in England. It is only by the goodwill of the British people that India can attain what is the best attainable future—the 'United States of India under the ægis of the British Empire,' a step towards the poet's ideal of a 'Federation of the world'. In his eager desire for self-government, let not the 'impatient idealist' forget the solid advantages of being a member of the British Empire, the *Pax Britannica* within India's borders; the protection from foreign aggression by sea and land; the partnership with the freest and most progressive nation of the world. No one supposes that under present conditions India could stand alone. She possesses all the materials for self-government; an ancient civilisation; reverence for authority; an industrious and law-abiding population, abundant intelligence among the ruling classes. But she lacks training and organisation. A period of apprenticeship is necessary; but that period need not be very long, if the leaders of the people set themselves to work together in harmony. Hand in hand with the British people India can most safely take her first steps on the new path of progress.

This paragraph indirectly raises many questions which furnish food for serious thinking. We shall indicate a few of these questions.

1. What is the best attainable future for India?
2. Is it attainable only by the good will of the British people?
3. How can this good will be secured?
4. By appealing to their generosity and sense of justice, or by appealing to their self-interest, or by stimulating their generosity by bringing pressure to bear on them by methods not involving bloodshed or the use of physical force in any form?
5. If India be under the ægis of anybody, will she in that condition be fit for being a member of a Federation of the world, or will a further step in advance be necessary? In the distant future, will the perfectly free and independent nations condescend to shake hands on terms of equality (which is what a federation implies) with a nation under the ægis of a larger and stronger entity?
6. Is it correct to say that *at present* India enjoys, "*partnership* with the freest and most progressive nation of the world?"
7. In the distant future, when India will be "*the United States of India under the*

ægis of the British Empire," will it be correct to speak of India being a partner of England?

8. It is fully admitted that under present conditions India cannot stand alone. It will also be admitted, we hope, that so long as India will require protection she cannot be a source of strength to the British Empire, and that the more she is able to stand alone, the more she will be in a position to help England in her hour of need, which is sure to come some day.

(a) Does ability to stand alone mean largely (1) the solidarity of the people, (2) the possession of a strong navy manufactured, armed, manned, officered and controlled by the people, and (3) the possession of a strong army armed, manned, officered and controlled by the people?

(b) If so, is India under British rule progressing towards the possession of that ability in all the three directions?

(c) If she is progressing towards the desired goal, what are the facts which establish such a conclusion?

(d) If she is not progressing, what are the reasons? Is it because of her inherent incapacity, or is it because the necessary assistance and encouragement from Great Britain are not forthcoming?

(e) Lastly, if she is going farther and farther away from the goal, what are the causes of this retrogression?

9. Small countries like Portugal, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Norway, &c., stand alone. Singly they cannot certainly resist aggression on the part of any of the great powers. Such being the case, how and why are they able to stand alone and why cannot India stand alone? Is it due to inherent incapacity or to external causes, or to both?

10. Are courage, love of liberty, public spirit and the democratic instinct also among "the materials for self-government?" If so, does India possess them?

11. When Sir William says, "A period of apprenticeship is necessary, but that period need not be very long," does he contemplate that a time will come when India will set up in business for herself? If so, can apprenticeship be said to be over, when the apprentice is still *under the ægis* of another?

We are very sorry our questions have been rather too many. But nobody need consider

that a grievance, as no one is compelled to read or answer them.

The Moslem League and British Interference in Persia.

Members of the Moslem League in England and India seem to resent the very idea of British interference in Persia. As they are very loyal to the British Throne and race, and the extremists among them claim to be the only loyal people in India, it is difficult to understand why they should suspect British good faith in Persia. It is also inconsistent for them to hold, as they seem by implication to do, that if Great Britain annexed Persia, it would be very bad for Persia. The logical position for them to take up is that as British rule is good for Indian Musalmans, it will be good for Persian Musalmans too and therefore in the interests of Persia, it should be annexed by Great Britain. But we think we had better leave this delicate question of consistency and logic alone. There is another reason why the Moslem League should in its own interests demand the British annexation of Persia and Afghanistan. Musalmans feel very much their position as a minority in India. What they lack in numbers, they try to make up by their claim to superior political importance. But this claim is not admitted by non-Musalmans. Therefore the next move has been to reduce the number of the Hindus by arguing that the "untouchable" Hindus are not Hindus. But this also is a much controverted point. If Afghanistan and Persia were annexed to the British Indian Empire, the Musalmans would undoubtedly be in a majority. Therefore if they were wise they would suggest and support the British conquest of Persia and Afghanistan. Both self-interest and loyalty to the British race dictate such a course.

Dacoities in East Bengal and Assam.

East Bengal was separated from West Bengal professedly for making the administration of East Bengal more efficient. As a proof of its increased efficiency we have the fact that dacoities have increased in that province. In 1908, there were 160 dacoities, in 1909 the same number, but in 1910 the number increased to 178. Lord Curzon and his admirers ought now to consider

whether the following generalisation may not be made :

Efficiency increases directly as the number of dacoities.

The Proposed Muhammadan University.

It is said that ten lakhs have been already promised for the proposed Muhammadan University. This is very creditable to the munificence of the Moslems and their appreciation of education. But we are entirely opposed to sectarian schools, colleges and universities. If Indians are ever to form a united nation, their children must be educated together. It is a retrograde tendency which seeks to keep the followers of the different Indian creeds apart from one another from their childhood. Though we cannot counteract this tendency, we must always condemn it and characterise it by its proper epithet in plain language. So far as mere intellectual training is concerned, a sectarian university may not be a bad thing, but if it be meant for manufacturing cheap degrees to fill public offices, it would be a very harmful institution.

The late Babu Sisir Kumar Ghosh.

In Babu Sisir Kumar Ghosh, founder and first editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and editor of the *Hindu Spiritual Magazine*, India has lost one of her most noteworthy citizens. He was a self-made man. Gifted with the journalistic instinct to an extraordinary degree, he made his paper a power in the land. Taking everything into consideration, there is no doubt that he was the foremost Indian journalist of his generation. Latterly he devoted himself entirely to the propagation of the Vaishnava faith and of spiritualism. He was the author of some excellent Bengali and English works. We hope to be able to publish a character sketch of Babu Sisir Kumar in our next number.

The last week of 1910.

The last week of 1910 was so crowded with the activities of various national and sectional gatherings at Allahabad, Nagpur and Madras that it is with difficulty that even the more enterprising and bigger dailies have been able to report (in some cases briefly) their proceedings. But not a

singly daily has been able to comment on the proceedings of all of them. Under the circumstances, it would be foolish on our part even to think of noticing them all.

Their very variety shows the all-embracing character of the national awakening, though we do not say that all sections of the people have as yet any idea of what is fundamental and what is subsidiary in the programme of work for national self-realisation and elevation.

We think the political interests of all sections of the Indian people are the same. Therefore, all should work together for political progress. But if any section of the people want to work apart from others, they should do so without indulging in offensive remarks against others, or in a grasping spirit.

The industrial progress of the country depends on the co-operation of all classes. Moreover, as every manufacturer will require the largest possible market, we hope mere self-interest will prevent the rise of a separatist camp in this department of national activity.

Some social wants and defects are common to all the larger Indian communities; e. g., the need of female education. There should be concerted action to remove these wants. We are glad that there has been concerted deliberation among Indian women on this and other matters concerning their own condition, and we hope concerted action will follow.

Caste conferences were and still are a peculiar feature of social activity in the United Provinces. Other provinces are following their example. In so far as they direct attention to the amelioration of the social condition of these castes, to the fusion of sub-castes, and to their educational and material progress, they have a beneficial effect. But as they also narrow the mental horizon and out-look of these castes and consolidate caste distinctions, they work against social and national solidarity. They, therefore, require very wise guidance.

In temperance work there ought to be complete co-operation.

In religious matters, nothing more can or ought to be attempted than an occasional religious convention, confined to non-polemical theses.

As regards education, we wish there were no separatist tendency, which is fraught with the gravest evil. But as the Musalmans have begun a sectional movement and are going to place it on a permanent basis, the Hindus will follow suit. We cannot contemplate the prospect with equanimity. But we have faith in God, and in his power to make every human endeavour yield good fruit. The intellectual enlightenment of the people, to whatever section they may belong, cannot but make them understand the essential unity of the interests of all classes, who must rise or fall together. Then will repulsion and disintegration be followed by cohesion and integration. In that faith and hope we live and work.

Mr. R. N. Mukherji on Foreign Capital.

In his presidential address at the last Industrial Conference held at Allahabad, Mr. R. N. Mukherji advocated the employment of foreign capital for the development of Indian industries. For the consideration of this question we should divide industries into two classes, (1) mining industries, and (2) industries in which vegetable and animal products are manufactured into finished goods. In the development of both these classes of industries by foreign capital, some advantages accrue to India. It is demonstrated that such industries are possible in India, the timidity of indigenous capital being overcome thereby. Indian skilled and unskilled laborers and foremen, &c., are able to earn wages. Such laborers, and foremen, &c., also receive training. This training may be of use in factories started by Indians. Mr. Mukherji has pointed out a further probable advantage in that if British capitalists become interested in our industries, it will increase the chances of our securing such forms of protection for our industries as will solidly establish such industries. The disadvantages are that the major portion of the profits pass to foreign lands, and the field of such industries being occupied to some extent, it may become somewhat difficult for Indians to start similar industries. The competition and influence of foreign capitalists may also contribute to produce the same result. In the case of the mining in-

dustries, the minerals extracted being gradually exhausted without any chance of their being replaced by fresh deposits, foreign exploitation means a permanent and irreparable loss. In the case of other industries, fresh stocks of vegetable and animal products being obtainable year after year, there is no exhaustion and no permanent and irreparable loss. We think in the interests of India a law should be passed making it obligatory on all registered companies to show that at least 40 per cent. of the capital is Indian. In the case of companies engaging in mining industries the proportion should be at least 60 per cent. If we are not mistaken a similar law exists in China.

The Social Conference.

There were two resolutions passed at the last Social Conference, held at Allahabad, which mark important steps in advance in the social reform programme of Hindu reformers. One resolution related to the marriageable ages of brides and bridegrooms. It was resolved that the minimum age for girls be fixed at 16 and that for young men at 25. This is very satisfactory. A few years ago, such a resolution would have been considered somewhat revolutionary. The second resolution had a bearing on the fusion of castes and sub-castes. There are men who think that they are as good Hindus as others, who see no harm but much good in marriages between parties belonging to different sub-castes of the same caste. Some go further and advocate marriage between parties belonging to different Hindu castes. Yet these men are prevented from practising what they believe in, by the absence of any law legalising such marriages. Act III of 1872 would have served the purpose, if the bride and bridegroom had not been obliged to declare that they were not Hindus or Musalmans, or Christians, &c. Therefore the Conference resolution asked for an amendment of the above Act. That it was moved by so eminent a lawyer as Dr. Satis Chandra Banerji, who moreover holds a high position in orthodox Hindu society, is a matter for congratulation.

Raja Rampal Singh, C.I.E., who presided over the deliberations of the Conference, belongs to a highly respected and ancient aristocratic family. His



RAJA RAMPAL SINGH, C.I.E.

adhesion to the social reform cause is a distinct gain.

The engagement of a dancing girl to give musical performances at the U. P. Exhibition Theatre has been a scandalous affair. Seeing that social purity and the condemnation and discouragement of entertainments by public women have always been included in the reform programme, the Conference owed it to itself to pass a strong resolution in condemnation of the U. P. Exhibition Committee. But it seems that at first there was no such resolution on the agenda paper. Babu Abinas Chandra Majumdar, the famous philanthropist and reformer of Lahore, therefore, has deserved well of the public by supplying the omission. But we are sorry that his resolution was passed in a very mild and inaccurate form. The Conference only

regretted that the Exhibition Committee had *allowed* a nautch girl to perform, &c., &c. The fact is she was *invited and engaged* to give musical performances at the Exhibition. The Conference should have strongly condemned what it only regretted.

The Allahabad Religious Convention.

The Religious Convention is a good movement. It is meant to promote exchange of views, and brotherly feeling between the followers of different faiths. It was the second session that met at Allahabad last month, the first having met in Calcutta in the previous year. We do not think it is necessary to hold a session every year. Nor would it be easy to obtain every year theses worthy of publication in book form. However, if the promoters wish to hold it every year, there is no serious objection. But the Maharaja of Durbhanga should not be allowed to monopolise the presidential chair. We suppose India is not so barren of either religious men or rich men as to necessitate the election of the same man to the chair at two successive sessions.

We think in the election to the chair at such a gathering two principles should be strictly observed. Only those men should be elected the outstanding feature of whose personality is high character, if not also entire devotion to the cause of the spiritual and religious progress of their respective sects. Each faith represented at the Convention should by turns be entitled to have the president elected from its followers; else there can not be fraternal feeling.

In his presidential address, among other things the Maharaja of Durbhanga attempted a defence of the caste system and of idolatry. But, as no new arguments were brought forward, his defence does not require serious refutation.

The Travancore Marriage Bill.

The Travancore Marriage Bill seeks to do away with some blots in the marriage customs

of that State, e.g., by laying down that a woman cannot have more than one husband. It is, therefore, a very important bill. But what will interest outsiders most is that the minimum marriageable age has been fixed at 18 for boys and 16 for girls. So far as girls are concerned, it is a great step to take in India. But outside India, in the West, many people will wonder that such a thing should be looked upon as an achievement.

"Ganesha-janani" by A. N. Tagore.

Our frontispiece this month is a reproduction of Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore's new water-colour, *Ganesha-janani*. It represents the goddess Parvati holding up her infant son Ganesha to help him in plucking *bel* fruits, which are being gathered in her *sari*.

Hindu-Musalman relations.

We welcome all sincere efforts to bring about cordial relations between Hindus and Musalmans. The establishment of such relations between the two communities is not an impossible task, though it has been made one of extreme difficulty. At the same time, we are not disposed to take an exaggerated view of the situation. Hindu-Moslem relations are not really so bad as they are said to be by interested parties.

Among the illiterate or half-educated of both communities, the main cause of strife has been cow-killing. This cause may be easily removed if Hindus do not seek to stop cow-killing altogether *on religious grounds*, but only ask that it be not resorted to in places which owing to their openness, or location in the midst of or in proximity to a Hindu neighborhood, are likely to shock Hindu susceptibilities. In such places, Musalmans also should agree to sacrifice sheep or goats, even if it involves extra expenditure; for the sacrifice of *cows* is not obligatory. Rich Musalman leaders should find it quite easy to defray such additional expense. We are not here referring to the proposal to stop cow-killing on economic grounds. That is a different matter, and ought to be discussed quite apart from religious grounds.

Among the educated, until recently, the only cause of soreness was the grievance felt by the Musalmans in not having a due share of public appointments. This was due to their educational backwardness, the

remedy lying entirely in their own hands; and it is noteworthy that their leaders have consequently given their attention chiefly to education. No doubt, in some offices, Hindu superintendents and head clerks prevent the appointment of Musalman clerks, but Musalmans in power also do the same with regard to Hindus. And both Hindus and Musalmans often exclude even their own co-religionists when they are not relatives or friends. This is a common human failing in and outside India and, not being exclusively a Hindu or a Musalman weakness and not having anything to do with religion, ought not to cause any communal bitterness. The leaders of both communities ought certainly to exhort their brethren to be above this failing, but we doubt whether any conference can eradicate this defect.

In some provinces, e.i., the United Provinces, Musalmans hold a much larger number of appointments than their numbers or education may entitle them to. Hindus have therefore a grievance there. In such provinces, it is the Government which is to blame; consequently there ought not to be any communal bad feeling. At the same time in no province should any community demand special privileges over their neighbors; for, as Lord Hardinge reminded the Bombay Moslem League, "special rights or privileges to one class mean corresponding disabilities to other classes." The very claim is irritating to these other classes. When a sense of injustice rankles in the breast of any community, whatever the lips of some of their leaders may say, the community as a whole cannot but have their minds embittered. And it is the internal feeling which produces either outward friendship or outward friction. Hence all sincere advocates of communal good feeling should refrain from putting forward such claims. Intelligent men of all classes should easily understand that the rule of appointing the most meritorious to office is the best for all classes. It keeps the administration of the country at the highest attainable level for the time being, which benefits all classes, and it has a sure tendency to raise the standard of ability among even the most backward classes.

Another cause of offence has been the assertion of some Musalman leaders that their community alone is loyal or that it

is more loyal than the Hindus, that the Congress is a body of seditionists, &c. We refrain from discussing the accuracy of such assertions, in the light of the past and present history of British India. We should all be well informed as to facts, we should ask ourselves whether our community has or has not produced political offenders in the past and in the present, and why their proportion varies in different communities in different periods of British Indian history. We will now say only this that even if all that the Musalmans say were true, such assertions should not proceed from men who really seek to fraternise with all classes of their countrymen; for nobody likes to be reminded of his characteristics in an offensive manner.

Another cause of bitterness has been the race-hatred produced by historical and pseudo-historical works of a certain class. In this respect we think Hindus have been more to blame than Musalmans. Until very recently all our knowledge of the history of the Musalman period was derived from the works of English writers. And in these works the darker aspects of the Musalman invasion and rule predominate, often to the total or almost total exclusion of the brighter aspects,—we need not discuss here why. Hindu writers have copied this dark picture from English historians, religious bias sometimes making the copy uglier than the original. What has made matters worse is that Hindu writers in writing historical fiction (including historical dramas) have for the most part based their plot on events belonging to the Muhammadan period. As, unlike dispassionate history, the aim of fiction is to produce emotion, no wonder that Hindu novelists should have often, though not always, consciously or unconsciously, deepened the shadows in the characters of Musalmans and heightened the lights in the characters of Hindus. All this has given just offence to Musalmans. We have not the least doubt that many Hindu writers, in writing what they did, were actuated by the good motive of rousing patriotic feeling in their readers. But at the best it was but a narrow communal patriotism, very dearly bought, as we now see. Undoubtedly many Musalman rulers of India were tyrannical and wicked, but in the interests of good feeling between

Hindus and Musalmans, it is best for the present not to write novels or dramas about them. In justice to Hindu writers it must be said that the better class of Musalman rulers and nobles have also furnished them with heroes for their books. It may be good to write against invaders, but Musalmans are no longer invaders. They are now Indians. And it should be remembered that the ancestors of the Hindus themselves were invaders. How would the Hindus like a picture of the tyranny of their Vedic ancestors painted by an educated Santal, Kol, or Bhil of the present day? We think in the interests of communal amity and of an all-embracing patriotism, we had better cease to write historical novels, poems and dramas, relating to the Muhammadan period,—at any rate for a number of years to come. And such historical dramas, already in existence, should not for the present be acted on the stage.

Works of history, written on ample information in a dispassionate manner, cannot be objected to, as they show both the good and bad aspects of Moslem rule. In recent years Hindus have done ample justice to Musalman rulers and their rule. In his speech at the Lucknow Social Conference the late Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade showed what good Moslem rule did to India by the introduction of many arts, by softening the rigours of caste and by influencing men's minds towards a strict monotheism. Politically also the revival of Hindu solidarity and power was indirectly due to Moslem rule. But the subject is too vast to be pursued in a note. In Bengal several historians, dramatists and novelists have made serious attempts to rehabilitate some Muhammadan rulers to whom English writers had done scant justice.

The first man who in the history of British India spoke impartially of all classes of Indians was the illustrious Raja Ram-mohun Ray. A Brahman by birth who kept his sacred thread to the hour of his death in England, he had deeply studied the Jewish, Christian and Musalman scriptures, in addition to the shastras of his own ancestral faith. In fact his early leanings towards monotheism were due to his Arabic education in boyhood at Patna. No wonder then he should be impartial in speaking of Musalmans. We give below a

few extracts from his writings to illustrate our point.

23. *Q. What is your opinion of the judicial character and conduct of the Hindu and Muhammadan lawyers attached to the courts?*

A. Among the Muhammadan lawyers I have met with some honest men. The Hindu lawyers are in general not well spoken of, and they do not enjoy much of the confidence of the public.—*Judicial System of India.*

This, as also the following, was, of course, said with reference to his own age.

8. *Q. What is the state of industry among them?*

A. The Muhammadans are more active and capable of exertion than the Hindus, but the latter are also generally patient of labour, and diligent in their employments, and those of the Upper Provinces not inferior to the Muhammadans themselves in industry.—*The Condition of India.*

In his famous Appeal to the King in Council against the Press Regulation of 1823, which has been justly styled the Areopagitica of India, Rammohun Ray wrote thus about the brighter side of Moslem rule:—

Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Muhammadan rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussalmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the State, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed free of charge, large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument.

Speaking of Rammohun Ray we are led to think of one great root cause of the strained relations between Hindu and Musalman. It is the low opinion which they hold of each other's religion and social institutions. Ignorance and bigotry lie at the root of this low opinion. If they had a better knowledge of each other's religion and religious men, social institutions, history and civilisation, there would be greater mutual respect and consequently a better feeling among them. This is very well illustrated in the person of Rajah Rammohun Ray. If Hindus would cease to *think* and speak of Musalmans as mere untouchable *mlechchhas* and *yavans*, and Musalmans in their turn would refrain from *thinking* and speaking of Hindus as mere *butparasts* and *kafirs*, better days would soon dawn on

India. We do not ask anybody to think less of his own faith, but why should we not admit that God has vouchsafed light unto others also?

Educated Hindus find it hard to forget that the Musalmans invaded their country. But did not the Vedic Hindus invade the country of the Santals, Mundas, &c.? And are not most of the present-day Musalmans, the descendants of the then inhabitants of India who had become converts? Musalmans can be as proud of Indian history as Hindus. In former days invasion was quite the natural order of things. Past invasions should not disturb our equanimity. Do the Scotch, English and Welsh still fight among themselves and refrain from co-operation, because their ancestors stood in the relation of enemies?

It is also wrong to think that all Musalman invaders came to India in the ignoble quest of plunder. That is not so. A few had proselytising motives, at least in part. Proselytism by conquest is a wrong method, but we should recognise a good motive where it existed.

Then, is it not a fact, that if Musalmans conquered some Hindus, some Hindus also conquered Musalmans? We are really quits with one another. Some Musalman leaders are angry with the Hindus because some of them celebrate the Sivaji festival. But are Englishmen angry with the Scots because they celebrate the Wallace day? We ought all to be reasonable and look around and see how other nations behave in similar circumstances and on similar occasions. But if we must needs think and behave like fools, we had better give up *communal* hero-worship until we have had real *national* heroes, or can think of some such in our past history.

It is unreasonable for Musalmans to take it for granted, as they seem unconsciously to do, that they were born to conquer and the Hindus to be beaten. Conquest is nobody's monopoly. People conquer and are conquered by turns. Musalmans conquered Hindus in days past. We sincerely respect them for their strength and heroism. Similar when Hindus defeated Musalmans, the latter ought to respect the former's valour. It is a sign of weakness, meanness and an envious disposition not to be able to take a beating like a man,

This naturally leads us to a consideration of the superior political importance which Moslems lay claim to and on which they base their right to over-representation in the Legislative Councils. This over-representation we shall deal with in our next number. We will not discuss their claim of superior political importance in detail. We will simply state a few facts. *Indian* Musalmans are not politically more important than other Indians, as they are neither more loyal, nor more warlike and soldierly, nor more intelligent and educated, nor more enterprising, nor more wealthy than many other classes of Indians which we could name. Nor are they the most numerous class in India. *Foreign* Musalmans are politically more important than Hindus, as many of the former are independent, but the latter are nowhere independent. This, however, does not strengthen the position of *Indian* Musalmans, for in past Moslem history we do not find the strong Musalmans of one country helping the weak Musalmans of another; on the contrary the former often attacked the latter. Even at the present day the strong Turks are attacking the weak Persians. The next fact which we wish to mention is that, if Musalmans conquered the greater part of India, Hindus also had regained their lost sovereignty over the greater part of India, in days just preceding the establishment of British rule. Ahmed Shah Abdali no doubt defeated the Mahrattas in the third battle of Panipat, but he was unable, to found an empire. He withdrew leaving his Hindu antagonists the masters of the situation. Another fact to be borne in mind is that the Sikhs rolled back the tide of conquest and bearded the Afghan lion in his own den. So Hindus and Musalmans are quits with one another. No party can claim superior political importance over the other. The last fact that we shall mention is that the aggregate area of the Hindu Native States is larger than that of the Musalman Native States.

But let us take it for granted that the Musalmans are politically the most important class of Indians. Even then it cannot make them a privileged class. British rule is pledged to an equal treatment of all classes of British citizens, including even Britishers. And representative gov-

ernment is by its very nature democratic. If political importance, irrespective of numbers, could entitle men to over-representation, why then the Anglo-Indians should be entitled to return more than half the number of members of council. For if Musalmans were the former rulers of India, Anglo-Indians are the present-day rulers: and if a living dog be greater than a dead lion, much more should a living lion be considered superior to a dead lion. But the Anglo-Indians have certainly not got all the representation which on the plea of political importance they may claim. So if Musalmans want to establish amicable relations with the Hindus they ought not to claim superior political importance. Brotherly relations can never subsist between superior and inferior, but only between equals. If one party claims superiority, it hurts the self-love and self-respect of the other. Sincere amity can never spring up under such circumstances. Musalmans have now the support of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy at their back. This may enable them for a time to obtain all that they demand. But it is one thing to obtain privileges in this way, and quite another to form a united nation with the Hindus and other non-Musalmans. If the Moslem League is working for Musalman semi-supremacy under the protection of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, we can understand its policy; but we cannot understand how its policy can lead to friendship with other classes of Indians.

The friction caused by the language question, which we reserve for future consideration, arose in the United Provinces and the Panjab and ought properly to be confined to them.

No class of Indians will be able to establish friendship with and form a united nation in combination with other classes of Indians, unless they believe—

(1) That there is a third party, the party of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, whose influence on our intercommunal relations no Indian party should lose sight of and fail properly to deal with;

(2) That all Indian parties must rise or fall together;

(3) That the India of the future will not be a Hindu India or a Musalman India or a Christian India, nor will it be a predominant-

ly Hindu, Musalman or Christian India, but a India of *The Indian Citizen*, irrespective of his creed, colour or race ;

(4) That whatever the origin of the Hindu, Buddhist, Musalman and British connection with India, God has used and is still using each and every one of these connections for the benefit of India, so that we ought to recognise, welcome and assimilate any element contributed by any race or sect to the progress and civilisation of India, not harboring feelings of contempt, hatred or repulsion against any ;

(5) That India is the Motherland of all who at present have or may in future have their domicile here ; and

(6) That nation-building depends on the cement of sincere intercommunal friendship, that such friendship depends on mutual respect and forbearance, that such respect springs from mutual knowledge, including the knowledge of the strength of each of the parties, and that therefore each should seek to be strong in health, wealth, knowledge, character and spirituality, without seeking to injure the others.

Every Indian should approach the question of intercommunal friendship in a prayerful spirit. We should prayerfully examine our hearts to find out what lies in secret therein, preventing such friendship ; and then having found it out, we should unmercifully uproot it. Not until we have done this, can real brotherhood spring up in our midst.

Resolutions in the Viceregal Council.

Many important resolutions were moved last month in the Viceregal Council, of which Mr. Malaviya's resolution asking for the revision of the regulations relating to Council elections has been commented upon most. This month we have time only to say that Mr. Malaviya has our entire support and to the best of our knowledge he has the support of all except the adherents of the Moslem League and a few gentlemen like Mr. Gokhale. We reserve comments for our next number, only adding that we heartily appreciate Mr. Gokhale's motives in saying what he did, though we do not accept his views.



DANTE.
By Giotto.

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INDIAN SCULPTURE AT ALLAHABAD

EXHIBITS of sculpture in a temporary exhibition must necessarily be somewhat limited in quantity: for large sculptures are difficult to move and the smaller ones are for the most part, and very properly, preserved in permanent museums.

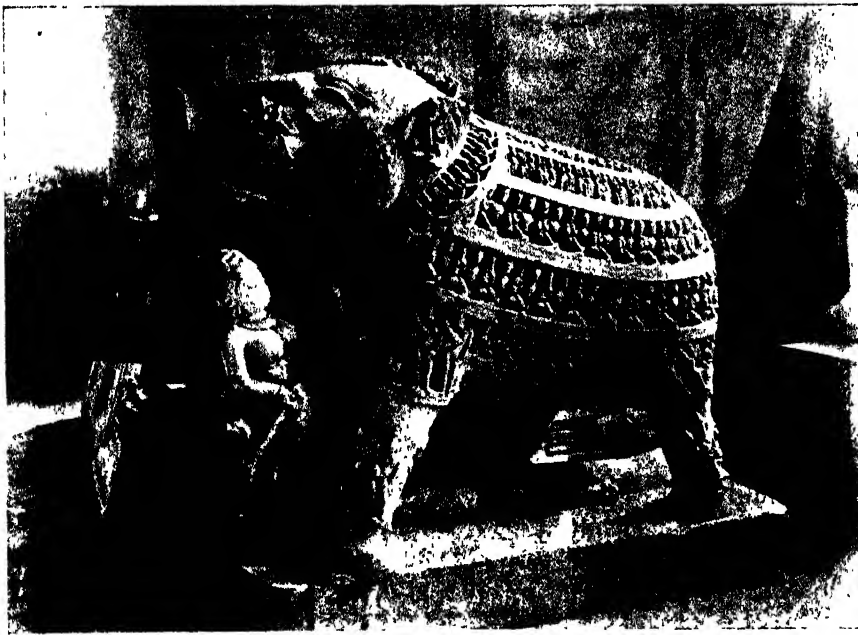


FIG. 1.—VARAHA AVATAR.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, it may be said without exaggeration, that the sculpture exhibits at the United Provinces Exhibition are of quite special and unexpected interest.

These exhibits include examples and reproductions of both old and modern work.

There are two or three very noteworthy specimens of ancient work. One of these is the splendid mediæval boar (Varaha Avatar) from Jhansi (Fig. 1). This work is noble and impressive. The many figures carved upon it in no way detract from the sense

of grandeur, but rather add to the dignity of the whole effect. The height of the boar is three feet and five inches from pedestal to the top of the head. Under him is a *nagini* and the figure of a woman with a mace, perhaps the equivalent of Lakshmi.

The second noteworthy sculpture is the noble and impassioned figure of Avalokitesvara (Fig. 2), a copper statuette

lent by the present writer. This old Indian or Nepalese figure closely resembles in type and feeling the beautiful Ajanta painting of the Buddha's Renunciation, of which a copy is hung in the 'Picture Gallery,' where the bronze is also exhibited.



FIG. 2. AVALOKITESWARA.

A third very beautiful work is the Nepalese brass gilt Tara (Fig. 3) which has been purchased by the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, together with other bronzes and pictures, for the nucleus of a National Museum, which it is hoped sooner or later to establish. This figure is beautifully proportioned and gracious and serene in expression; and the hands (Fig. 4) and feet are sensitively and exquisitely wrought.

From these three older works I pass to the modern sculpture. It is here that we meet with evidence of a surviving power and vitality which are quite remarkable and

astonishing. The most noteworthy of these modern sculptures are certain works by a hereditary sculptor of Jaipur, one of the most real artists I have ever met. I give his portrait herewith (Fig. 5). Mali Ram however, though he can easily make a living, is still, like most Indian craftsmen and artists, dependent upon a public which has no great interest in beauty, and hence no real use for artists. The result is that Mali Ram produces many very inferior works, 'pot-boilers', little or no better than the average of modern Jaipur sculpture, which is not very high. A man must however be judged by his best work, and Mali Ram's best work is worthy of real and enthusiastic praise. Of these works I illustrate three or four. Fig. 6, a marble plaque,



FIG. 3.—TARA.

carved in low relief, represents a Rajput Lady, copied for me from an old drawing of the Rajput school reproduced in my 'Indian



FIG. 4.—LEFT HAND OF TARA, FIG. 3.



FIG. 9.—HANUMAN—BY MALAICONNOO ACHARI.



FIG. 5.—MALI RAM, SCULPTOR, JAIPUR.

Drawings,' (Plate xv). The sculpture shows perfect understanding of the draughtsman's intention and is exquisite and well nigh perfect in its qualities of grace and tenderness, and in fine but yet not over-elaborate, finish. Only great technical skill

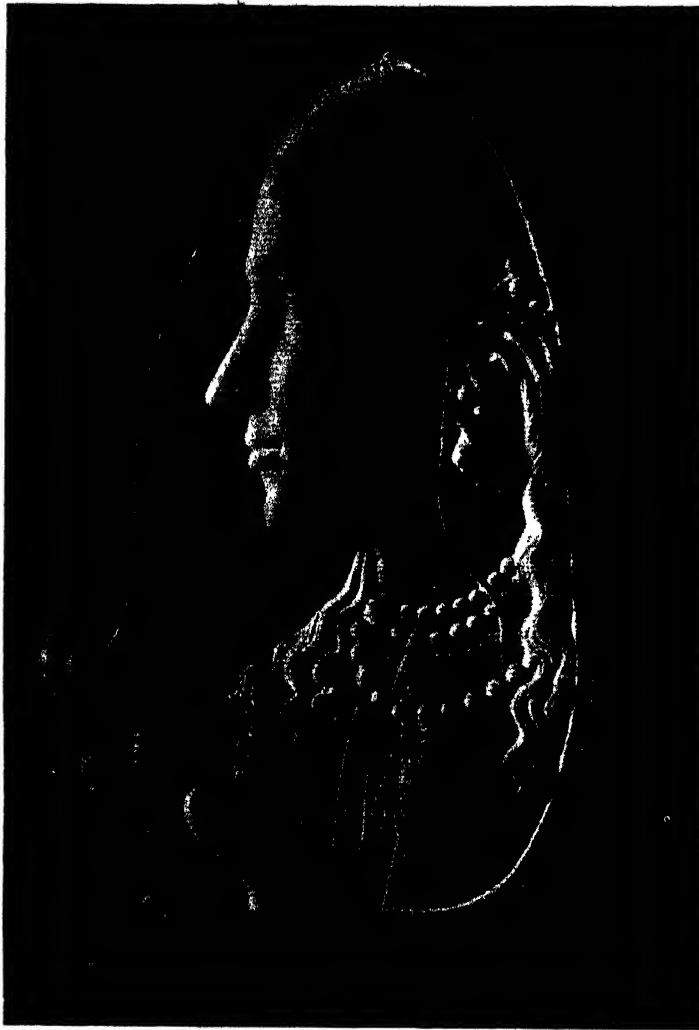


FIG. 6.—RAJPUT LADY—BY MALI RAM.

and real artistic understanding can produce such results as this. Less exquisite, but conscientious and accomplished is the Trimurti, copied from Elephanta (Fig. 7). Another phase of Mali Ram's work is illustrated by the kneeling camel (Fig. 8). Mali Ram is also a very excellent engraver of seals and dies, and, were it allowable, could well design a coinage more distinguished than that now in use. Mali Ram, and artists like himself, now need, more than anything else, sympathetic and *critical* patronage: if there is to be any future for Indian art, it can only be if serious important work is entrusted to Indian artists, by men who are in a position to

know whether or not the artist is really giving the best that is in him, or not. Patronage of this sort was at one time the rule at Indian courts: it is now not merely the exception, but practically an unknown thing, to so low a level has the education and aesthetic perception of our princes and aristocracy descended.

From two other districts in India there comes modern work of fine quality. The Hanuman (Fig. 9), by Malaiconnoo Achari, of Madras, shows great vitality and a characteristically Indian rendering of movement. From Pegu and Dabain in Burma there has been sent by the Provincial Art Officer, a series of statuettes in silver and copper, many of which attain a high level of excellence in design and execution. I illustrate here a copper Kinnara, (Fig. 10) by Maung San Pe of Pegu which is characteristically Burmese in feeling and full of vitality and grace, and of the most excellent and accomplished workmanship.

So much for living traditional art. One other group of sculptures must be briefly

mentioned, these are the copper plaques illustrating the Dance of Destruction, and three Krishna subjects, reproduced from originals designed by Nand Lal Bose and executed by Hiranmoy Chaudhuri. These are well known and need no detailed description.

Finally, there is a portrait bust, a 'self-sculptured' portrait of the sculptor himself, by Durga Prasad Ji of Lucknow, which deserves mention because of its really conscientious and devoted workmanship; but it lacks entirely in imaginative qualities, and the artistic ideal it represents is merely photographic.

Such then are the examples of modern

sculpture which can be gathered together in the rather unsympathetic environment of an Industrial Exhibition. I think they are sufficient to prove, that sculpture, like architecture, is still a living art in India, and that it is not really artists, but men to understand them, that India lacks. It is only in response to a serious demand that artists can produce the best that is in them: it needs the occasion to call forth the visible manifestation of a sleeping heroism. A public which is satisfied with prettiness, sentimentality and in-



FIG. 7.—TRIMURTI—BY MALI RAM.

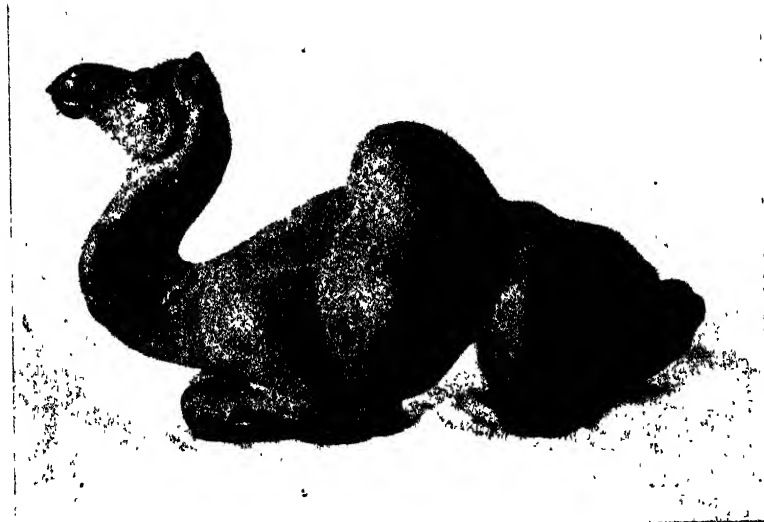


FIG. 8.—CAMEL—BY MALI RAM.

sincerity in art, which looks upon plastic art as a species of drawing room furniture and music as an accompaniment to conversation, cannot rouse that heroic temper in the artist which alone enables him to put aside himself and truly serve his fellowmen: failing this, he becomes too often nothing but the instrument of their amusement. I believe there are many men called educated who consider the time devoted in reverence to the admiration (*lit.* wondering at) of a

picture or a song is waste of time. Not till this attitude becomes impossible, can we with any reason expect the art of any country to be truly great. And yet the material is there, it is around and about everyone of us: it is we and we alone and individually who by our own lives and our own outlook upon life, are destroying that great loveliness of life that was ours so little while ago. There is no more tragic knowledge than this, the certainty that we shall not know what we have lost, till it is lost for ever. Beauty is still revered by some men, and in some countries. Some men make pilgrimages from the West to see it here, whether in Benares on the ghats, amongst the peasant women in the fields, in the ruins of our architecture, or the still surviving devotion of our craftsmen. Only amongst the progressive and the educated do they fail to find the beauty that they



FIG. 10.—KINNARA—BY MAUNG SAN PE.

seek: for we, more than all other men to-day are indifferent to beauty, and indifferent to our indifference. What is the meaning of this and what may the end of it be?

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

In the nine heavens are eight Paradises:
Where is the ninth one? In the human breast.
Only the blessed dwell in Paradises;
But blessedness dwells in the human breast.
Created creatures are in the Paradises;
The uncreated Maker in the breast.

Rather, O man! want those eight Paradises
Than be without the ninth one in thy breast.
Given to thee are those eight Paradises
When thou, the ninth one hast within thy breast.
FROM THE ARABIC,
Translated by W. R. Alger.

REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF OLD AGE

IT is very common to regard old age as necessarily an inactive and unproductive period in life. This is a mistake. The truth is, some of the very best work of the world has been done and is being done by men and women far along in years. I take away from history the great achievements of persons above sixty, or seventy, or even eighty, and the world would suffer an irreparable loss. Writes Longfellow, in his *Morituri Salutamus*, a poem composed in his own old age :—

"Cato learned Greek at eighty ; Sophocles
Wrote his grand Aedipus, and Simonides
Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers
When each had numbered more than four score years.
And Theophrastus at four score and ten,
Had but begun his Characters of Men ;
Chaucer, at Woodstock, with the nightingales,
At sixty wrote his Canterbury Tales ;
Goethe, at Wiemar, toiling to the last,
Completed Faust when eighty years were passed."

This is scarcely a beginning of the long and splendid list of achievements of men far on in life.

The artistic and literary genius of Michael Angelo was little if at all dimmed at the age of eighty-three, as is shown by the exquisite sonnets, the fine architectural drawings and the noble models for sculpture produced by him at that advanced age.

Linnæus was still a devoted botanist at seventy-seven, and exclaimed, "I am happier in my work than the king of Persia!" Humboldt kept young to ninety in scientific studies and publishing the results of his scientific investigations.

Gladstone was holding the office of Prime Minister of Great Britain at eighty-three, and fighting one of the most strenuous political battles of his life, that over Irish Home Rule ; and at eighty-seven he was addressing great meetings all up and down England to arouse public sentiment in favor of the suffering Armenians.

At seventy-five Disraeli was Prime Minister, and full of the cares of empire ; and at

the same time he was writing another of his remarkable novels.

Somebody once asked Lord Palmerston, "When is a man in his prime?" The great Premier replied, "At about seventy-nine ; I am past my prime, I am just eighty."

Von Moltke was Commander in Chief of the German army, and planned the great campaign against France which ended in Sedan, when he was over seventy.

In the war carried on by the British against the Boers in South Africa (1899—1902) when younger generals had failed again and again, and the situation was getting critical in the extreme, General Roberts, nearly seventy, was put in command, with the result that very soon he straightened out the tangles, averted the threatened calamities, and led the British army to victory.

Pope Leo XIII carried responsibilities as heavy as those of any king or emperor or president of a great nation, and yet he discharged them with remarkable ability and vigour until far beyond ninety.

Sir Moses Montefiore, the distinguished Jewish philanthropist, carried on his works of beneficence almost to the time of his death at the great age of one hundred and one, and made the last of his seven notable journeys to the Orient in the interest of the Jewish people when he was nearly ninety.

James Martineau continued his literary productivity until beyond ninety, and gave to the world his three greatest books after he was eighty.

Victor Hugo continued to write with wonderful freshness and power on almost to the time of his death at eighty-three, and declared at the last, "I have not yet given expression to a hundredth part of what is in me."

Tennyson gave to the world his exquisite "Crossing The Bar" at eighty.

Browning wrote his "Reverie" and his "Epilogue to Asolando," two of his very finest short poems, only shortly before his

death at seventy-seven. Mrs. Sutherland Orr, in her life of Browning, tells us that the poet took up the study of Hebrew and Spanish after he was seventy.

Whittier and Oliver Wendell Holmes both kept their singing gifts little if at all impaired to the age of eighty-five.

William Cullen Bryant retained his vigor as a writer and his great activity in public service, to the end of his long life. No important public occasion was complete without his presence and his word. When he died he was probably the most honored and the most conspicuous citizen of New York. Indeed his death was occasioned by a sunstroke received while making a public address at the unveiling of a statue in Central Park at the age of eighty-four.

John Adams was inaugurated President of the United States at sixty-two, Andrew Jackson at the same age, Buchanan at sixty-six and General Harrison at sixty-eight. Marshall served as Chief Justice of the United States until he was eighty-five, and Taney until he was eighty-seven.

At eighty John Quincy Adams, "the old man eloquent", was the conscience of the United States House of Representatives and by far its most conspicuous and commanding character.

At seventy-eight George F. Hoar was the greatest intellectual and moral force in the United States Senate.

At eighty-five and beyond, Edward Everett Hale was Chaplain of the United States Senate, was a writer with a pen prolific and powerful beyond almost any other in the nation, and was a leader in nearly every great movement for reform, and for educational, social and religious progress in the country.

Robert Collyer, the famous blacksmith preacher of Chicago and New York, was an active pastor until far beyond eighty, with brain as clear and heart as warm as in youth, and eagerly sought for as a speaker on all kinds of important public occasions near and far.

Dr. James B. Angell continued to fill the arduous and responsible position of President of the great University of Michigan, with its more than four thousand students, until his eightieth year, the Board of Regents of the University having refused to accept his resignation earlier.

Until beyond the age of eighty-five Dr. Goldwin Smith of Toronto continued to be one of the most active writers and public men in Canada, as he was the most distinguished and influential.

General William Booth, the head of the Salvation Army, until beyond eighty, continued to tour about the world with as much spirit, and to push forward the work of the Army in all lands with as much energy, as at fifty.

Nor are achievements in advanced age confined to men. Women have their full part. Queen Victoria carried the heavy responsibilities of her high position until the age of eighty-two.

Mary Somerville published her able and valuable work on Molecular and Microscopical Science at the age of eighty-nine.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe of Boston continued up to ninety, with hardly any abatement, her keen interest in the progress of the world and her great literary and philanthropic activity. Writing of her at that advanced age, Florence Painter said in Putnam's magazine,—

"Mrs. Howe is to-day President of the New England Women's Club, as she has been for thirty-three years; she is also president of the Boston Authors' Club; she is president *emerita* of the Circolo Italiano, and of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; she is vice president *emerita* of the National Federation of Women's Clubs; and she continues to be an interested member of the Papeterie of Newport, the Wintergreen Club, and other organizations. Within the past year she has attended and spoken at hearings on Woman's Suffrage at the Massachusetts State House. In a single week she has given three public addresses on technical matters and to bodies of experts, one before the Religious Education Association, another in the Italian language before the Circolo Italiano."

What a record is this for a woman of four-score and ten!

In the face of such examples as all these,—and scores and hundreds of others might be cited,—how shallow seems the thought that at seventy or sixty life's work is necessarily over, and that the period beyond is only a time for inactivity, gloom, and living upon the achievements and memories of the past!

Age is largely a matter of psychology. We are old as soon as we think we are, and no sooner.

Age is a relative term. The point in life at which people begin to regard them-

selves old is largely a matter of custom. If a foolish custom fixes the time of the coming on of old age as at seventy or sixty or even fifty, the majority of people are likely, simply because others do so, weakly and foolishly to consent, creep into a corner and regard their active years as over. Thus one third of life, and what should be the best third, is lost. We want a new psychology which will make men and women everywhere think of old age as beginning at least twenty or thirty years later than they have been imagining.

Within two or three generations the average length of life in civilized lands has increased more than ten years, and is now above forty years. This is only a beginning of what should be before us. Careful students and great scientific authorities are insisting that the average of life ought to rise to fifty or sixty years, if not considerably more, and that we ought to see as many persons living to be ninety and a hundred years old as we now see living to be seventy and eighty. Professor Metchnikoff tells us that we should live to the age of one hundred and forty; that not one man in a million now completes his normal life period; that by simple and natural living and by obedience to the laws of physical and mental health our lives may be not only enormously prolonged but prolonged in vigor and under conditions ensuring happiness and productivity; and that a man who dies at seventy is cut off in the very flower of his days.

The idea that age is necessarily a time of unhappiness or a time to be dreaded, should be put resolutely out of our thought.

Dr. Channing, being asked what he considered the happiest time in life, replied, "About sixty." He had just passed his sixtieth birthday.

Professor John Torrey, one of the most distinguished botanists of the United States, who lived to old age, a little while before his death was returning from Florida where he had been for his health, when he was rallied for having gone to seek Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth. "No," he replied, "I have not been seeking the Fountain of Youth; but the Fountain of Old Age. For the longer I live the more I find myself enjoying life."

When Dr. Dwight resigned the Presi-

dency of Yale University in the year 1899, at the age of seventy, he gave utterance to these words:—

"I lay down my office not because I am old. Seventy is not old; but it is the end of the summer term, and vacation time has come. My theory of life has been this: I believe life was made as much for one period as another, childhood, prime, and later life and every man should prepare himself for the late afternoon hour, so that he may grow happier to the last. I look forward to coming years of greater happiness than I have ever known."

A lady in advanced life recently said of herself:—

"Although more than eighty-three years of age, I can truthfully say that I am very happy. It is true that I have lost many of those dearest to me; but they are waiting for me in another world. I can still read the works of great writers. I find my French and my Latin as easy as in my early years. I employ my needle to some extent in useful work. I was never more keenly alive to the beauties of nature, and the charms of the changing seasons. It is delightful to receive the loving attentions of my children and my friends. I watch the development of my grandchildren with intense gratification. I constantly strive to maintain my interest in those around me, and in the affairs of the great world outside. To one who does this, and whose religion is not a mere name, but a vital reality, old age may be the crowning happiness of life.

Emerson met old age as cheerfully and happily as he had met his earlier years, seeing in it something just as good. When nearing the end we hear him chant:—

"A little while
Still plan and smile.
As the bird trims her to the gale,
I trim myself to the storms of time;
I man the rudder, reef the sail,
Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime
Lowly faithful, banish fear,
Right onward drive unharmed;
The port, well worth the cruise, is near,
And every wave is charmed."

Said Mrs. Howe when far past eighty: "The deeper I drink of the cup of life, the sweeter it grows." At ninety-one she said: "My health is perfect. I feel full of youth." She spent a part of the morning of her ninety-first birthday reading Greek, and a part pleading before the Boston commission for pure milk for babies. Her daughter, Mrs. Richards, wrote of her: "In her heart is changeless spring."

Whittier wrote his last poem at the age of eighty-four, only a few weeks before his death. It was addressed to his life-long friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was only two years his junior. In the poem we

find these lines, which picture well the old age of both men :—

"Far off, and faint as echoes of a dream,
The songs of boyhood seem,
Yet on our autumn boughs, unflown with spring,
The evening thrushes sing."

The lesson which we all need to learn is, that old age is largely what we make it. Even when it is darkened by illness and pain, the probability is that in a majority of cases these have been brought on to a greater or less degree, by the sufferer's own conduct—by his own violations of the laws of life and health. A happy old age is not an accident. Seldom is an unhappy old age an accident. The law is, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap,"—in this world as truly as in the next. Even illness and pain cannot prevent a large measure of happiness in old age if the conditions of the soul have been kept right. Some of the sunniest and serenest lives are those into which great bodily suffering has come.

The growing old process seems to be something which God has designed should appertain mainly if not wholly to the body, and only to a very limited extent if at all to the soul. Of course my body must in time become worn out,—it was only designed for a limited amount of service. When that service has been rendered I shall lay it aside as a garment no longer required. But my body is not my Self.

Emerson on the seventy-seventh anniversary of his birth received a letter from Professor Max Muller of Oxford, the English translator of many of the Sacred Books of the East, bringing birthday greetings and containing a striking passage from an old Upanishad of India recently discovered. The passage was as follows :—

"Old age and decay lay hold of the body, the senses, the memory, the mind, but never of the Self, the Looker-on. The Self never grows tired :—only the body grows tired of supporting the Self. The Self never grows blind :—only the windows of the senses become darkened with dust and rain. The Self never forgets :—only the inscriptions on the memory fade, and it is well that much should be forgotten. The Self never errs. The many wheels of our watches grow rusty, but we look up at the eternal dial in the heavens above which remains right forever."

Wrote grand old Dr. Guthrie, of Scotland :—

"Men say I am growing old, because my hair is silvered, and there are crow-feet upon my forehead,

and my step is not so firm as it used to be. But they are mistaken. That is not me. The brow is wrinkled ; but the brow is not me. This is only the house in which I live. I am young, younger now than I ever was before."

Some of the youngest people in soul are men and women whose hair is white with the snows of many winters. But there is eternal summer in their hearts. We have all seen people grow younger in spirit as they grew older in years. Would it not be so always if people were living rightly ?

Writes Philip Gilbert Hammerton :—

"There are lives, such as that of Major Pendennis, which only diminish in value as they advance,—when the man of fashion is no longer fashionable, and the sportsman can no longer stride over the plowed field. The old age of Major Pendennis is surely not to be envied ; but how rich is the old age of the Humboldts ! . . . I compare the life of the Intellectual to a long wedge of gold,—the thin edge of it begins at birth, and the depth and value of it go on indefinitely increasing till at last comes death—which stops the auriferous processes. O the mystery of the nameless ones who have died when the wedge was thin and looked so poor and light ! O the happiness of the old men whose thoughts go deeper and deeper like a wall that runs out into the sea !"

Swedenborg tells us that the angels in heaven grow younger instead of older.

It is more than a mere pleasantry when we say, as we sometimes do, of a man who has grown old in years but whose spirit has defied age : "He is sixty or seventy or eighty years *young*."

Sometimes we pity the old because the years remaining to them are few. But if they have lived their lives well, serving their generation and keeping their souls undaunted, why should we pity them ? Rather let us congratulate them that they have attained ; that they have completed their task ; gone through their full day ; rounded life's earthly circle ; made entire what otherwise would have been only a fragment. Surely Browning's view must be the true one, because he contemplates life as a whole ; sees God in it all, the last as well as the first ; and, better still, finds the last, the consummation and crown of the whole. How splendid and inspiring is his challenge :

"Grow old along with me !

The best is yet to be,

The last of life, for which the first was made :

Our times are in his hand

Who saith, 'A whole I planned,

Youth shows but half ; trust God :

See all, nor be afraid."

In a life lived as it ought to be, growing old may well be thought of as resembling the progress of a river. As the river advances toward the sea it ripples and dances less with laughter and song: it grows stiller and calmer; but it also grows wider and deeper; and it bears richer freight on its bosom.

Growing old ought to be like the climbing of a mountain. Every step takes us a

little higher; the air becomes purer; our view grows wider and wider, until at last our feet attain the summit—the mysterious but splendid

"mountain-top of death,
Where we shall draw diviner breath
And see the long-lost friends we love."

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

HARTFORD, CONN.,
U. S. A.

LORD DALHOUSIE IN INDIA*

THE achievements of Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General have long since taken their place in the history of Modern India; but for half a century the man himself has remained unknown. He died at the end of 1860, aged 40. By a codicil to his will, couched in solemn words, we are told, he forbade the publication of his private papers until fifty years after his death. The letters here published reveal his inner mind and a character that is certainly remarkable. They show him taking his own measure from the beginning frankly and unashamedly ambitious; resolved to reach the highest office and refusing to accept any lesser dignity that would be likely to interfere with the fulfilment of his purpose.

The letters cover the whole of Dalhousie's public life, from 1837, when he was elected member of Parliament for East Lothian. They are all addressed to the same correspondent, his oldest and closest friend, Sir George Couper, father of the Sir George Couper who was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces. Lord Dalhousie was a great aristocrat and autocrat, and he took care that everybody should know it. But, happily for us, the style of his private correspondence is familiar and direct, pleasantly sprinkled with slang, and much of it has a decided pungency. There is less discussion of policy, in the broad sense, than one might have

expected; but nobody would say that the letters are lacking either in personal interest or in valuable historical material. On the contrary, they are full of good things.

Lord Dalhousie was not quite thirty-six when, at the beginning of 1848, he took over the reins from Lord Hardinge, grandfather of the present Viceroy. With manifest relief he notes, in one of his earliest letters from Calcutta, the absence of Parliament as "a celestial fact." At once his masterful hand began to be felt in the work of government, and he introduced a method of direction which is described thus:—

Don't believe what you see in the papers as to the G.-G. insisting on seeing *every* paper, receiving *every* application, &c., &c. himself. I am not such a fool. But I caused every officer to pass all his work before me, until I saw what the whole really *was*, and could judge what could be passed without my inspection. Nothing comes to me now until ripe for decision; the mere working up the case I throw on the officer, holding the Secretaries responsible for its being done effectively and without delay. It is brought up when ready, decided, the order issues, and no order issues without my sanction.

An excellent example, it may be said, of the right kind of departmentalism. There were few clouds on the Indian horizon. Everybody apparently was expecting a period of peace. Yet a few months after the Governor-General took over charge, the Government was involved in the second Sikh War, the last conflict waged by the masters of modern India against an Indian power. The impression left by the letters as a whole is certainly not that Dalhousie was ever greatly averse from a warlike

* *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*
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William Blackwood and Sons, 1910.

policy, and at this early stage the use of a characteristic colloquialism gave a taste of his quality and in some quarter provoked censure. If the Sikhs wanted war, he said "war they shall have and with a vengeance." Shortly afterwards he finds it necessary to explain this outburst —

Touching 'war they shall have and with a vengeance,' Prince Edward probably did not understand that the three last words are an idiomatic phrase, which do not mean revenge, but merely express a superlative degree. If I had known that what I said at a supper after a ball would be reported and commented on as a State phrase, I would not have spoken, and it will be a lesson to me.

With this war began Lord Dalhousie's troubles with successive Commanders-in-Chief. He could hardly contain his impatience with Lord Gough, especially after the calamitous battle of Chillianwallah; his protracted quarrel with Sir Charles Napier is matter of history, and he never seems to have been particularly happy with any military officer in high command. A great deal too much space is taken up in this volume with the Napier affair, and one gets heartily tired of it long before the end. It is made plain in a hundred ways that Dalhousie was a terrifying Lat Sahib, but in this matter of Napier at all events he began with a strong wish to establish amicable relations. On May 18, 1849, he writes :—

Sir C. N. is on his way up the country. I do not fear our getting on. He shall have full authority, aid, and confidence in his own functions; he shall not stir a hair's-breadth beyond them if he does it designedly. I think I shall not show want of temper in the management of him. Did you ever know me lose temper in public? In private I have as much pepper, mustard, and vinegar and all other hot and sour ingredients in me as you may choose to allege; but from December 1834 to this present May 1849, did you ever see me lose my temper in *public affairs*? I think not.

The "Sahib Bahadur" comes out over and over again, and just as much against men of great character and standing as against the mediocrities. For example, in 1849 :—

My new Resident, Sir H. Lawrence, took charge three days ago from Sir F. Currie, and commenced his career by proposing a Proclamation which I have forbidden and shaken him for it. It began by saying that he was anxious it should be generally known that he had returned to Lahore, desirous of bringing peace to the Punjab, and then promising all sorts of things. I told him this sort of thing would not do at all; that I had great confidence in him, but that I could not permit him to substitute himself for the Government, whose servant he was.

A little later we find him recording that Lawrence "began to try the stormy tone." "I tipped him", the Governor-General writes, "a little of the 'grand seigneur' and the storm sank into a whisper in a second". Dalhousie thought higher of the Lawrences, but he was not at all pleased when they were given in England all the credit for the settlement of the Punjab. What they did he implies was merely to carry into effect the policy determined upon by the Governor-General.

The letters on the whole go to support the accepted opinion as to the greatness of Dalhousie, but on the other hand, they do little or nothing to modify the view that the policy of annexation which he adopted from the outset was charged with peril to the British power. He writes, eight months after his arrival,

You will laugh, doubtless, as I often do myself, to think of the Laird o' Cockpen sitting here and bowling about kings and kingdoms as if they were curling stones; but although one does laugh, it is anxious work I can tell you.

He got used to it, however, and was generally ready to take on more of the same kind of activity. The end of the kingdom of Oude is foreshadowed in 1853 :—

In India we are all quiet and everything going prosperously enough. The King of Oude seems disposed to be bumptious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction.

The annexation, as the reader will remember, was the Governor-General's last important act: how important it was, he probably never realised. In this connection it is worth noting that he was no less willing to try conclusions with other enemies beyond the boundaries of India. See, for example, a letter written in 1854, the year of the Crimea :—

The Russians are *said* to be moving on Khiva, but I cannot tell how this is. But for the bother of it, and interrupting the payment of debt, I don't care if they do. They would get a precious thrashing, and it would wind up my time very well.

Time 2nd again there are laments over the imperfection of the instruments by means of which the work of fighting or administration has to be done. "Oh, for generals!" he cries, during his troubles with Lord Gough. "The troops—European and native—will do anything, go anywhere, but Oh for the sword to lead them." Four years later comes a not dissimilar cry :—

The General at Peshwar goes home—his Brigadier likewise. These men are respectively of fifty and

forty-eight years' service! These are the tools with which I am expected to work a frontier requiring, above all things, vigour of body as well as of mind.

But it is not only elderhood of which the Governor-General complains. He is still more disheartened by the temper prevailing among his officers.

Here are some bitter complaints which escaped him during the Burma War of 1853:—

I am daily disgusted with the unsoldierly spirit which shows itself among them. Beginning with the two general officers, everybody is eager to get away—relief, leaves, sick certificates, anything will do, so that they may but get away from an unpleasant station and back to the provinces. In short, I am sick of them and sick of my life.

Ever since 1848, I have noted with deep disgust the spirit of croaking, which is the characteristic of this army and this whole society. Everywhere and at all times disaster is apprehended. Always the British Government is looked upon as the probable loser whatever the enemy and whatever our own power. It is deeply, deeply, ten thousand fathoms deeply, disgusting to me.

How we ever came to win India if this was always so, or when the change occurred if it was not always so, and whence it arose, I cannot tell. In the meantime it is infinitely mischievous.

He finds it necessary to contradict certain obstinate rumours as to his notions and habits:—

I am *said* to be fond of show and parade, 'silver howdahs and so forth,' at the expense of the Company. A more malignant lie was never voided. From the hour I landed I have husbanded the Company's money as I never did my own at the poorest. Though the Government houses at Calcutta and Barrackpore are furnished as no servant of the Company at the Presidency would endure his own, and though urged, I may say, by the whole community to render them fitting the residences of the head of the Government, I have refused to this moment to do so. I do not believe that in nearly four years I have expended 20,000 Rs. on all the appurtenances of furniture, &c., which are allowed me.

Some time before this we come upon the note of disillusion and misery. Dalhousie's health was destroyed; he detested India, and the feeling grew with every year. Occasionally the note is wholly personal, as in the following passages:—

You know very well that I hated the prospect of coming here: nothing but poverty and the sense of its being my duty to serve the country when urged to do so ever could have persuaded me to come. I was broken down in health when I started and had no business to come. I landed in Calcutta an invalid, almost a cripple. During all 1848 I was never one hour free from pain, and often attacked by the illnesses of India.

Moreover, I am alone! How can a Governor-General ever have a friend? You may be easy and companionable with the few you choose to select—but there you are—the Lord Sahib Bahadur always—the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king set up. I don't deny, therefore, that I detest the country and many of the people in it. I don't proclaim it; but I don't doubt that my face does not conceal it from those I have to deal with.

More often his bewailings are concerned with the attitude of the Court of Directors or the criticism to which he is subjected in the English Press:—

I am disgusted with this service, or rather with those under whom I serve, and with the prospect of being censured for having had the courage to do an act, which is a wholesome one, and an honourable one, and is daily proving itself to be both.

It is a thankless task to serve the public, as every man that ever served it, wherever he served it, has had occasion to say before me.

And again when (in 1852) there is talk of his returning to the world of English politics:

I have turned over the upper edge of the world now, and have no future to trust to; wherefore, I should perforce keep myself within those bounds. I am sick of public affairs, and especially of public men on all sides, and really am inclined to regard the career of a modern English statesman as an ungentlemanlike occupation, and therefore I have no temptation to engage in it again.

This same note is heard over and over until the Governor-General's last hour in India. He had ruled the country for eight years, ruled with a high aim if in a thoroughly despotic fashion. He left Calcutta on March 6th, 1856, and the final scenes were too much for him:—

To-day at the Government House, and on the ghāt where I embarked, there was silence like a funeral chamber. Half could not speak. I myself have been made wretched by such partings. Every bone in my body is now aching like a rack, and poor Sue (his daughter) has nearly cried her little heart out. Some time ago I could not have believed it possible that I should myself feel or be the subject of such sorrow. I say all this to you, though I would not say it to any other man. Some eye-witness alone can tell you what it has been for the last month."

Painful as these experiences were, they were none the less honourable; but the home authorities saw to it that their masterful servant should not be unduly puffed up at the moment of departure. Lord Dalhousie expresses himself as "deeply and justly dissatisfied" that the Government should have sent him a Holyhead ferry-boat to take him back "from an eight years' Government of the Indian Empire"; and in

a letter from Malta he adds a last grumble :—

The *Caradoc* has proved to be worse even than I expected. She is very small—600 tons—very violent, excessively wet, and so utterly comfortless from these causes, and so unfitted for the purpose for which she was allotted, that I have just cause to resent the want of consideration which H.M. Government have shown to me in sending such a cockboat to bring me home from the Government of the Indian Empire.

Moreover, he left India "without receiving one word of thanks or civility from the Court of Directors or from H. M. Government"; but with one high personage he had no fault to find :—

Honoured I have been in India and rewarded—highly, richly; but by my sovereign, not by the East India Company. To them I owe nothing—not even courtesy.

So it ended, the most momentous of British Governor-Generalships in India, since it led directly to the upheaval of 1857

and the transfer of the Company's power to the Crown. I have left untouched a great many interesting things of which mention is made in the letters. One of these may be noticed in conclusion, since it has reference to a theory lately revived and discussed in England. Writing, in 1849, of the arrest of a hundred Brahmins at Attaree, Lord Dalhousie said :—

They will of course plead religious observances. But this is a futile plea here. In the first place, no religious observances require such an assemblage. In the next place, these Brahmins are notorious as the intriguers through whom every political machination is carried on in India.

This is illuminating. It shows that the theory so seriously and elaborately set forth by Mr. Valentine Chirol is a tradition of quite respectable antiquity in the Secretariat.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

FA-HIAN

AMONGST Indian historical documents, there is none more fascinating than the books of their travels written by the early Chinese pilgrims. Of these, the two now best known to us, are those of Fa-Hian, who came to India about 400 A.D. and Hiouen-Tsang, about 640 A.D. Hiouen-Tsang, owing partly to the accident that his life was afterwards written by his disciples, appears to us as a personality, as the head and master of a large religious following, as a saint as well as a scholar, a monk as well as a traveller. But Fa Hian is a lonelier, more impersonal figure. Monk and pilgrim as he was, it is rather the geographer that impresses us in him. Grave and sparing of words, he tells us little or nothing of himself. For all we know, he may have been the very first of the travellers who came to India on the task of Buddhistic research. From the surprise with which he is everywhere received and the complimentary exclamations that he records, it would appear indeed as if this had been so. On the other hand, from the quietness with which

he comes and goes, from his silence about royal favours, and his own freedom from self-consciousness, it would seem as if the sight of Chinese visitors had not been rare, in the India of that period, though the errand on which he and his party had come, might single them out for some special degree of reverence and interrogation. "How great must be the devotion of these priests," said the people, in the Panjab, "that they should have come thus, to learn the law, from the very extremity of the earth!" And yet frequent references to 'the Clergy of Reason' in Kosala and in the south, these Clergy of Reason having apparently been Taoist monks on pilgrimage, involve a curious contradiction in this matter. Hiouen-Tsang's is really a work of autobiography, but Fa-Hian's is rather the abstract of a statement made before some learned society, perhaps a University in the south of China, and countersigned by them.

In a certain year, with certain companions, Fa-Hian set out to make search in India for the Laws and Precepts of

Religion, "because he had been distressed in Chhang'an (Sian, in Shen-si, evidently his native province) to observe the Precepts and the Theological works on the point of being lost, and already disfigured by lacunae." Such are the quiet words with which the narrative commences. So colourless can be the phrases in which the passion of a life is stated. From that moment when "Fa-Hian set out" to that other day when "at the end of the summer rest, they went out to meet Fa-Hian the traveller," who had surmounted obstacles incredible, and borne difficulties innumerable, was to be fifteen long years!

His book consists of some forty short chapters, or paragraphs. Each one dealing, as a rule, with a separate province or country. Of it he himself says:—

"The present is a mere summary. Not having been heard by the Masters hitherto, he (Fa-Hian) casts not his eyes retrospectively on details. He crossed the sea, and hath returned, after having overcome every manner of fatigue, and has enjoyed the happiness of receiving many high and noble favours. He has been in dangers, and has escaped them. And now therefore he puts upon the bamboo what has happened to him, anxious to communicate to the wise, what he hath seen and heard."

We can hardly doubt that this is a form of superscription, offering his Paper on his Travels to the consideration of some organised body of scholars.

Those travels themselves had occupied fifteen years. From the leaving of his native province of Chhang'an, till his crossing of the Indus, "the river in the west", was a six years' journey. He spent six years in India itself, including two in Orissa, at Tamralipti. And finally reckoning apparently two years spent in Ceylon, he was three years on the voyage home. Each stage of the journey is described, from the time of leaving Chhang'an. The kingdoms which he has traversed, he says in closing, number at least thirty. But, though the provinces south and west of Khotan are called "India of the North", he scarcely seems to think that he has reached India proper, till he comes to Mathura. This he treats almost as if it were a capital. He seizes the moment of his arrival there, to give one of his gem-like pictures of the whole country and its civilisation. He describes the Government, the freedom with which men come and go, untroubled by passport regula-

tions, and the self-restraint with which justice is administered, and the criminal punished. We must remember that these were the times of Vikramaditya, said to have been "of Ujjain." Was Ujjain, perhaps the name of all Western India, and Mathura its metropolis? Compared with Mathura Pataliputra appears relatively unimportant. It was older, grayer perhaps, and more imposing. It had been "the capital of Asoka". Its palaces were still marvellous. Ecclesiastically, too, it was strong as well as noted. Royal delegates were posted there from each of the provinces. But commercially and perhaps even politically also, we feel that the centre of power in India was, at the time of Fa-Hian's visit, at Mathura. From this, he makes his way, by Samkassa and Kanauj, into the heart of Buddha's own country—Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Kusinagara, and so on, down to Ganga, a chain of sites that by the painstaking labours of so many archaeologists have now been in great measure recovered. From Ganga, he returns to Pataliputra, and thence makes his way to Benares and Kausambi. Again making Pataliputra his headquarters, he seems to have spent three years in the Buddha-country, learning Sanskrit and copying manuscripts. And finally, he sailed down the Ganges, through the Kingdom of Champa, and came to Tamluk, or Tamralipti, where he stayed two years, copying books and painting images. When he left Tamralipti, in large ships, for the South-west, he appears to have reckoned himself, though he was yet to spend two years in Ceylon, as already on the return journey.

The journey, as he describes it, constitutes an abstract of all that concerns Buddhism, and quietly ignores everything else in the country. "Brahmins and heretics" is Fa-Hian's comprehensive term for Hinduism in all its non-Buddhistic phases! Yet we are able to gather a great deal nevertheless, about the state of the country, from his pages. In the first place we learn—as we do with still greater emphasis, later, from Hiouen-Tsang—that to a learned Chinese, who had made an exhaustive study of Buddhism in Gandhara, and the kingdoms of the north-west frontier, India Proper, or 'India of the Middle', as he calls it, was still the country in which to seek for

original and authentic images. Traversing Gandhara, Swat, Darada, Udyana, Takshasila, Purushapura, and Nagara (probably Cabul), it was not in any of these, but in Tamralipti, that our traveller spent two years, copying books and *painting images*! Again, already, at the time of Fa-Hian's visit, the old city of Rajgir, he tells us, is "entirely desert and uninhabited." It follows that the carvings and statuary, in which to this day that site is rich, are to a great extent of a school of sculpture which had grown, flourished and decayed prior to 400 A.D. This, in itself, is a fact of immense importance. We constantly find in the Travels that sacred places are marked by "*chapels*, monasteries, and stupas." Now a chapel of Buddha is undoubtedly an image-house. Nor is Fa-Hian himself entirely without feeling for the historical aspect of that Buddhistic sculpture which is one of the chosen objects of his study. He speaks always as if images were common enough in Buddhism, but he tells us that "the first of all images of Buddha, and that which men in aftertimes have copied," was a certain bull's head carved in sandal wood, which was made by Prasenajit, King of Kosala, at the time when Buddha was in the Tusita Heaven, preaching to his mother. The difference between an image and an emblem does not seem here to be very clearly apprehended, but the statement shows once for all that men in the fourth and fifth centuries looked to the Eastern provinces, and to the country of Buddha's own activity, as the historic source of Buddhistic statuary. Again, when travelling in the kingdom of Tho-ly,—N. E. of the Indus, east of Afghanistan, and south of the Hindu Kush—or, as has been suggested, Darada of the Dards, he tells us that there was once an arhat in this kingdom, who sent a certain sculptor to the Tusita Heaven, to study the stature and features of Maitreya Bodhisattva. Three times the man went, and when he came down, he made an image, of heroic size, about eight English feet in height, which, on festival days, was wont to become luminous, and to which neighbouring kings rendered periodic worship. 'This image', adds the pilgrim, in the far-away tone of one who speaks on hearsay, 'still exists, in the same locality.' It was after

the making of this statue, he further tells us, that the Buddhist missionaries began to come, from the far side of the Indus, with their collections of the books, and of the Sacred Precepts; and the image was erected, three hundred years after the Mahanirvana. Here we learn a great deal. In the first place, when Buddhism crossed the Indus, three hundred years after the death of Buddha, it was already the religion of the Bodhisattvas. Obviously, there had been solitary saints, and perhaps even communities of monastics, without the books, before—or how should there have been an arhat to transport a sculptor three times to the Tusita Heaven?—but there was a sudden accession of Buddhistic culture, at a date three hundred years after the death of the Master, and this culture was Mahayanist in character. Thus the Mahayana doctrine, with its fully-equipped pantheon, its images, and its collections of books, to be declared canonical under Kanishka, purported to come, like the Hinayana, from India Proper, or, as Fa-Hian calls it, *Madhyadesa*. Magadha, Kosala, and Vaisali, then, may claim the honour of having initiated Buddhistic art, as fully and truly as Buddhistic thought.

Further, it is clear that in Magadha itself, the great ages of sculpture were felt to be already past. Talking of Pataliputra, which had been the capital of Asoka, "the palaces in the town have walls," says our traveller, "of which the stones were put together by genii. The sculptures and the carved work which adorn the windows, are such as cannot be equalled in the present age. *They still exist.*" We, who have seen the work done under Mogul emperors in marble, and the pierced sandstones of modern Benares, might not, had we seen them also, have been so ready as Fa-Hian to attribute a supernatural origin to the windows of the Asokan palaces. But the fact remains that an unimpeccable witness has assured us of the witness and beauty of such work, in Magadha, with the reputation of being ancient, in the year 400 A.D. odd.

The great difficulty in the path of Fa-Hian was the scarcity of written documents. Everywhere he enquired for books, he tells us, but everywhere he found that the precepts were handed down by memory, from

master to disciple each book having its given professor. At last, in the great temple of Victory, in the Buddha-country, he found what he wanted, and there he stayed three years to copy. This is a most important light on many questions, besides that with which it deals. It accounts, as nothing else could have done, for the tenacity with which the pure doctrine of Buddhism seems to have been held for so many centuries. The concentration of energy necessary, for the carrying out of such a task, as the memorising of a vast literature, explains the gravity and decorum of the Orders, so long maintained. "The decency, the gravity, the piety of the clergy," meaning the Buddhist monks, Fa-Hian takes several occasions to say, "are admirable. They cannot be described." It explains the tendency of Buddhistic monasteries to become universities. It explains the synthetic tendencies of the faith, which in the time of Kanishka could already include eighteen schools of doctrine declared to be mutually compatible, and not defiant. It also explains, turning to another subject altogether, why the first written version of the old Puranas should always so evidently be an edited version of an ancient original. It visualises for us the change from Pali to Sanskrit and it justifies the sparseness of written archives in matters of Indian history. These were evidently memorised. On this point, indeed, Fa-Hian constantly tells us that kings granting lands to the Buddhistic orders, engrave their deeds on iron, and we can only feel that as long as this was so, their non-survival is not to be wondered at. It must have been at a comparatively later period that brass and copper came to be used, for a similar purpose, with the desired effect of permanence. Curiously enough in Tamralipti, there is no mention of difficulty regarding manuscripts. Nor again in Ceylon. In the last-named kingdom, we know that the writing down had begun, at least two or three centuries before the visit of Fa-Hian, and he would seem to have benefited by this fact. We gather, then, that as Magadha and Kosala were the source of Buddhistic doctrine, in its different phases, and the source of successive waves of Buddhistic symbolism, so also they were the first region to feel the impulse of

a literary instead of a verbal transmission of the canonical scriptures.

The difference between 'India of the North',—or the Gandharan provinces beyond the Indus,—and India Proper, in all matters of learning and the faith, comes out very prominently, in the pages of Fa-Hian, and ought to refute sufficiently all who imagine Gandhara as possessed of a culture in any way primary and impulsive, instead of entirely derivative and passive.

As if forecasting our need on this very point, the pilgrim particularly notes that on reaching India Proper (and apparently, in the great temple of Chhi'honan, or Victory, in Kosala) his last remaining companion, Tao-chhing, when he "beheld the law of the Shaneen, and all the Clergy grave, decorous, and conducting themselves in a manner greatly to be admired, reflected, with a sigh, that the inhabitants of the frontiers of the kingdom of Thsin (China) were deficient in the Precepts and transgressed their duties; and said that if hereafter he could become Buddha, he wished that he might not be reborn, in the country of the frontiers; on this account, he remained, and returned not. Fa-Hian, whose first desire was that the precepts should be diffused and should penetrate into the land of Han returned therefore alone."

About this same 'India of the North' we have still more detail. The pre-Buddhistic Buddhism, which undoubtedly existed, and was represented in Buddha's own day, by his cousin Devadatta, was much more living in the Gandharan Provinces, at the time of Fa-Hian's journey, than in India Proper. Also the Jataka Birth Stories had become the romance of these provinces, and there were stupas there to the almsgiving of the eyes, and of the head, to the giving of his own flesh by the Bodhisattva, to redeem a dove, and to the making himself a meal for the starving tigress. We cannot help distinguishing between those countries whose Buddhism was Hinayana and those in which it was Mahayana, as more or less anciently the goal of Buddhist Missions. And we note that Udyana, whose name seems to indicate that it had been a royal residence, perhaps the home-county, as it were, of the Kushan dynasty, was entirely Mahayana, and is mentioned under the name of Ujjana, as one of the northern

tirthas, in the Mahabharata! It would appear, indeed, that when the Himawant began to be parcelled out into a series of Mahabharata stations, sometime under the later Guptas, the undertaking was in direct and conscious succession to an earlier appropriation of the regions further west, as stations of the Jatakas, or Birth stories of Buddha. We ought not, in the attempt to follow up some of the thousand and one threads of interest that our traveller leaves for us, to forget the one or two glimpses of himself that he vouchsafes us. Never can one who has read it, forget the story of his visit to the cave that he knew, on the hill of Gridhrakuta, where Buddha used to meditate, in Old Rajgir:

"Fa-Hian, having purchased in the new town perfumes, flowers, and oil lamps, hired two aged *bhikshus* to conduct him to the grotto and to the hill Kshich. Having made an oblation of the perfumes and the flowers, the lamps increased the brilliance. Grief and emotion affected him even to tears. He said: 'Formerly, in this very place was Buddha. Here he taught the Sheou-leng-yan:* Fa-Hian, unable to behold Buddha in life, has but witnessed the traces of his sojourn. Still, it is something to have recited the Sheou-leng-yan before the cave, and to have dwelt there one night!'"

But Fa-Hian, enthusiast as he was, and capable of supreme exertions, in the cause of the Faith and China, was not this alone. There was also, in that grave and modest nature, a chord that vibrated to the thought of home. "He longed ardently," he says, when he has already reached the South of China, "to see Chhang'an again, but that which he had at heart being a weighty matter, he halted, in the South, where the masters published the Sacred Books and the Precepts." Thus he excuses himself for a brief delay on the way back to his native province. But if he feels

* The things which are difficult to discriminate from one another.

thus, when he has already landed on Chinese shores, what must have been his longing, while still in foreign lands? In Ceylon, seated before the blue jasper image of Buddha, perhaps at Anuradhapura, he pauses to tell us:

"Many years had now elapsed, since Fa-Hian left the land of Han. The people with whom he mingled were men of foreign lands. The hills, the rivers, the plants, the trees, everything that had met his eyes, was strange to him. And what was more, those who had begun the journey with him, were now separated from him. Some had remained behind, and some had died. Ever reflecting on the past, his heart was thoughtful and dejected. Suddenly, while at the side of this jasper figure, he beheld a merchant, presenting in homage to it a fan of white lute-string, of the country of Tsin. Without any one perceiving it, this excited so great an emotion, that the tears flowed and filled his eyes."

Nor can we forget the simple and beautiful counter-signature which seems to have been affixed by the learned body to whom he presented it, to Fa-Hian's Written Summary of his Travels. After telling how they met Fa-Hian, and discoursed with him, interrogating him, and after telling how his words inspired trust, his good faith lent confidence to his recital, the scribe of the Chinese University, or Secretary to the Imperial Geographical Society, as it may have been, "the masters" as in any case, he calls them, ends thus:—

"They were touched with these words. They were touched to behold such a man they observed amongst themselves that a very few had indeed expatriated themselves for the sake of the Doctrine, but no one had ever forgotten Self, in quest of the law, as Fa-Hian had done. One must know the conviction which truth produces, otherwise one cannot partake of the zeal which produces earnestness. Without merit and without activity, nothing is achieved. On accomplishing aught, with merit and with activity, how shall one be abandoned to oblivion? To lose what is esteemed—to esteem what mankind forget—Oh!"

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

(From the Bengali of Ravindra Nath Tagore.)

INDIA'S History is the History of what people? On a day afar off the white Aryans entered India after overcoming all the stupendous barriers of nature and man; by pushing aside like a thick curtain

the dark wide forests which had spread over the face of this vast land from east to west, they opened the doors of a theatre, brightly lit up, open to the sky, rich with varied crops and plants. Their wisdom, their

power, their devotion that day laid the foundations of Indian history. But they could not say "India is ours only."

The Aryans merged in the non-Aryans. Even in the primitive age when the Aryan power was unimpaired, they used to marry non-Aryan Sudra women below their caste. Thereafter in the Buddhistic age this amalgamation became more unrestricted. When Buddhism declined and Hindu society set to repair its ring-fence and wished to raise a granite wall round itself, the country's condition was such that in many places no pure Brahman could be met with, in many places Brahmans had to be invited from other provinces, and in many others, as tradition records, the king's command invested men with the sacred thread and turned them into Brahmans. The purity of race on which the Aryans once prided themselves, has been defiled; the Aryans, by mixing with the Sudras, adopting many non-Aryan customs, creeds, gods and rites, and incorporating them into their society, have created a new society named *Hindu Society* which is not only different from but in many respects also antagonistic to *Vedic Society*.

Did Indian history come to a full stop at this point in the past? Did God allow her to say "The history of India is only the history of the Hindus"? In the India of the Hindus, when the Rajput princes displayed the suicidal pride of valour by mutual war and carnage, in that age the Muslims entered the land through that loophole of internal discord; the new-comers spread on all sides, and by living and dying here for generations made the soil their own.

If we draw the line here and say, "Thus far, and no farther", we shall be only turning *Indian* history into a mere Hindu-Muslim history. But the Supreme Architect who is ever building up human society wider and wider from a narrow centre to a vast circumference,—will He drop that plan to gratify our pride?

It is a mistake to imagine that God's Court attaches any importance to the question as to who will own India,—you or I, Hindu or Muslim or any other race that may set up its dominion here. Don't think that God is holding a court where the lawyers of different parties are fighting over their respective claims, and that when the case

is finally decided, one party—Hindu, Muslim, English or any other race,—will get a full decree and set up its banner of ownership on the land. In our vain pride we imagine that in this world legal right fights against legal rights, whereas the only fight waged is between truth and falsehood.

Whatever is best, whatever is fullest, whatever is the supreme truth, *that* is for all; and *that* is ever trying to assert itself through every conflict and opposition. In proportion as we try to advance *that* with all our will, in that proportion only will our efforts succeed. The attempt to secure one's own triumph, either as an individual or as a part of a nation, has no abiding influence on the divine order of things. The banner of Grecian conquest, under Alexander's guidance, failed to bring the whole earth under one sceptre. The failure dashed to the ground Grecian ambition, but that ambition has no bearing on the world today. The Roman universal empire in the course of its building was split up and scattered over Europe by collision with the Barbarians. Rome's ambition was unrealised, but who in the world will mourn the loss today? Greece and Rome have loaded the reaped harvest of their achievements in the golden boat of Time,* but they themselves have not got any seat for ever in that boat, and Time is no loser by this fact, only it has been spared a useless burden.

The final purpose of the history that is being built up in India is not that the Hindus or any other race will predominate here. Indian history has no less an object than this,—that here the history of man will attain to a special fulfilment and give an unprecedented form to its perfection, and make that perfection the property of all mankind. If in modelling the image of this perfection, the Hindu, Muslim or Englishman utterly removes all trace of his own existing individual features, he may thereby no doubt destroy his national pride, but neither Truth nor Goodness will suffer.

We are here to build up the *Greater India*. We are only an ingredient of it. But if any building material turns contumacious and says, "We are the final thing, we will not mix with the whole, we will preserve

* The allusion is to the author's poem, *Sonar Tari*, or The Golden Boat.

our separate existence,"—then all calculations are upset. A bit of ingredient that cannot be built into a vast structure but persists in maintaining its life apart,—is sure to be discarded one day. But he who says "I am nothing in myself; I am wholly reserved for that whole which is being built," will lose his littleness and will be preserved for ever as a part of a vaster thing. Similarly, that element of India which refuses to mix with the whole, which wants to stand isolated from the rest by concealing itself under the veil of a particular past,—will only set up obstructions round itself, and the Divine Ordainer of India's history will send down on such an element blow after blow till at last it will be either crushed by supreme suffering into sameness with the rest, or swept off altogether as a useless encumbrance. For, remember, India's history is not merely *our* history; on the other hand we have been collected here for building Indian history with. If we do not render ourselves worthy of this task, we alone shall perish. If we take pride in keeping ourselves pure and isolated by avoiding every sort of connection with every race, if we imagine that our history has been destined to perpetuate this pride in our successive generations,—if we imagine that our religion is ours only, that our ceremonies are peculiar to us, that none else should enter our place of worship, that our (sacred) lore should be locked up in our special iron safe,—then we shall be unwillingly declaring only this that we have been sentenced to death in the universe, and are waiting for it in a prison of our own building.

Recently the English have come from the west and occupied a chief place in Indian history. This event is not uncalled for, not accidental. India would have been shorn of fulness if it had missed contact with the west. The lamp of Europe is still burning. We must kindle our old extinguished lamp at that flame and start again on the road of Time. Do you think that our ancestors had 3000 years ago finished acquiring whatever the world can ever give to man? No, we are not so unfortunate, nor is the world so poor, as that supposition implies. If it be true that all that is possible for us to achieve was already achieved *in the past*, then *we* are utterly useless in the world's

field of action, and the earth will not retain such a burden as our race. If we believe that we attained to our utmost possible of perfection in the age of our great grandfathers, if we try, by means of all our ceremonies and dogmas, to avoid contact with the present,—then what *present* can urge us, what *future* can lure us on to an active existence? The English have battered down our shaky door and entered our house like the messengers of the world's Feastgiver in order to kindle among us a new energy—an energy which will prove our conviction that we too are needed by this world, that our work here is not confined to our petty selves but must ever remain alive and keep us alive by forming a daily increasing and manifold tie of knowledge, of love, of deed, between us and general humanity,—by means of many contrivances, many instigations. So long as we do not achieve the true purpose of the coming of the English, so long as we do not start in their company to join the world's great sacrificial feast,—even so long will they hustle us, break our easy slothful slumber.

So long as we do not respond to the call of the English, so long as our contact with them does not bear its true fruit,—we shall have no power to drive them out by force. The English have been sent (by the Most High) on a mission, *viz.*, to prepare that India which sprouted in the Past and is now developing its branches towards the Future. That India is the India of all humanity,—what right have we to exclude the English from that India before the time is ripe for it? What are we to *Great India*? Is that the India of us only? And what are "we"? —Bengalis only, Marathas only? Panjabis only? Hindus only, or Muhammadans? No, those who will one day be able to say with perfect truth "*we* are India, *we* are Indians," all (whether Hindus, Muslims, Englishmen or any other race) who will join that undivided vast 'we' and be incorporated with it,—they and they alone will have the right to order who should stay in India and who should go out of it.

We must fulfil the purpose of our connection with the English. This is our task to-day in the building up of *Great India*. If we turn our face aside, if we isolate ourselves, if we refuse to accept any new

element, we shall still fail to resist the march of Time, we shall fail to impoverish and defraud Indian history.

The highest intellects of our country in the modern age have spent their lives at the task of reconciling the West to the East. For instance, Ram Mohan Ray. One day he stood up alone to unite India with the rest of the world on the common basis of *humanity*; no custom, no convention could obstruct his vision. With a wonderfully liberal heart and liberal head he could accept the West without discarding the East. In every department he alone laid the foundations of New Bengal. Thus in the teeth of every opposition from his fellow-countrymen, he all alone extended the field of our thought and action from the East to the West, he gave us the eternal heritage of man, the free heritage of Truth, he made us realise that we are of the whole earth, that Buddha, Christ and Muhammad lived and died for us, too. For each one of us has been garnered the fruit of the devotion of India's sages (*rishis*); in whatever quarter of the globe a great man has removed the barrier to Truth, or taken off the chains of inertia and set free the fettered powers of man, he is truly our own, each of us is truly blessed by him. Ram Mohan Ray did not keep the soul of India contracted or hedged round; he has made it spread in space and time, he has built a bridge between India and Europe; therefore it is that he still continues as a force in India's reconstruction. No blind habit, no petty pride, could lead him to wage a foolish conflict with the purpose of great Time;—of that purpose which did not expire in the Past, but, is advancing towards the Future, he has borne the banner, like a hero in scorn of all obstacles.

In Southern India, M. G. Ranade spent his life in linking together the East and the West. In his nature lay that creative power, that spirit of harmony, which binds men together, which builds up society, which banishes discord, and disarms the forces marshalled against truth, charity and activity. Therefore he could rise above all the sorrows and pettiness of the day, in spite of the diversity of customs and conflict of interests between Indians and Englishmen. His capacious heart and liberal intellect were ceaselessly busy in broadening the road by

which India can acquire the materials for GREAT INDIA'S history which the English are bringing,—in removing every obstacle to the completion of India.

The great man whom Bengal lost a few years ago, Vivekanand, too, stood midway between the East and the West. His life's lesson is not that we should exclude the influence of the West from Indian history and keep India shrunk and stunted for ever amidst narrow conventions. His was the genius that can assimilate, harmonise, create. He consecrated his life to the task of building a road by which Indian ideals may reach the West, and western ideals may reach India.

From the day when Bankim Chandra in his *Bangadarshan* magazine suddenly proclaimed the feast of union between the East and the West,—an immortal spirit entered Bengali literature; Bengali literature took the road to success by joining in the purpose of great Time. That Bengali literature has so rapidly grown is only because it has torn off all those artificial bands which prevented it from uniting with the world's literature. It is being gradually so developed that it can easily make the ideas and spirit of the West its own. Bankim is great not merely by reason of what he himself wrote, but also because his genius smoothed the highroad of intellectual traffic between the East and the West in Bengali literature. The fact that this spirit of harmony has been set up amidst Bengali literature, has inspired its creative power.

Thus we see from every side that the truly great men of modern India, the inspirers of the new age, have such an innate liberality of mental constitution that in their lives neither the East nor the West is opposed and repressed, but both attain to fruition together.

Our educated men now-a-days think that the attempt of the various races in India to unite proceeds from a desire to gain political strength. But by so thinking we make what is large subordinate to what is small. The union of all races in India is higher than all other aims, because it is the only means of attaining to the fulness of humanity. Our failure to unite contracts the root of our humanity, hence all our powers have grown weak and are receiving

checks everywhere. It is our *sin*; it has impaired our virtue, hence it has impaired all our powers.

Our efforts at union will succeed only if we look at this movement for union from that religious point of view. But the religious spirit is not limited within to any petty pride of race or political need. If we follow that religious spirit, our harmonising desire will not be limited to the numerous petty races of India, but will ever try to make even the English a part of the Indian nation.

How should we regard the hostility which has recently sprung up between the English and the educated (and even uneducated) public of India? Is there no true principle involved in it? Is it merely due to the arts of a few conspirators? Is the present counter-gale of hostility entirely opposed to the history that is being built up by the union and conflict of the various races and forces that have assembled in the broad field of India? Let us ascertain the real significance of this hostility.

The Indian philosophy of *bhakti* regards even hostility as an element of union. The legend runs that Ravana gained salvation by fighting *against* God! The meaning of the story is that we perceive a truth most intimately when we are defeated by it. If we accept a truth easily, unquestioningly, we do not get the whole of it. Therefore scientific truth has established itself only by fighting hard against doubt and contradiction.

We once went abegging to Europe, foolishly, inertly. Our reason was so clouded that we could not see that true acquisition cannot come from *begging*, that knowledge and political power alike have to be *earned*, i.e., to be acquired by one's own power in the teeth of opposition and conflict; what is put as alms into our hands is not truly our own. A manner of acquisition which is humiliating to us cannot be a source of gain to us.

From this cause it is that for some time past we have rebelled against Western education and influence. A new-born self-respect has pushed us back from Europe towards our own country. In obedience to the will of great Time, this necessary self-respect arose in us. Hitherto we had been taking things from the West without examination, without objection, weakly, humbly;

we could not test them, appraise their value and thereby make them our own; these foreign acquisitions had become the accidents or luxuries of our life. Hence there has come a force of reaction against them.

That Ram Mohan Ray could absorb the Western spirit was because the West did not overpower him, he was not weak within. He stood on his own achievements when he was gathering in foreign things. He knew wherein India's true wealth lay, and he had made it his own; so, when he got anything from any other country, he had the instrument for weighing and measuring it. He did not, like a simpleton, sell himself for things whose value he could not understand.

This power which lay innate in the character of the first leader of New India, is now trying to express itself in us through many movements and counter-movements, actions and reactions. Therefore, this attempt runs to the opposite extremes in turn. Extreme Anglo-philism and extreme Anglo-phobia are alike pushing us and their resultant force is leading us on to our goal.

The present conflict between the English and the Indians is the result of this reaction;—our inner nature was being crushed while we took in English thought and power inertly, submissively. The pain in our nature accumulated unseen, and has now suddenly revealed itself and turned the hearts of the country strongly away from things English.

Nor is this the only cause. The West has entered the house of India, we cannot turn it out in disappointment, we must make it our own by our own strength. If we lack that native power of absorption, then the aim of Time meets with a check and causes a revolution. On the other hand, if the West grudges to express its true self to us, that too will bring about unrest.

If we do not meet with what is best, what is true, in the English people, if we see the English chiefly as soldiers or merchants, or as the mere drivers of the official machine by which the administration is conducted, if we do not come in contact with them in the field where men meet men as friends and can take each other to the heart, if we are kept under regulation and isolation from one another,—then each must certainly

be a cause of great sorrow to the other. In such circumstances the stronger party can pass Sedition Acts and try to tie down in iron chains the discontent of the weaker party, but it will be only chaining discontent not removing it. Yet the discontent does not affect one party only. The English have no joy whatever while they live among the Indians. The Englishman in India tries every means to shun the company of Indians as a painful thing to be put up with. At one time great souls like David Hare came very close to us and held before us a picture of the nobility of the English character, and the Indian students of that age really surrendered their hearts to the English race. But the English professors of the present day not only fail to bring to us the best features of their race, but they, by lowering the English ideal to us, also make our hearts averse to the English from our childhood. The result is that our modern students do not accept English learning and English literature with all their heart as the first set of our students did; they swallow but do not assimilate. We do not now see any Indian student steeping his soul in the poetry of Shakespeare or Byron with passionate enthusiasm as in the days of the old Hindu College. The loving connection which English literature can establish between us and the English race, is now meeting with checks. The Englishman in India,—be he professor, magistrate, merchant, or police superintendent,—in all his dealings with us is not freely placing before us an example of the highest development of English civilisation. So the English are depriving us of the highest benefit we can derive from their coming to India, they are repressing our inherent powers, and curbing our self-respect. Good government and good laws alone are not the highest benefits to mankind. Office, court, law, rule,—these things do not constitute man. Man wants *man*, and if he gets that, he is ready to put up with many sorrows and many wants. Justice and law as a substitute for man is like stone as a substitute for bread. The stone may be a rare and precious thing, but it cannot remove (the heart's) hunger.

It is because the full union of the East and the West is being thus obstructed, that all sorts of troubles are now raising their

heads. It is an intolerable and harmful state of things when two races live close together and yet do not mix. One day the effort to remedy this situation is sure to assert itself. It is a revolt of the heart, and hence it does not count the cost of its consequences, it is even ready to accept suicide.

But, for all that, it is true that this repulsion is temporary, because we are bound to unite truly with the West, and India has no escape from accepting whatever is worthy of acceptance in the West. So long as a fruit is not ripe it must cling to the branch, and if it is then detached from the branch it will not attain to maturity.

We are responsible for the failure of the English to fully unfold in India whatever is best in their race. Remove *our* want, and their miserliness will vanish of itself. The Scripture rightly says, "Unto him that hath, will be given."

We must gain strength of every kind; then only can the English give us that which they have come here to impart. So long as they despise us, our union with them is impossible, and we must again and again return empty-handed from their doors.

We cannot acquire with *ease* whatever is greatest, whatever is best in the English; we must *win* them. If the English are good to us out of pity, it will not benefit us. It is only by our humanity that we can rouse their humanity; there is no easier way than this to gain truth. Remember that whatever is best among English institutions has been acquired even by the English at the cost of hard suffering, storm and stress. If we wish to get that truly, we must have strength within us. Those of us who present themselves at the court of the English with folded palms and lowered head, in search of title, honour or post, only draw out the Englishman's meaner elements; they corrupt the manner of England's expression of herself in India. Again, those of us who, in reckless uncontrolled fury, want to attack the English wildly, only rouse the baser nature of the foreigner. If we say that India has stimulated to an extreme the Englishman's cupidity, haughtiness, cowardice or cruelty, then it will not do to cast the blame for it on the English, *we* must bear the major portion of the offence.

In their own land, English society is ever applying various means from all directions

to keep down the lower nature of the Englishman and rouse his nobler self; the whole force of society is working without respite to keep each member on a high level. By this means English society by sleepless vigilance is exacting for itself the fullest benefit that in general it can possibly derive from its body.

In India this influence of English society does not fully operate on the Englishman. Here the Englishman is not joined to any society with the fulness of man. The English society here is a narrow professional Civilian Society, Merchant Society, or Military Society. The conventions of each such society are constantly raising round it a hard crust, but there is no force in powerful operation around it to break the crust by causing a contact with full humanity. The Indian environment can only develop them into strong civilians, devoted merchants, and *pukka* soldiers; hence we do not feel their contact as *human* contact. Therefore, when a Civilian sits on the Criminal Bench of the High Court we are seized with despair, because we fear that from him we can only expect a Civilian's justice and not a judge's justice.

Again, in our trade with England, Indian society, by reason of its misery and weakness, cannot keep awake the Englishism of the English. Therefore, India is being deprived of the benefit which she might have got if true Englishmen had come here. We only meet with Western merchants, soldiers and Burra Sahibs of courts and offices, but the Eastern *man* does not meet the Western *man*. It is only because the western *man* is not revealing himself, that we are having all our unrest and conflict, all our sorrow and shame. And we must confess that there is failing on our part too, for which the true English nature is not revealing itself, nay, even undergoing a distortion here. As the Upanishads have it, "The Supreme Spirit cannot be attained by the weak"; no great truth can be gained by the weak; he who wishes to gain a god must have divine qualities in his *own* nature.

It is not by violent speech or rash deed that one's strength is shown. Sacrifice is the sign of strength. So long as the Indians will not welcome the good by displaying a spirit of self-sacrifice, so long as they

will not be able to renounce fear, self-interest and comfort, for the good of the whole country,—even so long all that we ask for from the English will be like begging alms, and all that we get by so begging will only increase our shame and weakness. When we make our country truly our own by our exertions, by our sacrifices, when we establish our true right over our country by devoting all our powers to promote education and public health, and thereby remove all the wants of the country and make every improvement,—then we shall not have to stand humbly before the English. Then we shall be comrades of our English rulers in India, then the English will have to live in harmony with us, then there will be no meanness among us and consequently no short-coming on the part of the English. So long as we, out of personal or collective ignorance, cannot treat our countrymen properly like men, so long as our landlords regard their tenants as a mere part of their property, so long as the strong in our country will consider it the eternal law to trample on the weak, the higher castes will despise the lower as worse than beasts,—even so long we cannot claim gentlemanly treatment from the English as a matter of right, even so long we shall fail to truly waken the English character, even so long will India continue to be defrauded of her due and humiliated. Today India is on every side defrauding and humiliating herself in scripture, religion, and society; she is not awakening her own soul by means of truth and sacrifice; therefore she is not getting from others what she otherwise might have had. Therefore the union with the West is not becoming complete in India (as it has done in Japan); that union is not bearing full fruit, but only giving us shame and pain. We cannot escape from this misery by overthrowing the English by force or cunning. When England's union with India is perfected, all need of this conflict (between the English and us) will cease of itself. Then in India province will join province, race will join race, knowledge will be linked with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour; then the present chapter of Indian history will end and she will merge in the larger history of the world.

S. D. VARMA.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN ECONOMICS

III.

BY RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE, M.A., P. R S.

THE study of the Indian system of the organisation of economic life possesses more than an academic interest and is necessary not merely for the sake of the science of comparative economics. It is necessary for the light it is expected to throw on the economic future and destiny of the human race. India may be said to have not yet experienced completely the Industrial Revolution, though she is just now on the eve of it. She is yet a stranger to the crying evils and pressing problems connected with the system of industrial organisation that has developed itself in the West, known as capitalism, a system which regards man more as the means than the end of production and in spite of its boasted increase of production can hardly be said to have proportionately alleviated his hard lot, and has produced only wealth without producing well-being. As Prof. C. S. Devas, remarks :

"We are now confronted with the serious question, why after such a brilliant advance we are not better off, why with such wonderful superiority in our means of production, with the terrific heat of our furnaces, with the tremendous strokes of our steam-hammers, the objects of enjoyment which result from all this energy appear so feeble, why so many are hard-worked, ill-clad, and ill-housed."*

Another writer thus sums up the situation :

"The problem which, with ever-increasing urgency, demands a solution at the hands of our society, if peace and progress are to be preserved, is that of the persistence of undeserved poverty in the midst of abundant wealth, of unemployment in the midst of unsatisfied desires. Why is it that millions of men cannot get enough bread to eat when two or three men can produce sufficient wheat to maintain a thousand men for a year? Why is it that millions of human beings in the most civilised countries are shivering in insufficient clothing, though four of these can produce sufficient cotton or woolen cloth for one thousand of them? Why are so many without decent

boots when a year's labour by one man can produce nearly four thousand pairs of boots? Why is it that while a bootmaker wants bread, a tailor boots, and a baker clothes, all three instead of supplying each other's wants are compelled to want in enforced idleness."*

India, therefore, in which capitalism has not yet developed, is generally regarded as being in a state of economic infancy, having yet to know the natural and logical consequences of a system of industry based on competition and appropriate to higher stages of economic evolution—the life at high pressure, the growing keenness and bitterness of the struggle for existence, the mad pursuit of wealth, the perpetual antagonism and conflict of labour and capital, the unhealthy conditions of work, the replacement of the warm personal human tie that bound the employer to the labourer of old by the cold 'cash-nexus,' the disintegration of the family, the divorce of labour from land, the unstable character of the new occupations, and the general social unrest—results to which all observers of life in the West testify. It may however be doubted, as has been already pointed out, whether economic evolution in India will take the same line as it has in the West, whether an industrial system in which "custom is far more powerful than competition and status more decisive in its influence than contract, can ever develop into capitalism†. It may hence be

* The same problem of the age in the West which Goethe correctly forecasted is thus admirably put by M. deLaveleye: "The message of the eighteenth century to man was, 'Thou shalt cease to be the slave of nobles and despots who oppress thee: thou art free and sovereign.' But the problem of our time is, 'It is a grand thing to be free and sovereign, but how is it that the sovereign often starves? How is it that those who are held to be the source of power often cannot even by hard work provide themselves with the necessities of life?'"

† *Ranade's Essays on Indian Economics*, p. 10.

Compare in this connection what Mr. E. B. Havell

* Political Economy, P. 81.

further disputed how far we are justified in regarding India in a state of economic infancy, simply because she has not yet reproduced the full features of economic life in the West. But even if she is so, even if she is on her way to Capitalism, there is yet time to save her from its evils and she may be regarded as a vast and convenient field for carrying on economic experiments, and also enabled to profit by the bitter experiences of the economically older countries of the West. This however presupposes that economic arrangements are a matter of human contrivance and may be superinduced upon society whenever it is thought necessary, so that social effort will enable India to realise the cherished economic ideals of the West and thus foreshadow the economic future of the race. On the other hand if that supposition be not true, if economical arrangements partake of the character of the entire social organism as a whole, which is not made but grows, then India may be expected to be developing a type of economic life and organisation that is the outcome of her society, her history, and her civilisation and by its very distinctive features show the way the prevailing industrial type of the West may correct its abuses. Indian character, in which a quietism of outlook, the absence of the desire and aptitude for free and unlimited competition are the dominant features, has built up an industrial system

late Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta, well-known for his insight into Indian life, has said: "Now I have continually noticed that the moral which most people draw from the history of the development of European Manufactures is that if India is to regain its position as a great manufacturing country it must follow in the footsteps of European Industry, revolutionise the working conditions of its traditional handicrafts, turn the village workshops into steam factories and give up hand labour for mechanical power. They start on the assumption that India's salvation depends on her artisans joining in the great competition for export markets, which is going on in Europe and in America. They take it for granted that processes which have become necessary in Europe must be necessary in India, where totally different conditions prevail. I think no friend of India could view with unconcern the prospect of a coming era of congested cities and depopulated rural districts, of unhealthy conditions of work, of struggles between capital and labour, uneven distribution of wealth, social unrest and all the attendant evils of the great industrial development in Europe and America. Besides the Indian artisan is unfitted both by disposition and habits from entering upon such a struggle."

peculiar to itself and distinct from the system which had established itself in the West. It has made India the home of cottage industries, the country where the field predominates over the factory, where the domestic system still survives in the struggle for existence. But the dynamic aspect of the question cannot be overlooked. New conditions of life have arisen in India accompanying her British connection and she must adapt herself to the environment. It is difficult to forecast precisely the coming stage of her economic evolution, but it is possible to indicate what are to be its chief features. It is certain that India must increase her productive power, the volume of her annual output, by availing herself more largely of the various means by which man's mastery over nature has been increased in the West and the blindly operative powers of nature have been harnessed to the directing intelligence of man. This result will be the product of two factors, intellectual as well as moral; for it depends, in the first place, on a wider diffusion of scientific knowledge which alone can bring about the necessary *technical revolution* and, secondly, on a change in the character of the people which must be pervaded by a greater spirit of individualism that will strengthen the stimulus to production. But this individualism which is wanted in the character of the people of India for the sake of her economic necessities will have its excesses checked by the instincts of co-operation and collectivism which are also ingrained in that character and but express that spirituality which the whole world associates with it. The essential feature or distinguishing mark of this spirituality is an overpowering sense of the unreality of the external world—the "obstinate questionings of sense and outward things"—produced by a habit of mind that is so keenly sensitive to the meanness of life on earth, so powerfully dominated by the awful significance of the spiritual life that it makes a man content even to be a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water while he is in the body and to place all his hopes in the eternal life of the spirit. It is evident that with this peculiar turn of his mind and character the Indian must be very feebly responsive to the stimulus of pecuniary gain and is far removed

from the typical Economic Man of the West whom money can attract and move even as magnet does iron or as the course of water is determined by level.* But this lack of individualism born of a distinct philosophy of life is apt to degenerate into something soulless and merely mechanical without any will or ideal behind it, into a mere habit of inactivity and aversion to labour that is particularly unsuited to the new conditions of modern life under which all available human energy exhausts itself, for the bulk of the Indian people, in the mere struggle for existence and there is no leisure even for those higher activities which justified the deliberate indifference to wealth of a by-gone age. The sons of India must now rouse themselves from their lethargic stupor and sleep of ages and be alive to the necessities of the moment, must gird up their loins to combat the growing poverty of their country that "represses all noble rage and freezes the genial current of the soul." They must recognise that deep and widespread material poverty is sure to cause both moral and mental poverty and, "like palsy, attack the fountain of life itself." They must recognise that their rich heritage of spiritual culture, all that is best and noblest in Indian life and character, that has secured to India the respect of the world, in a word the indigenous civilisation of India itself, are now seriously jeopardised, and they can only be rescued from extinction by providing that necessary material basis on which all civilisation rests. Over and above therefore the mere technical revolution needed to increase the volume of total production there must be effected a change in the outlook of life of the Indian people, a *moral* revolution which will adjust the claims of individual self-culture carried on along indigenous Indian lines of 'plain

living and high thinking' to the necessity of securing the necessary amount of material welfare under the changed conditions of modern life. Such a moral revolution, brought about by the forces of a new individualism, will also replace the old mechanical and instinctive co-operation due to the influence of mere habit and custom by a conscious co-operation and collectivism, the result of deliberate will or choice.

The economic history of Europe, on the other hand, illustrates a different tendency. There we notice the gradual growth of economic freedom and the assertion of individualism, bursting open all mediæval regulations and restrictions that unduly fettered it till capitalism establishes itself, and a need is felt to impose fresh restraints on individualism again in the interest of society itself, because that individualism begins to destroy individuality. The following remarks of Prof. Marshall are quite to the point :

"It has been left for our own generation to perceive all evils which arose from the suddenness of this increase of economic freedom. Now first are we getting to understand the extent to which the capitalist employer untrained to his new duties was tempted to subordinate the well-being of his work people to his own desire for gain ; now first are we learning the importance of insisting that the rich have duties as well as rights in their individual and in their collective capacity, now first is the economic problem of the age showing itself to us as it really is."

The West is thus preparing for the next stage in its economic evolution but the travails it is undergoing betokening the birth of a new industrial order may not be India's portion. The coming industrial order will have to secure the fruits of co-operation and collective action in their various forms without laying the axe at the root of individual action, initiative and enterprise. It must be a system which, as Dr. Henry Dyer (*Evolution of Industry*) puts it, "will give the maximum social welfare and individual liberty," a system "which, in the words of Prof. Huxley, appeared to be comparable not so much to the process of organic development, as to the synthesis of the chemist, by which independent elements are gradually built up into complex aggregations in which each element retains an independent individuality though held in subordination to the whole." It must regard and treat man not as the mere

* A European member of the Indian Civil Service has thus recorded his actual experience about a Hindu peasant in Bengal on whom he was urging the adoption of the fly-shuttle for weaving. "What can the economist do with a man who, when some improved means of production is offered to him, and he is informed that by adopting it he will be able to do more work and earn more money, replies sitting under his palm tree, 'Why should I do more work, what would I do with more money?' The underlying assumption of all his reasoning is defeated when in matters of wealth the keen pursuit by every individual of his self-interest is either altogether absent or only mildly present."

means of production whom it needs but to exploit but as the final aim and end of production. It must not stand in the way of individual self-realisation but must give full scope to it, even at the risk of "some temporary material loss being submitted to for the sake of a higher and greater ultimate gain" (Prof. Marshall). Material progress must always subserve the moral and intellectual welfare of mankind, and the test of an industrial system is the greatest opportunities for self-development of the greatest number which it can offer. India has ever been known for her toleration and never for the repression of the individual and this feature in her civilisation is bound to re-act on her industry and to save her way towards that economic consummation which is devoutly to be wished for the sake of humanity.

Let us be inspired with the hope that fills the breast of a European observer of Indian life while considering how India will adjust herself to this "stirring machanical age":

"I cannot help hoping that the Indian people, physically and mentally disqualified for the strenuous life of the Western world, will long retain in their nature enough of the spirit of Sadhuism to enable them to hold steadfastly to the simple, frugal, unconventional, leisured life of their forefathers for which climatic conditions and their own past history have so well fitted them, always bearing in mind the lesson taught by their sages that real wealth and true freedom depend not so much upon the possession of money or a great store of goods as upon the reasonable regulation and limitation of their desires".*

Let us also lay to heart the partiotic words of the greatest ruling chief of India at the present day:

"It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervour of her people."†

And, finally, in order to be able to achieve this mission let us again recapitulate some of the more inevitable and abiding effects of European industrialism in the words of that wellknown exponent of Indian culture, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy,

* The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India by J. C. Oman, p. 283.

† H.H. the Gaekwar's Inaugural Address, Industrial Conference, 1906.

which are highly interesting and instructive:

"The essential method of commercialism is to create a want in order to have the opportunity of profiting by the filling of it. Under the commercial system, it is no longer a demand that regulates supply but production that 'forces a market'.

"Machinery has enabled the capitalist to do this to the fullest extent. The promise of labour-saving machinery was a millenium for the worker, shorter hours and easier work; its results have been merely increased production, increased profit to the Capitalists and not less, but less intelligent, work for the producer. Not merely is the workman through division of labour no longer able to make any whole thing, not only is he confined to making small parts of thing, but it is impossible for him to improve his position or to win reward for excellence in the craft itself. Under guild conditions, it was possible and usual for the apprentice to rise through all grades of knowledge and experience to the position of a master craftsman. But take any such trade as carpet-making under modern conditions, by power-loom. The operative has no longer to design or to weave in and out the threads with his own fingers. He is employed in reality, not as a carpet weaver, but as the tender of a machine. He may rise to a higher place, it is true—but it is the place of a man responsible for the successful running of many machines by many men. He can never rise in virtue of his knowledge or experience in the craft itself. That craft is for him destroyed, as a means of culture, and the community has lost one more man's intelligence,—for it is obviously futile to build up by evening classes and libraries what the whole of a man's work is for ever breaking down. It is no longer possible for culture and refinement to come to the craftsman through his work, it must be won, at all, inspite of his work; he must seek them in a brief hour snatched from rest and sleep; at the expense of life itself. It is not strange that he does not seek them, nor that their expression is lacking in his work. He has not even the capacity for idling, but must continually seek amusement and excitement. There can be no quality of leisure in his work. In short, commercial production absolutely forbids a union of art with labour.

"A society which sees wealth in things rather than in men is ultimately doomed. It appears therefore that it is absolutely essential that mechanical production should in the future be not abandoned but controlled in the real interest of humanity. If it thus appears to be impossible, as I am unwilling to believe, it must be admitted that civilisation is not much better than a failure; for it is not much good, being more ingenious than our forefathers, if we cannot be either happier or better.

"The place of machinery in a true civilisation will be that of a hewer of wood and drawer of water, a servant not a master; its concern will be rather with the preparation than with the subsequent manipulation of materials. Its purpose will be not to rob the craftsman of that part of labour which is his very craft itself; but to save him from the heaviest and least interesting work and to carry out the simplest and most mechanical process of manufacture.

"The problem is not how to abolish machinery but how so to regulate it that it shall serve without ensla-

ving man; how to stop competition between machine and hand-work by defining and delimiting intelligently the proper sphere of it. The community cannot afford to dispense with the intellectual and imaginative forces, the educational and ethical factors which go with the existence of skilled craftsmen and small workshops. *It must, therefore, protect these in their proper sphere.*"*

The study of Indian Economics is therefore necessary as a contribution to comparative or universal economics and also for the light it may throw on some of the most pressing economic problems of the age, and the course of economic evolution generally. It is also necessary for the proper training of the Indian student of economics. The healthy logical principle which proceeds from the known to the unknown is also a very sound principle of pedagogy but it is completely reversed in the economic studies of the Indian student. For the books that are usually placed in his hands mostly treat of the features in the economic life of the West with which he is not at all familiar, so that they fail to stimulate any living interest in the subject or suggest independent lines of thought and investigation. He reads a good deal about the factory but he is unable to refer what he reads to actual facts of his observation or throw on it the light of actual experience to realise fully its meaning. For he has hardly seen a factory himself and still less can he realise the full significance and gravity of the various problems connected with factory life which engage the attention of the Western economist. On the other hand his books have scarcely to say much about the field which he is far more familiar with than the factory, which, as it were, comes home to his heart and bosom. Again the *entrepreneur* who is such an important and indispensable actor in the drama of Western economic life, the very centre of the industrial system of the West, moving and directing all economic activities, and who accordingly is such a familiar figure in the pages of the economist—he is quite a stranger to the Indian student for the simple reason that he is yet to be born in the economic world in which the Indian lives and moves. The Indian student is far more familiar with the small producer or the peasant proprietor than the large

producer or farmer and he is acquainted with very few instances of production on a large scale. Under the circumstances, all his economic studies are apt to be undesirably abstract, being not based on facts of his actual experience and are therefore not at all conducive to originality. The proper beginning for all serious students of economics in India is to first acquire a complete knowledge of, to cultivate a thorough familiarity with, all the known facts and features, in conditions and institutions of Indian industry which are within the range of his actual observation and experience and lay therein the foundation of all subsequent studies. True knowledge or originality grows not from 'rootless' abstract studies but from the living root of actual experience. Thus equipped with knowledge of the economics of his own country he can profitably study the economic system of other countries and so proceed from the known to the unknown. It is in this way that the Indian student should be helped to carry on his economic studies and direct those studies along fruitful channels.

What should be the proper plan of a work on Indian economics will be evident from the above. An attempt should be made in the first place to make a plain record of facts relating to the industry of India which may afterwards serve as the basis of a rigid induction. These facts will of course include, and in most cases will be found to be of the nature of factors or conditions which determine the economic life of India and impart to it those peculiar features which distinguish it from the economic organisation of the West. These facts or factors in Indian economics will naturally fall into three classes, *viz.*, physical, social and political, and a separate consideration will be made of each of the groups of conditions that influence economic activity and conduct in India and also determine the lines on which industry in India is evolving itself. In them will be found the true explanation of the distinctive features of the Indian industrial system both in its statical and dynamical aspects. It is evident that this preliminary study ought to include in its scope the study of institutions both social and political, such as caste, the joint family system, and the like, because these

* *The Mediæval Singhalese Art*, Foreword, p. viii, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (London) and Fellow of University College, London.

institutions play a very important part in shaping the form and direction of industry in India. In a word a faithful and complete picture should be drawn of what may be termed the economic environment of India in the threefold aspects which naturally belong to it. Firstly, Nature has imparted to India a certain framework to which the organisation of her material life must adjust itself and conform and has created conditions which human effort cannot transgress but must utilise and make the best of. Secondly, society in India has built up certain institutions for the expression and realization of its inner life which go to fix the *moral conditions* under which economic life is to be lived and organised as nature has fixed the physical conditions. Thirdly, there is the peculiar set of political conditions determining the character and growth of economic life in India which are the outcome of the character and form of the Government that has established itself in India and the influence of the state on industry cannot be over-estimated. Thus

the economic environment of India will have to be viewed under each of these three aspects and the *data of Indian economics* thus fixed beyond doubt or dispute. In the second place an attempt is to be made to deduce the economic doctrines that follow from or are suggested by those data or the observed facts of Indian industry. This will mean a close observation and a careful noting of the modes of operation of the fundamental principles of economics possessed of universal and permanent validity in the special conditions of life and labour in India. In this way a body of economic conditions and doctrines will be reached which will bring within their scope all the economic phenomena of India, explain the part played by her as an independent expression of the possibilities of human development in the sphere of material life, the necessary basis of all higher life, culture and civilisation, and thus form an important contribution to the science of universal economics.

(Concluded).

TRAVELLING THROUGH THE COUNTRY IN AMERICA

"God made the country and man made the town."

—William Cowper.

"ALL a board!" shouted the blue-coated, brass-buttoned, huskey rail-road conductor in a deep, sonorous voice, "All a board! Decatur, Quincy, Springfield—all this way up!" The passengers knowing this to be the last call swung into the cars in a hurry and the "cannon-ball," as they call the fast train, rolled away, good-byes being shouted, handkerchiefs waved, kisses thrown.

It was in this train that I set out one bright July morning to spend my summer vacation in the country. The chief quest of this trip was to see the American country life at close range—"to see life steadily and see it whole." The big cities alone that are ordinarily visited by the Indian tourists whose accounts not infrequently appear in the Indian press, do not represent America as a whole. Years of residence

here, both in the city and in the country, has fully convinced me of this fact. If one wishes to get in touch with the real American life—the bright picturesque unsophisticated American life, he must spend some time out in the country among the farmers.

The Americans are so free and easy in their manners that it is one of the easiest things on earth to make one's self "feel at home" when travelling with them. I was not in the train five minutes before I picked up acquaintance with several of my fellow passengers. Stories of murder, accounts of disaster, rumours of divorce, gossip of rowdy-dow among the smart set, made up the staple of conversation within the range of my hearing. "Did you hear," asked one of my neighbours, "about that lynching in our town in Illinois?" Without waiting for a reply he continued, "Jolly, we had the biggest time ever. We strung up that

nigger from the tallest tree in the town and I tell you we had some practice in shooting. Bet your life we had." A large number of Americans, it seems, think no more of shooting the negroes for pastime than they do of shooting the wild cats in the prairie.

Another man who sat beside me was sweetly confidential in his manner. He was particularly anxious to know if I was not going up the State of Michigan where one woman—not your suffragette, I believe—had killed a dozen men and where special excursion trains were being rushed to carry thousands of curious people to the scene of murder.

"No", I told him indifferently.

"NO? NO?" he exclaimed in largest capitals.

"No, Sir."

"Ah! You ought to be with the crowd. You must see the fun."

As I did not care to make any further reply, his chin dropped low and his mouth shut like a trap. He was a perfect picture of disappointment.

At the scheduled time the train pulled up at a little station where I was to stop. The station-master or the ticket-agent as he is known over here, met me at the door of his office very cordially. He wore a battered stiff hat over one ear and had a long corn-cob pipe in his mouth. He was very friendly. Beaming a broad, expansive smile, he told me all about his city. He overloaded me with such information about his city as its size, its population, the names of the streets, the number of school teachers, the names of preachers, &c.

I have used the word "city" in the last paragraph, which needs an explanation to avoid an outright misrepresentation. A "city" in American language does not always mean a 'large town'—to quote your old dictionary definition. Take the first instance that comes to my hand. Liberty, a little village not so very far off from Chicago, has a population of two hundred inhabitants. However, it takes as much pride in calling itself a "city" as the great city of Chicago, whose population exceeds two millions. Here little mounds are called hills, small creeks rivers, dirty mud-holes crystal lakes and small villages great cities. I stumbled into one "city" whose population just num-

bered five, three men and two women. A small grocery store, a whistling station, a black cat and a yellow dog made up the whole outfit of that "city."

The people in the small towns are walking marks of interrogation and exclamation. If I happened to stop on the road to ask a question, a crowd would soon gather around me. They would take my front-view and back-view and fire off questions with merciless rapidity. There are just four questions which every American delights to ask a foreigner, and to be sure they come in this order: "What nationality are you?" "How long have you been here?" "How old are you?" "Do you like our country better than your own?"

The last question is the clincher. In a small town, the success or failure of your business, if you happen to have any, depends on your ability to humor the people; just as you have to humor the children sometimes with a piece of candy if you want to please them.

At an informal party, I well remember, I had the pleasure of this unique introduction:

"Meet my friend," said my host in introducing me to one of the party, "Mr. what-is-your-name (being unable to think of my name and turning to me for help), a foreigner who seems to think that this is a good country to live in."

"Glad to know you. Very glad indeed. America is a great country. Sir?"

Knowing what was coming on I kept silent.

"This is God's own country. This is the garden spot of the world. Sir?"

Still it failed to elicit an answer.

This ominous silence on my part roused all the energies of his soul and he forthwith let loose this torrent of patriotic eloquence, "We are the light of the world. We are the salt of the earth. We whipped England. We fear none. We Americans—"

Those who know America at all, know very well the American's love of self-praise, his habit of exaggeration. All his adjectives are in the superlative. He looks at everything that belongs to him through an intense magnifying glass. Pointing to a modest looking brick church in a country town a man said "See here? This is the biggest church in the State." I confess I

was rather disappointed that time. I naturally expected him to say that it was the biggest church in the world.

Well, they are amazingly "nervy", these country people. They are so inquisitive. True it is not very annoying when you once get used to their ways; but yet at the same time you cannot help noticing that it is just in their bones to make other people's affairs their own at the shortest possible notice. They are frankly and openly interested in the brightness of your teeth, the colour of your hair and the price of your wearing apparel. They will think nothing of pulling out your watch chain, weighing it and measuring it and confidently asking "What you gave for that."

It sounds strange. It sounds very strange. Yet who has not found among the country people a lingering belief in signs and old sayings? Are you always right in assuming that learning and talent can exempt a man from superstition? I have not the space to discuss the psychology of superstition. I am simply stating a fact, because it is true. And as illustrative of my point, here are a few gems strung together hastily: "If it rains on Monday, it will rain three days more in the week"; "If it rains on Easter it will rain seven days straight"; "If a black cat crosses your path there will be bad luck"; "If a rabbit goes on your right there will be good luck, if on the left, bad"; "It is unlucky to point at the moon"; "A new moon on Saturday is a sign of wind"; "Moonlight will blunt razors."

The people in the country are very accommodating. They are ever ready to do what they can even without ever looking for a "thank you." The average farmer is a poor walker. He either rides or drives or motors. He thinks it is terrible hardship for anybody to walk. Not a day passed but I had a dozen invitations for "lifts" to refuse. When a farmer meets a "roadster" he asks:

"Where be ye going?"

"Oh, just a little piece," says the traveller in a hurry to avoid a ride.

"I allow yer a stranger. Climb right in my buggy".

"No, thanks."

"What is it yer a-sayin? Come on in! Hit wont cost you a cent. Git in! I'll give ye a lift any way, pardner!"

In my long travels through the country—weary and footsore I—spent many a night with the farmers. They have such beautiful homes. They do not like stone or brick buildings. An ordinary farmer's house is a two-storied wooden structure with a beautiful flower garden in the front yard and green vines shading the porch. The house has a parlour, a sitting room, a dining room, a kitchen and three or four living rooms. They are well-decorated and nicely furnished; and everything is just as clean as a whistle. If there is anything that American women pride themselves upon more than Paris gowns and huge pitch-basket hats with their wilderness of multi-coloured fruits and flowers, then it must be oriental carpets. This rage for oriental carpets has invaded even the heart of the farmer's wife in the remote farms. There you will find her proudly displaying the latest oriental carpets on her parlour floor. She is not what you may call a professional "culturine"; nevertheless she will manage to give you an impression that she has an eye for æsthetics. Look at those curious knick-knacks and bric-a-bracs on the mantelpiece or at those pictures on the walls! Nanjok's "St. Cecillia", Murillo's "Madonna", Breton's "Song of the Lark"—all are there. Then there are books on the shelf, newspapers on the reading-table, a piano in the corner, and sofas and cushions and rockers in a becoming order. What a feeling of cosy comfort! What an air of unobtrusive elegance hanging over it all!

The American farmers are a strong, robust people. They attribute much of their health and vigour to meat diet. Most of their meat, however, is pork. They kill a few hogs in the winter, when the feed is high, and then keep them smoked and salted in the cellar for use during the rest of the year. "Don't you eat meat?" asked my hostess much concerned. "Why, Lor! if I knew you did not care for meat, I would kill a chicken for you."

As soon as the guest is taken over to the dining hall, he is given the liberty of the table. "You see what little there is on the table. Pitch right in. Don't wait to be helped," is the general formula.

Conversation, some one has said, is the natural accompaniment of a meal; but

around the farmer's table there is little attempt to talk. He is too busy at the table to indulge in a "feast of reason," to use an over-worked, shop-work phrase. This, however, is no reflection on the warmth and sincerity of his hospitality. I had a standing invitation from a farmer for all summer to "slip into my water-melon patch any time you want to and sly away with a melon. It won't cost you nothin."

The farmers are the bulwark of American prosperity. If the Roman Empire fell because of the decline of the farmers, the American Republic has no such thing to dread. The American farmers will never be syberites; it is not in their making. How many hours does a farmer put in his farm? Let me give you his day's programme. He gets up at 4 o'clock in the morning, and before breakfast he feeds the cattle, milks the cows and harnesses the horses for the work. Breakfast over, he labours in the field till noon. One o'clock finds him again at his toil till it is too dark to work.

Busy as the farmers are, they are yet never too busy to know "what is going on in the world." An average man takes two or three daily newspapers, several weeklies and a number of monthly magazines. Among the farming papers, I found the "Drover's Journal" and "Wallace's Farmer" most popular.

Sometimes eight or nine of the educated farmers get together and organize a magazine club. Each member pays about three rupees a year and he gets four or five of the best magazines a week. He reads them over at his leisure and passes them on down the line.

There are other forms of intellectual activity among the country people. The "Neighbourhood Lyceums" come in here for prominent mention. These clubs meet once a fortnight to discuss topics that are related to their daily life as well as to their national welfare. A man will read a paper on "Soil Culture" and a woman give a talk

on "House-keeping." This will then be followed by live discussions, straight talks from the shoulder, if you please. When the forensic tumult subsides, music and elocution will take the floor. Last, but not least, there will be dancing and refreshments to close the programme of the evening.

The native Americans, as I have hinted all through, are by nature sociable; and they are more so in the country than in the town. County-fairs, old settler's Reunions; Fish fries, Town Carnivals and many other rustic social functions furnish the country people with abundant opportunities "to meet each other under pleasant circumstances and to become better acquainted." In the summer, the moon-light picnics and open air dances are very much in fashion among the young folks.

Travellers from England, especially from Europe, have often expressed to me their surprise at the freedom with which the young men and women mingle in society. They find that the chaperon, for one thing, has been entirely put out of business. But chaperon or no chaperon, when the young people make up their minds to have a joyous time, they are bound to have it. You cannot stop that. On Saturday and Sunday nights, the dusty country roads are filled with the buggies of the young pleasure-seekers. They are going from place to place or going for long drives whispering words of love. This form of mild recreation, which is said to be necessary to offset the strenuousness of life, is euphemistically explained to me by the parents as "sparking."

Such is American country life. And as after the summer vacation we return once more to the humdrum routine of city life, so our mind often wanders back to the country where the robbin sings, the magnolia blossoms, and life is so odd, so free, and so gay.

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PRIZE ESSAYS ON TRADE GUILDS IN INDIA

ONLY five essays have been received, and of these only one can be regarded as a serious competitor for the

prize offered by me in connection with the Allahabad Exhibition. To this essay, by Lala Mukandi Lall, Oxford and Cambridge

Hostel, Allahabad, I have awarded a prize of Rs. 125.' In originally offering a prize of Rs. 250, I had contemplated the preparation of a rather long treatise on the subject, and the reason why a reduced amount has been awarded to Mukandi Lal is the comparative briefness of the account, and the fact that it deals solely with one guild and locality. Within these limits, however, it is a very interesting and clearly written description, and will be of considerable value to students of sociology in general and guild systems in particular. This essay slightly condensed, and in places rewritten, now follows:—

THE BENARES SILK-WEAVERS' (MADANPURA,
NURBAG) GUILD,
BY LALA MUKANDI LALL.

The famous Benares silk textiles are woven in musty and dirty dark huts by a particular class of Muhammadans who generally pass by the name of *julahas* (weavers), but who are inclined to resent this title, and call themselves *nurbag* (silk-weavers). Their stronghold or centre is in Madanpura, a ward (*muhalla*) of Benares City. They say their original home was Ghazni and that they came into India with Muhammad Ghaznavi. Thirteen persons are said to have come to Benares about 900 years ago. These thirteen companions finding themselves in a strange place and amongst strange people were proud of their Sheikh origin and wished to preserve their blue blood as jealously as lay in their power. They determined not to intermarry with any other community. This was the beginning of the silk-weavers' guild. Caste is the basis of every guild of craftsmen in India, and these Muhammadan foreigners too came thus under the influence of the Hindu caste system.

They claim to have altered and improved the indigenous silk industry of Benares, and introduced the use of gold thread: before this, they say, the Hindus wove only plain silk cloth. After a time the new methods were imitated by Hindu weavers, and the Muhammadan weavers began to make hard and fast rules for the protection of their own monopoly, and refused to give instruction to others than their own sons or near relatives. Thus originated the present compact guild of silk weavers, still main-

taining its solidarity. The guild now however has lost some of its old good points, and rather illustrates the evils of the caste system than its advantages.

The weavers increased in numbers both amongst themselves, and by absorption of converts from Hinduism. There are now 100 families in Madanpura who claim original and pure descent. These hold the first position, assigning a slightly lower place to the new-comers and converts.

The descendants of the original stock are strictly confined to Madanpura and live under the leadership of a *Sardar* with 24 colleagues, constituting the Guild Council. The other families live in Kashi proper and elsewhere in the Benares district. The total number of all together who acknowledge themselves as ruled by the Benares silk-weavers' guild is about one and a half lakhs. These are divided into 53 wards and obey the orders of one supreme head, assisted by 25 councillors, 24 above mentioned and one other; without the consent of these councillors, the head cannot issue the smallest order. The guild is thus a sort of limited monarchy. The office of the head is hereditary and has remained so during the last eight hundred years.

This headman of the guild is called *Sardar*, and has under him other minor sardars. The sardar has written rules for his guidance and has only to bring them into force. He cannot act without the advice and consent of the minor sardars, who are responsible for their wards. He can only take the initiative and suggest or offer his opinion for discussion and approval.

The minor sardars are elected by the members from amongst themselves for life, and each remains in office till disqualified by misconduct, physical disability, or old age. He can be dismissed by the members of the guild if they have any reasonable complaint against him.

If any matter is brought to the notice of the supreme sardar he calls a meeting of the 25 minor sardars and refers it to them, stating his own views. A decision is arrived at by a majority of votes. But if the minority is unwilling to accept a decision, then the supreme sardar requests the members of the guild to nominate an arbitrator (excluding himself and the twenty-five councillors). The decision is left to him, and his opinion

is accepted by all the council. It will be seen how essentially democratic is the constitution of the guild, and how strictly limited are the powers even of the supreme sardar and his council.

The sardars are not paid for their services. At marriages, however, both parties pay a fee of Rs. 1-4-0 to the supreme sardar. But he is generally a wealthy man and neither expects nor needs any remuneration for his services.

The present Supreme Sardar of the Benares guild of silk-weavers is Muhammad Yaqub, a young man lately installed, grandson of the late Sheikh Tulli, one of the best-loved of sardars. Under him are the 24 councillors elected by the Madanpura ward, and one other, the twenty-fifth, who in turn has under him the other 52 wards with their elected sardars. The supremacy of the Madanpura ward, descendants of the original weavers, is thus clearly illustrated.

When any matter concerning the 52 wards cannot be settled by their own sardars and the 25th sardar over them, he refers it to the supreme sardar and his council. Notwithstanding, however, the supreme authority of this sardar, he cannot call a public meeting of, or issue orders to, the members of the other 52 wards, except through the 25th sardar referred to, who is in charge of these wards.

The following are the powers of the Supreme Sardar: he can at any time and under any circumstances call a meeting in Benares of the members of the 53 wards, without previous notification of the purpose for which he wishes them to meet. On receiving a notice of such a meeting at least one man from each home must attend: absentees are fined or expelled from the guild by the sardar. No one can marry without the permission of the sardar. None can celebrate any public ceremony or give an entertainment without consulting him. Permission may be withheld if the sardar considers that the expenses of the proposed entertainment are beyond the means and unsuitable to the social status of the parties concerned. If the proposed ceremony is religious he will advise that it be done in the simplest possible way. He presides over all meetings and deliberations of members of the guild, as well as over the council of 25. He acts both as

administrator and magistrate. When matters of complaint are brought to his notice by a minor sardar, he lays the matter and his opinion on it before the council, which may pass a sentence of fine, dismissal, or expulsion as may be necessary. The supreme sardar is expected to look after the condition of the weavers. He should enquire personally or through the minor sardars into their moral and material welfare.

The following are the duties of minor sardars: Belonging as they do more intimately to the people than the Supreme Sardar himself, they are expected to know more of their internal affairs. They keep a watch upon the morals of the people, acting like Roman censors. They enquire as to whether any one has broken the marriage laws or otherwise misbehaved. They have also to discover whether any unfair trade methods are resorted to, whether the right materials are used, and to see that no 'false work' is done. They also notice what families are not doing well in their trade and are in need of help, and they keep a record of the widows and orphans and other decrepit and disqualified members of the community. They also concern themselves with the political interests of the weavers. They have to watch the tendencies of the trade, and look after other professional interests and give advice accordingly. They have to help and give information to the Supreme Sardar in all matters concerning their community.

The Guild possesses a Common Treasury into which are paid all subscriptions and fines as well as voluntary donations from its members. These moneys are used for the purchase of large utensils (cooking vessels, etc.) used at festivals of the whole community or lent for marriages and other private ceremonies. Large shamianas and tents are also purchased for the use of the Guild; the common properties exist thus both in cash and kind. Certain religious institutions are also supported by funds of the common treasury. Charitable aid (such as feeding the poor, supporting orphans and widows and decrepit persons) is also given from the public funds, and ruined families may be assisted.

On special occasions or on emergency, special subscriptions may be levied from

those who can afford to subscribe not less than a rupee, or more according to their means, voluntarily. Whenever the treasury is depleted, occasional subscriptions are raised in this manner but no regular fee or tax is relied upon. To accumulate money is not the aim, but rather to help the members of the Guild, and this can be done in the way mentioned, even if no money is previously in hand.

The offences which the Council may punish with expulsion from the Guild are as follows: keeping more than one wife; giving or taking a girl in marriage from other than the eligible families; misconduct: the use of adulterated materials, or *kacha* or false gold or silver thread: unworthy professional conduct or underhand dealing.

These offences are also punishable by fines at the discretion of the council, if the parties show some good excuse or give a reasonable explanation of their conduct. The accused however has no certain option of paying a fine: the decision rests with the council. The amount of fine varies for different offences and according to the wealth of the individual. The smallest fine is Rs. 2, the largest Rs. 61. One offence, if committed by members of the Madanpura ward, is inevitably punished by expulsion without the option of a fine. This offence is that of giving a daughter in marriage to a member of another ward. The reason for this is that the Madanpura weavers claim to be of superior descent, and their women observe strict purdah, and do not go about to fetch water or perform open-air domestic duties. This rule was only once broken during the last century, and in such a case not only are the offenders outcasted, but their life is made miserable and they may almost be threatened with death.

The political and representative functions of the Council may be illustrated by a concrete example. A few years ago, when the people were much troubled by well-intentioned but mistaken plague regulations (certain rules for isolation, disposal of the dead and evacuation of houses), a big public meeting was held on the maidan beyond Benares, as a result of which the Council called on the Collector and finally a deputation visited the Lieutenant Governor

at Nainital: from these they returned successful, and other people besides weavers reaped the benefit of their agitation.

As above stated, there are trade regulations that no one shall use adulterated materials, or do 'false work' (*jhuta kam*), and that only pure gold thread must be used. It is sad to say, however, that there are two other good rules which are *not* enforced: these are, that no one is allowed to undersell his neighbour, and that only *pakka* indigenous Indian dyes may be used.

There are no rules to restrict working hours, each man can work as long as he likes. But in practice all cease work in the middle of the day, for meals, and shut the 'factories' at dark. Education is very backward amongst the weavers and implies only an elementary knowledge of Urdu and the Persian characters. There are *maqtabs* (schools) in almost every ward where little boys are taught by a *mullah*. But all children do not go to him, on the contrary, a majority of boys of school-going age are to be seen working at looms with their fathers. This technical education the child receives from his father, uncle or other relation, but some learn as apprentices to other employers. Apprentices are usually not paid. The best teacher for a boy is his own father, and this is a great secret of success in Indian guilds and one of the advantages of the hereditary element in trades and professions which have crystallised into castes. The child inherits the father's intellectual and physical aptitude and his special ingenuities and the secrets of his art.

Mukandi Lall also adds the following interesting remarks (quoted in his own words), on the *Past and Present State of the Silk Industry*, with some criticisms of the guild organisation:--

"The past of the silk industry was very great. The silk was brought to Benares from different parts of India, including Assam and Burma: China silk too was imported. The gold and silver thread (*kalabatun*) was prepared in Benares. The weavers used to prepare colours themselves. They were very good dyers. They still have the formulas of colour preparation with them.

Besides preparing first-class purely Indian silk work and saris and kimkhabas, they used to keep a store of silk articles. In those good old days they were both makers and sellers of their articles. The present day merchants (silk-sellers) then only worked as brokers. But now the broker has turned into a wholesale dealer, a big merchant who orders the weavers to prepare things according to the taste and demand of the public. As long as the makers were sellers also, they used to make things as their artistic traditional training and the pleasure that a maker or artist feels in his work, inspired them to do. They had their own good old patterns and designs. They had their own dyes and dyeing materials, the deep and harmonious permanent Indian colours. The result was that the work prepared was quite superb in every respect, and fine and beautiful. From the economic point of view it was a great gain to the country. Thousands of gold and silver thread makers lived affluently in Benares. The silk culture was a living industry.

And now, in these days of 'Swadeshi', the dye and colour are quite foreign, the stuff, both silk and gold thread, foreign too. Only the hands that prepare it are swadeshi. The hard and transient European colours seem to please the colour-blind eyes of modern Indians. I had some long talks with various weavers. They all told me, 'We are helpless'. The public demand foreign aniline colours. They like the fine gold thread of Europe more than the pure gold thread of their country. One old man, from whom I extracted most of my materials for this essay, told me outright that in matters of colour and gold thread the Bengalis are the greatest sinners. It is from them that the demand for aniline colours came. The princes and Maharajas are not smaller sinners in this respect. To me they are greater sinners. This fact was borne out by one old silk merchant of Benares with whom I conversed. He told me that—since he still keeps a store of articles of Indian indigenous colour—he has more customers among Europeans than Indian Princes. I know, though once he was the greatest merchant, that now he is failing in his trade because of his retaining the old colour and Indian materials. His shop has already become only a museum of old silk and gold work

rather than a (place of) living trade. My chief informant, Sheikh Abdur Razaq, too, told me that he had taken entirely to European colours only very recently, when he saw that it was otherwise impossible to compete any more. He said also that only 50 years ago his father used to keep a store of silk work up to one lakh's worth of rupees but now they have to sell the piece to the merchant as soon as it comes off the loom.

I am very apprehensive about these fated old indigenous looms which are quite good for their purpose. There is no guarantee that they will not be replaced by European machines; if our far-sighted Indian brothers do not realise the fate of the Benares silk trade, they will soon lose one of the great Indian industries.

It is very sad that the weavers' guild strictly observes the social laws which I would like to be liberalised and modified but has ceased to keep in force the industrial regulations regarding underselling, and the use of Indian dyes. It is most desirable that the council should try to fine or dismiss those people from the guild who use aniline colours, and also that those who undersell others should be punished. This will save the rich industry from its downfall, which, as a purely good Indian industry, has already commenced. I spoke to some of the weavers and asked if they would like these two trade regulations to be enforced; they said "We should like it," but questioned its practicability.

The aniline colours can be replaced by Indian colours very easily if some laymen go amongst the weavers and show its importance and desirability. If some *Raises* and merchants support the weavers, the sardar's council can easily re-enforce these two old rules."

A long essay has been sent in by Mr. S. N. Gupta, 2nd master, Government High School, Ballia. It consists, however, of a general discussion of the advantages of trades unions, and suggestions for their formation, with an account of the modern "Central Silk Weavers Association," Benares, "remarkable for its sudden growth, financial status, solid and reliable foundation, popularity and most honest dealings." This modern development is a co-operative

trading society and a guild, and is in no way to be compared with the true guild described by Lala Mukandi Lal, although its members are all drawn from the same community. Inasmuch as the essay does not describe a true guild organization I have not been able to award any prize, but I give a brief summary of its contents.

The Silk-weavers Association was founded in 1906, with a view to imparting technical and industrial education to the weavers, and to help and benefit the poorer ones amongst them, of whom there are at least 4000 who cannot afford two meals a day if their work should suffer in the least. Amongst the leading members of the association at its commencement were Sardar Rahmat-ullah, Haji Kadir Baksh and Sheikh Gulam Muhammad, prominent members of the nurbag guild. The association is registered under Act X of 1904 as a limited company with a capital of Rs. 45,000. This capital is divided into 9,000 shares and it is provided that only members of the resident Muhammadan community may become shareholders and that no member can hold more than 200 shares at a time. To facilitate the subscription of capital, rules were made for payment in instalments.

The work of the association is done by a Board of Directors, consisting of 30 members, appointed from amongst the eligible shareholders (those holding not less than 20 shares). The Board meets once a month to enquire into the state of business, decide cases, settle disputes, and regulate prices.

Next in importance to the Board is a managing committee which meets weekly to check accounts and conduct all the ordinary business of a trading firm. The proceedings are duly recorded by a secretary. A general meeting of the association is held annually, when the Board presents a complete report on the work of the association during the preceding year. Directors for the next year are then elected, and the amount of dividend is decided upon, after the accounts have been passed. In 1906-07 and 1907-08 a dividend of 8% was declared, in 1909 5½%.

For the regulation of wages, a 'fixed wages system' is adopted. The association supplies the raw materials to the labourers and receives manufactured goods at a particular fixed time. It will thus be seen

that the association is practically a limited liability company acting as silk merchants. The system of payment is really that of piecework and it is to the interest of workmen to accomplish as much as possible in the day. The association is not concerned with apprenticeship, as it pays only for work, instead of for workmen's time. The workmen themselves teach their sons or employ apprentices on their own account. The apprentices are stimulated to exertion by the knowledge that they can obtain no remuneration until they are qualified to work by themselves.

The managing committee supervises and administers the different branches of the guild, viz., 'throwing singles,' or the preparation of silk thread by repeated processes; twisting skeins: bleaching, i.e., washing and cleaning with soap nuts; dyeing; weaving and calendaring.

The art of designing is peculiar to Benares: Delhi, Agra and other places follow simple designs. New designs are made, and foreign ones adopted in Benares.

Three other essays have been received: these are very brief and contain for the most part discursive or irrelevant information. One of these essayists devotes his time to explaining the reason for the non-existence of trade-guilds in India, another gives a brief general account of the industries existing in his State, and a third is completely unintelligible. The first writer above referred to gives also a brief account of certain associations of workers, from which I extract the following details:—Koorainader in the Madras Presidency is the centre of a large weaving industry, where clothes for women are made. The wealthiest weaver or owner of the largest number of looms is generally recognized as leader of the community. When the common interests of the community are affected, or funds are required for a charitable or religious purpose he summons the community to a meeting. The position of all on such occasions is really equal, but the leader's suggestions are often adopted without discussion or amendment. Yet any member may if he so wishes be heard, and offer opposition or amendment to the proposals and it would be impossible for the wishes of the weavers to be really ignored:

it is only when their leader, as most often happens, is really voicing the sense of the community, that no discussion or opposition takes place. The leader is assisted by a council of four, forming with himself a *panchayat*. The social status of these four is nearly equal to that of the leader, whose executive officials they are. The five used to sit in judgment on civil and criminal disputes that are now taken to the courts of law. The only common business of the community is connected with such matters as the ownership of a building or the management of a temple. There is no regulation of trade. Education is totally neglected. Poor or distressed members benefit from charitable feasts given by rich or successful men as thankofferings to gods, but there is no organised poor relief. It will be seen that the *panchayat* can scarcely be described as a real trade guild, in as much as there is no regulation of trade; possibly this regulation once existed.

Aduthurai is another weaving centre, the village consisting entirely of weavers. The most noteworthy fact mentioned regarding them is their recent refusal to allow a liquor shop to be established within the village limits.

At Conjeeveram there is a modern weavers' union, with fixed payment for work, and division of profits at the end of the year.

To these notes from prize essays, I have only to add that I am informed by Mr. B. D. Gupta of the Swadeshi Trading Co., Benares, that when imported (French) gold thread was just introduced, the sardars passed an order that any one using it would have it cut off the looms, and this order was literally carried out: nevertheless the attempt at exclusion had soon to be abandoned.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

FATE

(A SHORT STORY).

THE night had not yet dawned. A deep dark cloud enshrouded the first glimmerings of dawn. The birds in their nests, unable to get out, anxiously fluttered their wings. All Nature, apprehensive of a general destruction, was at a standstill.

Kinu with his eight-year-old son, Madhu, went out to catch fish. A storm was brewing,—but go out he must. By ten in the morning he must supply the Babus with fish. The whole village was astir on account of the marriage festivities.

His wife, Tarini, said to Kinu, "Look here, the sky is overcast with clouds; don't you go out very far, and take good care of Madhu, he is but a child."

Arrived at the ghat, Kinu launched his boat. There was already a chillness in the breeze. Madhu called out, "Papa!"

"Yes."

"What dense clouds! The storm will be coming on pretty soon."

His father tried to cheer him up and said, "Don't be afraid,—I am with you. In many a storm have I set out alone. We can't afford to be in dread of rain or high wind."

The sweet music of the *nahabat* in the Zemindar's house, which was not far off, then reached their ears. Kinu exclaimed "Hear you the strains of the *sanai*; we are already a little late."

"Sweet! Is it not Papa? And, when we come back, we go to listen to the music, eh!"

"All right."

(2)

Kinu's boat had hardly turned round the bend of the river, when the storm came on. Madhu clasped his father in fear. Kinu's heart had also begun to throb. There was mist on all sides. Nothing could be discerned in the darkness. It was like the laughter of a demon,—the whistling of the storm, and the high waves foaming on the wide breast of the river. In many a similar storm had Kinu gone out fishing, but never had he been so struck with dread. But today there was Madhu with him,—their only child, their own sweet darling. Besides, Tarini had insisted on his being very careful. Alas! why had he brought Madhu with him to face this danger. When leaving home he did not anticipate the risk he ran.

Depending on Fate, he let go the helm of the boat, pressed Madhu all the closer to his breast, and called out, "Madhu, my boy!" Madhu gave no reply. He was dumbfounded and trembling with fear.

Suddenly a wave dashed against the boat, and it capsized. Like a terrible demon, a wave snatched Madhu away from Kinu's breast. A plaintive sound was heard in the distance uttering "Ma- -Ma!" Kinu yelled "Madhu, dear!" None responded. His cry was drowned by the terrible howl of the storm.

(3)

At the door of her hut, with a longing heart, sat Tarini, awaiting her husband and her son. The evening conch-shells had already been blown, yet neither of them turned up. The Zemindar's men had come for the fish four or five times. Tarini's heart quivered with the dread of some unknown danger. She said to herself, "Why did I send them to face this danger for a few pice? My God! Bring them back to me."

Like one mad, Kinu came in and cried "Tarini!"

Tarini stood up amazed, "Ah! so you are come back; but where is Madhu? Have you sent him with the fish? They have come for it three or four times."

Kinu's legs began to shake, he tottered. Whereupon Tarini said, "Hang it! What's up?—Are you drunk?" Kinu said, "Tarini, hold me firm. Has Madhu come back?"

Tarini replied, "Come back? When did he?—"

"Not back? Oh, then—"

Catching hold of her husband's hand, Tarini exclaimed, "Then? What then? Speak out, man! be quick."

His head on her shoulders, his voice choky, Kinu said, "Madhu is no more. Mother Ganges has claimed him as her own."

Loathingly did Tarini push away her husband and shrieked, "What sayest, eh! And thou—"

Kinu said, "And I am back." He burst into tears and sobbed out, "Everywhere I searched for him the live-long day; but to no purpose. In my breast had I hugged him, but some one snatched him away; I could by no means keep him with me. Don't you look so, Tarini, it rends my heart." Kinu sat sobbing.

In harsh accents Tarini said, "And you could easily come back! Now go, find him and bring him back, wherever he may be."

Kinu replied, "I could not find him—simply failed to get him by any means."

"Begone! Search for him again with some care. Fie! with what eyes are you come back, leaving him behind!"

"Well then I go out again, and shall return only if I get him, or—"

Kinu went away. Tarini steadfastly marked his way. Gada now came from the Zemindar's house, and blustered out, "Kinu isn't come as yet? He is sure to make a mess over the fish. How fortunate that I had the pond dragged! The rascal, to play us such tricks."

(4)

Tarini fell asleep at the door in expectation of her husband and her son. She intended taking up the search herself; but what if Madhu came in the meantime? Hen, Madhu, no more! Could it be possible?

Awaking from her slumber, Tarini saw the light of day gradually dispelling the darkness of night. But still there was no news of either of them. She rushed wildly out.

Passing along the river-side, she reached the Babu's ghat. Her legs were scratched by brambles on the way, and her cloth was bespattered with mud. What was it there on the step near the *babul* tree? Tarini ran up to it and discovered her own poor husband,—his body no longer moving, and tainted with the touch of death. She cried aloud.

The *sanai* was then issuing forth strains of music. The ladies of the Babu's household were out to perform certain pre-nuptial rites. None could, however, realise that the festivities in connexion with which the gaily dressed, chattering damsels were enjoying themselves so much, had, by an irony of FATE, been the cause of turning a luckless woman into a childless widow. In this wide world there is now none left whom she may call her own.

SAURINDRAMOHAN MUKERJI,
&
CHARUCHANDRA CHATTERJEA.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

IN an essay on "Popular Education and National Economic Development" the celebrated Professor, Dr. Tews of Berlin stated his conclusions thus :—

First, General education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production, in agriculture, small industries, manufactures and commerce. Secondly, the consequence of the increase of popular education is a more equal distribution of the proceeds of labour, contribution to the general prosperity, social peace, and the development of all the powers of the nation. Thirdly, the economic and social development of a people, and their participation in the international exchange of commodities is dependent upon the education of the masses. Lastly, for these reasons, the greatest care for the fostering of all educational institutions is one of the most important national duties of the present.

If the above sentences are applicable to an European state, how much more are they to India where the indispensable means of raising our condition is a sound system of education. In suggesting remedies to bring out India's regeneration, one of the Presidents of the Indian Industrial Conference said that what we require are a wide provision of elementary education, foundation of technical schools and scientific institutes, establishment of commercial schools and acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge by students sent abroad. All these suggestions are included and comprised under one comprehensive word—*Education*.

Two facts are self-evident. First, the question of mass education which is of vital importance to us—the Indians who are lagging behind in the race of human civilisation, and secondly, it is also a patent fact that our Government must increase its rate of expenditure on public education. This will be clearly evident from the fact that in England every child of school-going age—this is a rule which holds good in Japan and in fact, in all the civilised countries—is absolutely required to attend a school. The amount which the Government in England is now spend-

ing is $11\frac{1}{4}$ millions as contrasted with $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions which it used to spend 15 years ago. Observe the contrast in India. 95 p. c. of our population is uneducated and do not attend school but "in the quinquennium from 1885-86 to 1889-90, the state grant to education rose from 124·3 lakhs to 131·6 lakhs only, i.e., by less than 6 p. c. and this in spite of the fact that the amount for the latter year included state expenditure on education in Upper Burma which the former year did not." It was only from 1902 that the Government of India was making special grants for education, but this, we must submit, is not enough for our own purpose. The well-known writer Max once writing in *Capital* on India's Education thus wrote and we commend this passage to the notice of all right thinking Englishmen :—

"We will look forward and welcome the day when the millions of the lowlier orders in India will have reached that platform when free and compulsory primary education may safely become an institution in India, but that day, according to present appearances, is not yet near at hand; but education is going on all the same. Would that the cultivators knew how to bring up their boys to make two-blades of grass grow where only one grew before—to make the earth yield 50 p. c. more weight of food crops from the acre than is taken now. That would be a primary education worth speaking about. *And it is the first and foremost kind of primary education that ought to be fostered in India.*"†

* Those who want to study this question deeply are requested to refer to the able speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Budget Debate of 1903.

† "The Statist" in an article "Increasing the purchasing power" rightly observes: "Obviously if the production of India could be increased 50 p. c. the producers would immediately be able to raise their own standard of living, and that they would likewise be able, finding that their production was increasing so greatly and that there was a free market for it, to offer better wages". Evidently this can be done as 'the Statist' observed. "A really sound system of education must be provided for the whole people." The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Mudholkar in the First Indian Industrial Conference very aptly said: "The first thing that has been done is to recognise the fact that some education is necessary even for workmen

In fact all are agreed that free education must be placed within the reach of the agricultural population and that it is the duty of the State as well as of the rich to provide as extensively as possible sound elementary education for the labouring class.

Let us now take a cursory view of the spread of education in some advanced countries.

First take Germany which is going ahead in Manufacturing Industries. In the census of 1900 the population of the country amounted to 56,367,000 souls. The number of primary schools was 60,000, the number of teachers 125,000 and the number of pupils exceeded 8 millions. In 1898-99, only seven men out of ten thousand were returned as illiterate. The number of secondary schools exceeded one thousand, while there are more than 20 universities having some 34,000 students with almost 3,000 professors. 13,000 students were receiving technical education.

In England, students attending elementary schools were 4,666,000 in 1900. Of the number of secondary and higher schools, technical colleges and universities, there is almost no end.

In Japan, the object aimed at by the State may be gathered from the Imperial Instruction issued in 1872 to the effect that education was essential for all persons and that whereas in the past, learning had often been looked upon as a means of securing official position, henceforward the whole population of the country, regardless of classes, must be educated, so that no village should contain an illiterate inmate. In fact education, as Baron Dairoken Kikuchi, President of the Imperial Kyoto University, remarked, "Education is regarded as one of the most important functions of the State." Here in Japan the ordinary elementary School-course extends over six years and is obligatory on every child, who must enter it at the beginning of the first school

and artisans and that our industrial development cannot be said to be established on a solid foundation unless the mass of operatives on whose labours it would depend are better fitted physically, intellectually and morally for their work than at present. The Government have in India the same duty and responsibility in regard to the instruction of the masses that they have in England and we are justified in appealing to them to take here the action which is deemed absolutely necessary in Great Britain."

year after it has completed its sixth year of age.* The method of attendance, as Mr. Lajpat Rai remarked, is typically oriental. When children belonging to the school absent themselves for seven consecutive days without good reason, their guardians must at once be notified and be instructed to make the children attend. In case their absence continues for another successive seven days, the headman in charge must be notified thereof. On receipt of such notification the headman impresses upon the guardians the necessity of making the children enter the school or attend regularly. When such a pressing information is given for the second time and still no notice is taken of their neglect to enter or attend the school, the matter is reported to the superintending authorities. On receipt of such report, the district headman on behalf of the town or village headman, or the local governor on behalf of the mayor, makes a fresh pressing demand that the children shall be compelled to enter or attend school. We are ourselves orientals and certainly it should be our best aim and endeavour to follow in the footsteps of another oriental nation. I should also like to point out here that no fees are charged for ordinary elementary schools and as a result of this 90 p. c. of the school population are at present receiving the prescribed course of education.

In America has been achieved the highest development of industrial education. Education is imparted to students *absolutely free*, because, as H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda said,—

"No fees are charged in these State colleges, *because the proper training of the citizen in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance* and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of these colleges."

Two comparative tables are given below—culled from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Budget speech of 1903—one to show "the position as regards the spread of primary education and the total expenditure incurred in different countries", and the other to show "the figures of expenditure on higher education." The tables clearly prove our position and categorically calls upon our Government and rich people to pay more attention to this all-important question.

* Vide *The Modern Review*, September, 1910.

Name of Country.	Population in millions.	Total enrolment in Primary Schools in millions.	Ratio of enrolment to population.	Total expenditure in millions of pounds.	Expenditure per head of population.
					s. d.
Austro-Hungary	41.4	6.2	15	5.35	2 6
Belgium	6.7	.8	14.5	1.5	4 6
France	38.5	5.5	14.4	8.9	4 11
Prussia	34.5	6.3	20	9.2	5 4
England & Wales	31.7	5.7	17.7	12.1	5 0
Scotland	4.3	.7	17	1.6	7 8
Ireland	4.5	.8	17.6	1.2	5 5
Russia	126.5	3.8	3	4	0 8
Switzerland	3.1	.65	20.7	1.3	8 5
India (British)	221.2	3.16	1.4	.76	.83
Japan	42.7	3.3	7.8	2	0 11
United States	75.3	15.3	20.9	44.5	9 10
Canada	5.2	.95	18	2	7 9
Australasia	4.3	.79	18	2.5	11 7

In Europe, Russia spends 2d. and Spain 1½d. per head of population. But in India we have ¼d.

Who can now deny that there is no

* I have not dealt with the indirect effect of education upon the economics of India, but the following passage which I take from Dr. Herschell's "Jottings from Jail" will open the eyes of many to this question of indirect effect. "I wish the school net were more diligently and successfully cast. Of 78,416 persons apprehended in

EXPENDITURE ON HIGHER EDUCATION.

Country.	Total amount spent.	Expenditure per Capita of Population.	Country.	Total amount spent.	Expenditure per Capita of Population.
Austria	56 millions	6 d.	Sweden	.14	6½
Belgium	.16	6 d.	United States	3.5	11 d.
France	.92	6 d.	Canada	.21	10 d.
Germany	1.6	7 d.	Australia	.13	8 d.
G. B. & Ireland	1.7	11 d.	India	.28	½ d.
Italy	.46	3½ d.			
Russia	.95	2 d.			
Spain	.1	1½ d.			

subject which should call forth our whole-hearted enthusiasm so much as education?

JOGINDRANATH SAMADDAR.

London there were 8,426 males and 4,677 females who could neither read nor write, while 45,021 males and 4,677 females are described as being able to read and write imperfectly; i.e. out of 78,416 persons apprehended, 75,789 were altogether uneducated or imperfectly educated."

FACTORS FOR DETERMINING FOOD-RATION FOR INDIAN CATTLE

I. THE LIVE WEIGHT OF INDIAN CATTLE.

FROM what we have shewn in our article on "Cattle-feeding on modern lines" (Modern Review for July 1910), it should be apparent that the determination of a suitable food-ration for cattle depends mainly on two important factors. It depends first of all on the live weight of the animal to be fed, and second on the digestibility of the nutrient constituents of the food-stuffs available for our use, due regard being had to their prices current in our market.

We propose to discuss in this article the methods that an Indian agriculturist may

adopt for the determination of the live weight of his cattle. In most civilized countries the state does all it can to help the agriculturist and the co-operative principle has been so fully developed that there are co-operative societies in almost every village to supply expensive machinery such as weighing machines for taking the live weight of cattle,—on hire, for the use of the poorest farmer. Live weight is readily determined with a suitable weighing machine. But where is the Indian cattle-feeder to get one from? The "natural leaders of the people"—as they would like to be called—the zemindars,

who owe all their affluence to agriculture, might do something to justify their title by maintaining for each village or group of villages a stock of improved agricultural machinery for the use of their tenantry from whom they draw their "unearned increment." But that is a matter of "hope deferred to make the heart sick." Weighing machines for taking the live weight of cattle are not likely to be within the reach of the Indian cattle-feeder at least for some time to come.

Happily for us the determination of the live weight for feeding purposes need not be very accurate. An approximate figure is quite sufficient. A difference of 50 lbs or even 100 lbs would not matter much. It has been said that—"the bodies of farm animals of various species and in various conditions are about half water" ('Feeding of Animals', p. 95). "The stomach alone of the ox will hold 100 to 150 lbs. of water" (Manual of Cattle Feeding, p. 117). Under the circumstances a rough rule that will give us some rough estimate of the live weight will be sufficient for the purpose of determining a suitable food-ration for a particular animal. Such a rough rule has been discovered for us. It has been found possible to form an estimate of the live weight of the ox near enough for feeding purposes from measurements of the girth of chest, just behind the hump of the animal. A table of live weights has been framed corresponding to the measurements of the girth of chest, called *Whitcher's table* (see *Woll's Handbook for Farmers and Dairy Men*, p. 35). We give below the portion of the table likely to be applicable to our Indian cattle,—

Table for estimating Live weight of Cattle.

(WHITCHER)

Girth in feet and inches		Store Fair shape.	Cattle Good shape.	Medium fat Fair shape. Good shape.	
ft.	in.	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs
5	0	650	700	700	750
5	1	675	725	725	775
5	2	700	750	750	800
5	3	725	775	775	825
5	4	750	800	800	850
5	5	775	825	825	875
5	6	800	850	850	900
5	7	825	875	875	925
5	8	850	900	900	950
5	9	875	925	925	975

Table for estimating Live weight of Cattle.

(WHITCHER)

Girth in feet and inches		Store Fair Shape	Cattle Good shape.	Medium fat Fair shape. Good shape.	
ft.	in.	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs
5	10	900	950	950	1000
5	11	925	975	975	1025
6	0	950	1000	1000	1050
6	1	1000	1050	1050	1100
6	2	1050	1100	1100	1150
6	3	1100	1150	1150	1200
6	4	1150	1200	1200	1250
6	5	1200	1250	1250	1300
6	6	1250	1300	1300	1350
6	7	1300	1350	1350	1400
6	8	1350	1400	1400	1450
6	9	1400	1450	1450	1500
6	10	1450	1500	1500	1550
6	11	1500	1550	1550	1600
7	0	1550	1600	1600	1650

The table shows that the live weight of cattle increases or decreases in a somewhat definite proportion, with the increase or decrease of the girth of chest, that for the same girth of chest the live weight is greater for fattened cattle than for unfattened or store cattle, and that the live weight is greater for animals of good shape. The table also indicates that for a girth of between 5 to 6 ft. there is an increase of 25 lbs. in the live weight for every inch of increase of girth and that for a girth of between 6 to 7 ft. the increase in live weight is 50 lbs. for every inch of increase of girth. For the same girth of chest, good shape would give an increase of 50 lbs. in the live weight. Thus we see *Whitcher's table* supplies for us the necessary data for calculating the live weight from measurements of the girth of chest at least so far as the larger breeds such as the *Nagra* or *Panjabi* are concerned. The table, however, does not notice animals having a girth of chest less than 5 ft. The smaller breeds of our Bengal cattle often have a girth of chest varying between 4 to 5 ft. To determine the live weight of such small cattle we may take a hint from *Whitcher's table* and reduce the figure for the live weight corresponding to a girth of 5 ft. by 25 lbs. for every inch of decrease of girth of chest. For example, measuring the girth of chest of one of our small cows we find one has a girth of 4 ft. 3 ins, and another a girth of 4 ft. 6 ins. The live weight by this rule will be 425 to 525.

lbs. for the former and 500 to 600 lbs. for the latter.

The interested reader should have some idea of the live weight of the different breeds of our Indian cattle. We had the girth of chest measured for a number of cows mostly of the Shibpore Dairy in Howrah of different Indian breeds from which their live weight are determined from Whitcher's table, and are shown below. The Hissar of Delhi and the Montgomery of the Panjab seem to be the heaviest among our cattle : -

Indian Breed.	Girth of chest in feet and inches.	Live weight in pounds.
A Montgomery of the Panjab--		
(1)	5'-9"	875 to 975
(2)	5'-3"	725 to 825
(3)	5'-0"	650 to 750
B Hansi of Multan--		
(1)	5'-3"	725 to 825
(2)	5'-0"	650 to 750
C Hissar of Delhi--		
(1)	5'-8"	850 to 950
D Nagra or Bhagalpuri--		
(1)	5'-3"	725 to 825
(2)	5'-1"	675 to 775
E Country cows of Bengal--		
(1)	5'-0"	650 to 750
(2)	5'-4"	750 to 850
(3)	4'-3"	425 to 525
(4)	4'-6"	500 to 600

It should be interesting to compare with the figures given above for the live weight of the breeds of Indian cattle, the figures for the average live weight of the different European and American cattle. Proud as were our ancestors of their *Godhana* or wealth of cattle, it will show how low we stand in the scale of nations in regard to the value of our cattle. The figures given below are also taken from Woll's Handbook (p. 241).

Breed.	Average live weight in pounds.	Breed.	Average live weight in pound
Short horns	1405	Ayrshires	1046
Jerseys	856	Red Polls	1162
Guernseys	1026	Kerries	787
Holsteins (Dutch)	1383	Crosses	1230

Apart from Whitcher's table there are other devices less reliable for estimating the live weight of cattle without actually taking their weights. There are certain empirical formulæ often resorted to for this purpose. The late Mr. N. G. Mukerji in his Handbook, we remember, gives one such formula. Here is another that we have come

across :—"The live weight of an ox in pounds equals the square of the girth of chest in inches multiplied by the length of the animal in inches—divided by three hundred." The girth is measured just behind the hump and over the chest, and the length is measured from behind the hump to the root of the tail. If the girth of chest of a cow be 5ft. 9ins. (=69ins.), the length 3ft 6 ins. (=42 ins), its live weight

$$\text{will be } \frac{69 \times 69 \times 42}{300} = \frac{199962}{300} = \frac{200000}{300} = 700$$

lbs. nearly. According to Whitcher's table the live weight of a cow having a girth of 5ft. 9ins. will be between 875 and 975 lbs. This empirical formula thus gives too a low figure. In the case of small calves however we tested by actual weighing the figures obtained by the formula, and found the results nearly agree. We, therefore, place it before the reader for whatever it may be worth.

So long as weighing machines for taking the live weight of cattle are not accessible to the Indian agriculturist for hire, the only thing he can do for purposes of determining a suitable food ration is to have recourse to some sort of device for estimating the live weight. One such device that we would suggest would be to try and establish the relation between the live weight and the power of draft of our cattle as has been done in the case of the horse in those countries where the horse is used for the plough. If that is done, it would be easy to estimate the live weight from the draft. With regard to the horse it has been found that "about the maximum walking draft of a horse on a good level road is measured by one-half his weight. Trials have shown that a 1634lb. horse can exert a steady pull of 800lbs. while walking 100 feet and that an 836lb. horse may maintain through the same distance a steady draft of 400lbs." (Physics of Agriculture, p. 431). We would suggest that our Government Farms which are well provided with funds make a few trials and establish the ratio between the live weight and the maximum draft of Indian cattle, and publish the result for the information and the benefit of the agricultural public.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH—IV

BEFORE we proceed further with the citation of evidence, it is desirable to pause a while and consider the adequacy or otherwise of the rival hypotheses of telepathy and spirit communication to explain facts of the kind which I have narrated. As regards the truth of the facts themselves, I do not think that there can be any reasonable doubt. They have been observed and vouched for by men whose authority cannot be light-heartedly set aside. Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. A. R. Wallace, Cesare Lombroso and others like them are stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of science and if we unhesitatingly accept their scientific discoveries, without ourselves verifying the truth of them, there is no reason why we should be particularly sceptical when they assure us that they have satisfied themselves by their own observations that phenomena inexplicable by the known laws of nature and apparently controlled by some intelligence other than human do sometimes occur. When Sir William Crookes discovered Thallium the world acclaimed him as a great savant, when he learnedly discourses on repulsion from radiation, radiant matter, protyle, monium, victorium and such other things, people listen to him with respect and implicitly believe that what he says must be true whether they understand him or not, but when the same Sir William Crookes declares that he has seen and touched the materialised form of the spirit "Katie King" and has repeatedly photographed it they grow sceptical and even question his sanity. It is not known that when Sir William Crookes made his researches in the phenomena of spiritualism, he was on the verge of insanity. What is known is that long after this he was knighted for his pre-eminence in science and was honoured with the Presidentship of the

British Association. When Schiaparelli announces that he has observed markings on the planet Mars that look like canals, you listen to him with gaping wonder, but when the identical Schiaparelli says that he has observed physical phenomena to occur at the seances of Eusapia Palladino, why refuse to accept his testimony? No doubt there are men who will say that they are not prepared to be guided by mere authority, however high, but are determined to base their beliefs and conclusions on their own observations. I admire such men and only wish that it was possible for lesser mortals to be like them. They no doubt made voyages themselves to the Malay Archipelago and the Galpagos islands and observed the flora and fauna there before accepting the facts on which the theory of Wallace and Darwin is based, never said that Saturn has rings and Jupiter five moons until they saw them with their own eyes and do not believe that such a man as Napoleon ever existed because they never saw him. But what is possible for them is not possible for every body. Ordinary men must in every sphere of life be content to be guided by the evidence of reliable witnesses on questions of fact. The only thing that can legitimately be demanded is that the men whose evidence we are called upon to accept are competent and trained observers of fact. It is a well known truth that observation is often unconsciously influenced by the prepossessions of the mind. All the distinguished men whom I have named began their investigations with a strong bias *against* supernatural phenomena. That they should have been ultimately convinced conclusively proves how insistent and incontestable the facts were.

For these reasons, I consider that it is a mere waste of time to discuss whether we should believe the eminent men who affirm that they have witnessed super-

normal phenomena to occur in their presence under test conditions. The facts, I say, cannot be gainsaid. Because some people are so constituted that they cannot believe them it does not follow that they are unreal. The King of Saim could not believe an English traveller when he told him that in his country water sometimes became as hard as stone and punished the Englishman for daring to tell a lie in His Majesty's august presence. The only question is how the facts are to be interpreted. I fully admit that in *interpreting* the facts we must exercise our own judgment rather than accept the opinions of others, though I am bound to say that even in this respect we cannot dismiss with a wave of the hand the convictions deliberately formed after mature consideration by successful investigators of nature and recognised leaders of thought. If, for example, I listen with profound respect, to Sir Oliver Lodge's exposition of the Lodge coherer and his new theory of electricity, I do not see why I should be hyper-critical when he deliberately declares that—

"A good case has been made out that lucid moments of intercourse with deceased persons may in the best cases supervene" and that "the boundary between the two states—the known and the unknown is wearing thin in places and like excavators engaged in boring a tunnel from opposite ends, amid the roar of water and other noises, we are beginning to hear now and again the strokes of pick-axes of our comrades on the other side."

Those who for some reason or other seek to avoid the theory of spirit communication attempt to explain the facts under consideration by telepathy. I have already explained, briefly, what the telepathic theory is and now proceed to consider whether it is capable of accounting for the facts. If all the communications purporting to come from spirits were clear, if all the statements made by them were correct, if confusions and incoherences never occurred, then, strange as it may sound, a strong case might have been made out for telepathy. But this is not what happens. Even the clearest communicators are not always free from incoherences, mistakes are constantly made and facts well known to the sitters and prominent in their minds fail to be reproduced. On the spiritistic hypothesis these things, as we shall see, are easily explicable, but they are fatal to the

telepathic theory. Remember that in order to explain the facts, we have to conceive of telepathy as a practically omniscient faculty which in some way extends to all living minds and has access to their memories. Mrs. Piper's secondary personality personating George Pelham, in order to satisfy John Hart, taps, on the spur of the moment, the memory of James Howard at a distance and picks up the expression, "I will solve the problems Katharine", as a splendid proof of identity. A process or a power that can perform such a miracle cannot be supposed to have any limitation. Nor is this all. Telepathy must not only have access to the minds of distant persons, but be capable of *selecting* the facts relevant to the purpose of the moment. Now if such be the powers of telepathy, how is it that it so often fails to seize upon incidents perfectly known to the sitter? Why does it make mistakes at all? The failures become explicable only on the supposition that telepathy is a process of limited range and subject to all sorts of unknown limitations. But in that case how are the successes possible? In short, on the telepathic hypothesis, the successes cannot be explained if the failures are explained and the failures cannot be explained if the successes are explained. It must not be forgotten that an omniscient telepathy of the kind needed to explain the phenomena presented is itself a hypothesis and not a *vera causa*. There is not a scrap of experimental evidence in support of it. The only thing which has been experimentally proved is that under certain unknown conditions the mind of the operator can influence the mind of the percipient. What we have to suppose, however, in order to account for what *prima facie* are messages coming from spirits is that the medium's subliminal mind goes, in some mysterious fashion, in quest of facts required for deceiving the sitters and manages somehow or other to get hold of them precisely at the moment when they are needed! Truly does Professor Hyslop observe that—

"It represents a process far more incredible than spirits, and no intelligent man will resort to the belief of it in any haste. Only a superstitious prejudice against the possibility of spirits will induce a man to betray such credulity as the acceptance of universal telepathy. A man that can believe it in the present

state of human knowledge can believe any thing and ought to be tolerant of those who have a lurking suspicion that there might be such a thing as incarnate spirits."

A distinctive feature of the phenomena is that the messages purport to come from different sources. The hand and voice of Mrs. Piper are sometimes simultaneously controlled by different communicators sending different messages and frequent changes of communicators take place. Further there is very often the appearance of consultations taking place among spirits "on the other side" and bits of conversations not intended for the sitters appear to get transmitted unintentionally. All this is perfectly intelligible on the spiritistic hypothesis but is not intelligible on the telepathic hypothesis. Of course it may be urged that a single fiendish secondary personality deliberately does all this in order to convey the false impression that spirits are communicating. But Dr. Hodgson does not think that any one would continue to regard such a supposition as plausible

"after witnessing and studying the numerous coherent groups of memories connected with different persons, the characteristic emotional tendencies distinguishing such different persons, the excessive complication of the acting required, and the absence of any apparent bond of union for the associated thoughts and feelings indicative of each individuality, save some persistent basis of that individuality itself."

Telepathy does not explain why some communicators are clear, while others are confused and incoherent. Why should it be more successful in having access to the incidents connected with one departed personality than in getting hold of facts connected with another? For example, Dr. Hodgson states that suicides, as a rule, are so confused that they are hardly able to send coherent messages. There is absolutely no reason why telepathy should find it so difficult to pick up necessary facts and incidents in order to personate a man who has committed suicide. The mode of death of an individual can have no conceivable relation to the remembrance of him by living persons from whose memories telepathy is supposed to draw the requisite materials to befool the sitter. The hypothesis of spirit communication can easily account for such differences. They are due to differences in the personal equation of the communicators. It is perfectly natural

that some spirits should be better able to communicate than others. A man commits suicide when he is more or less in an abnormal state of mind. This abnormal mental condition may long continue after death and prevent the spirit from sending coherent messages if he ever attempts to do so.

Many of the facts on record are of such a nature that in order to explain them by telepathy, we have to make incredible assumptions and suppositions, while the hypothesis of spirit return explains them in the simplest and most natural manner. Take the case of G. P.'s non-recognition of Miss Warner for example. If the communicator was really G. P., it was quite in accordance with probabilities that he should be unable to recognise her. But why should telepathy fail in this particular instance, unless we suppose that Mrs. Piper's secondary personality was astute enough to perceive that the purpose of the deception would be accomplished if it pretended not to recognise Miss Warner, because, in that case, people would argue that it was only natural that a spirit should be unable to recognise a girl who had become a woman during the eight years that G. P. had not seen her! In the case of "Aunt Sallie", Prof. Newbold has shown how difficult it is to explain it by telepathy. The following incident described in Dr. Hodgson's second report is another illustration of the difficulty of the telepathic theory.

"Miss Edmund was holding a sitting on behalf of a lady entirely unconnected with G. P. and his group of friends. G. P. wrote a little. As Mrs. Piper was coming out of the trance, the voice shouted excitedly; 'Tell Aleck Bousser (pseudonym), tell Aleck Bousser not to leave them alone.' Miss Edmund knew nothing of Aleck Bousser, but he was well-known to me. He was an intimate friend of G. P. and was also the husband of Madame Frederica, the living sister of Madame Elisa for whom G. P. had acted as amanuensis on more than one occasion. I sent the message immediately to Aleck Bousser and received the following reply. 'There certainly do happen to be some people I just was happening to have been debating about in my own mind in a way that makes your short message perfectly significant and natural. I am sorry thus to be obliged to feed your credulity for I hate your spirits'. I understood, as it was described later, that Madame Elisa arrived with this message too late to give it herself, and G. P. gave it to the 'returning consciousness' of Mrs. Piper. That Madame Elisa should select some significant circumstance in connection with living friends or relatives

is intelligible ; but to suppose that a fragment of Mrs. Piper's personality selects it is not intelligible,—it is not explanatory, and suggests no order."

The telepathic explanation of the phenomena under consideration raises the serious problem whether, consistently with it, it is possible to believe that the universe is under moral government. The hidden regions of the mind, whenever surveyed, reveal such an appalling villany that the morality of the supra-liminal consciousness becomes, by contrast, a hideous mockery. Rub off the superficial veneer of culture and goodness and you will see how ugly human nature is. The hopeless depravity of the deeper strata of the mind must render all moral efforts and spiritual struggles futile and meaningless. Whenever, in trance, the subliminal self comes out into the open a veritable devil stands revealed. I cannot conceive of anything more fiendish than the sustained attempt on the part of the secondary personality to persuade men that there is a future life by palming off on them as spirit messages facts gathered from the minds of the living by means of the powerful weapon of telepathy unscrupulously used. What is worse, the secondary personality, on the hypothesis we are considering, does not hesitate even to go through mock prayers in order to make the deception complete. At one of Prof. Hyslop's sittings, for example, Imperator began the proceedings with the following prayer,—

"Holy Father, we are with Thee in all Thy ways and to Thee we come in all things. We ask Thee to give us Thy tender love and care. Bestow Thy blessings upon this Thy fellow creature. Teach him to walk in the path of righteousness and truth. He needs Thy loving care. Teach him in all things to do Thy holy will. Without Thy care we are indeed bereft. Watch over and guide his footsteps and lead him into light. Father we beseech Thee to so open the blinded eyes of mortals that they may know more of Thee and Thy tender love and care."

Again on another occasion,—

"Oh Holy Father, thou Divine Being, maker of Heaven and earth, we beseech Thee this day to send light unto Thy fellow beings. Keep them, oh Father, in the path of righteousness and virtue. Lead them to know more of Thee and Thy wondrous workings for the redemption of their own souls. We ask for no more but leave all else to Thee."

The tone of Imperator is throughout religious and earnest. In this respect he certainly seems to be identical with the

chief guide of Stainton Moses. On one occasion he spoke thus to Prof. Hyslop, —

"We ask thee to think over seriously and earnestly what our teaching really doth mean, and think that without His will nothing can be. Have charity for thy fellow creature, who hath been less blessed than thyself.

Partake only of the liquid called water in thy world.

We ask thee at the closing of each day to thank Him for His watchfulness over thee.

We desire spiritual growth and perfect health of mind and body.

[Dr. Hodgson asks—Rector, do you mean by water to exclude, for example, tea or coffee or chocolate or mineral waters (hand dissents—no none of these so called or milk) Dr. Hodgson—But all alcoholic? (*Absolutely*)]

Thou art well developed in a vast number of ways, but in order to carry out the laws of the Supreme Being thou should'st go on and live in the highest possible light, and by so doing thou wilt not only be helping thine own life, but the lives of all God's children.

Keep thy body clothed, fed and thy mind and thoughts in the highest. Let it be thy guide daily, and at the closing of one of thy so-called years come to us and speak of the results.

Care for no mortal other than to help him.

In other words, live in the thought that thou art a part of God and that that part is the man.

The Devil, no doubt, can quote Scripture for his purpose, but all this, I say, is infinitely worse. To have recourse to every possible device in order to delude men into believing that they are receiving communications from their deceased friends and relatives is as bad as bad can be, but I know not how to characterise the shocking blasphemy of taking the name of God and affecting to pray to Him for such a purpose. It is useless to try to get out of the difficulty by arguing that the subliminal self being non-moral cannot be the subject of moral judgment. You cannot have it both ways. The subliminal self cannot, at one and the same time, be human or super-human in cleverness, ingenuity and resourcefulness and sub-human in morality in order to suit the exigencies of the telepathic theory. Either the secondary personality is possessed of acute intellect, and, therefore, must be judged by the ordinary moral standard or it is sub-human and non-moral. The former supposition attempts to explain the facts but raises a formidable moral difficulty, the latter supposition avoids the moral difficulty but leaves the phenomena wholly unexplained.

The problem presented by those phenomena is very serious and deserves the earnest

consideration of all thinking men. I especially draw the attention of religious men to it, particularly of those who are not prepared to accept the popular Christian doctrine that there is a personal Devil constantly plotting to compass the ruin of men. I frankly admit that if we accept this doctrine the problem can be solved by supposing that it is the Devil and his followers that personate the dead. But how do those who do not believe in the existence of Satan propose to solve the problem, without believing in spirit return? Easygoing men may be inclined to think that the best way to deal with it is to ignore it. But alas! the hunter is not disposed of because the hare shuts its eyes. The situation, in short, is this: If the mediumistic phenomena are really due to the deception practised by the secondary personality, with which each of us is burdened, why, the occupation of our ministers of religion is gone and the only thing that remains for them to do is to close their meeting-houses and churches and take to the cultivation of the garden. Either the undiscovered country has at last been discovered and from its bourne travellers have begun to return or this world is veritably the Devil's world and morality and religion, his cruel devices to mock man with false hopes.

For myself, I do not see why we should allow the nightmare of a false theory to oppress us. Telepathy has not a single recommendation in its favour and is in reality a wild and extravagant theory, scarcely deserving to be called a theory at all. The reason why it is popular in some quarters has been forcibly stated by Professor Hyslop.—

"Mr. Balfour has expressed some surprise that telepathy has received so ready an acceptance by the public, as it involves such a revolutionary conception of nature. But I think he entirely misunderstands the point of view from which this public regards it. Mr. Balfour has had to accept it sceptically, but the public not only shows no scepticism about it, but accepts and uses it in the most amazing form without any evidence at all that it is true. The reasons for this are very simple. In the first place the Society for Psychical Research devoted its investigations to these phenomena in lieu of the less respectable phenomena of spiritualism. It began with this phenomenon as a means of limiting or displacing spiritualism, and everywhere associated intelligence and respectability with telepathy, and while it professed to be seeking for evidence of spirits

the intellectual world sneered at such a thing as a spirit. Those who had the respect of the scientific man in mind and who made scepticism a mark of intelligence and respectability soon gave their allegiance to telepathy, not because it was any better an explanation of the facts, but because it received the imprimatur of the scientific man or at least such of the scientific world as was playing with spiritualism and saving its standing by flirting with telepathy. The public was determined to be on the side of respectability, and it cared not for the question whether telepathy was revolutionary or not. It saved the public from the superstition and bad odour of spiritualism, and as aesthetics and respectability are a more powerful influence upon belief than logic or fact, telepathy was a welcome resource for escape from bad company" (*Hibbert Journal* for October, 1910, p. 106).

Let us now turn to the consideration of the hypothesis of spirit communication. Its great recommendation is that it offers a simple and natural explanation of the facts, including mistakes and confusions. Paradoxical as it may sound, the incoherences, mistakes and confusions do not weaken but strengthen the case for spirit communication. For, such mistakes and confusions are bound to occur in the abnormal circumstances under which alone communications can be made. We do not know what the method of communication is, but it is not unlikely that it is analogous to the manner in which the hypnotiser impresses his ideas and feelings upon the person hypnotised. The communicating spirit may stand to the medium in trance very much in the same relation in which the hypnotiser stands to the hypnotic. The hypnotic patent reproduces the thoughts and feelings of the operator to a certain extent. Spirits may, in a similar manner, impress their ideas on the entranced medium's mind which find expression by means of trance speaking and automatic writing. It is obvious that thoughts communicated in this fashion must often fail to find expression and what is expressed must be fragmentary and more or less modified by the subconscious ideas of the medium's own mind. Is it any wonder, then, that plenty of errors and incoherences occur even in communications which, on the whole, are clear and intelligible? If we are to believe the spirits themselves it is by no means an easy thing for them to send messages. They say that proximity to the "light," as they call the medium, gradually produces a bewildering effect on their own minds, so much so that

towards the end of a prolonged communication they tend to lapse into something like a comatose condition. Speaking of the difficulty of communication, G. P. says.—

"Remember we share and always shall have our friends in the dream life *i.e.*, your life so to speak, which will attract us for ever and ever, and so long as we have any friends *sleeping* in the material world ;—you to us are more like as we understand sleep, you look shut up as one in prison, and in order for us to get into communication with you, we have to enter into your sphere, as one like yourself asleep. This is just why we make mistakes as you call them, or get confused and muddled, so to put it, H. (Dr. Hodgson repeats in his own language) Your thoughts do grasp mine. Well now you have just what I have been wanting to come and make clear to you, H., old fellow. (It is quite clear) yes, you see I am more awake than asleep, yet I cannot come just as I am in reality, independently of the medium's light. (You come much better than the others) yes, because I am a little nearer and not less intelligent than some others here. ** I am not less intelligent now. But there are many difficulties. I am far clearer on all points than I was shut up in the prisoned body (Prisoned? Prisoning or imprisoning you ought to say) No. I don't mean to get it that way you spoke—perhaps I have spelled it wrong. "Don't view me with a critic's eye, but pass my imperfections by." Of course, I know all that as well as any body on your sphere. (Of course) well I think so. I tell you, old fellow, it don't do to pick all these little errors too much when they amount to nothing in one way. You have light enough and brain enough I know to understand my explanations of being shut up in this body dreaming as it were and trying to help on science."

Frederic Myers, in his communications through Mrs. Holland, says the same thing,—

"The nearest simile I can find to express the difficulties of sending a message is that I appear to be standing behind a sheet of frosted glass which blurs sight and deadens sound—dictating feebly to a reluctant and somewhat obtuse secretary. A feeling of terrible impotence burdens me, I am so powerless to tell what means so much. I cannot get into communication with those who would understand and believe me. ** I have thought of a simile which may help you to realise the bound to earth condition which persists with me. It is a matter very largely of voluntary choice. I am, as it were, actuated by the missionary spirit and the great longing to speak to the souls in prison—still in the prison of the flesh—leads me to 'absent me from felicity awhile'". (*Proceedings S. P. R. Vol. XXI, pp. 208, 213*).

When we take all this into consideration the wonder is not that mistakes are made but that the spirits manage so often to send clear and coherent messages. Dr. Hodgson well expresses the enormous difficulties with which spirits may have to contend in order to communicate,—

"Let the reader start to hold a conversation with two or three friends, but let him be forced to spell

out his words instead of speaking them in the ordinary way, and be absolutely confined to this method of expressing himself, no matter what his friends may do or say. Let him be interrupted at every two or three words by his interlocutors, who tell him that they don't catch the last word, and ask for it to be repeated. Let them further frequently interrupt him by asking fresh questions before his answer to a previous question is completed. Further let him suppose that it is very difficult for him to hear precisely what their questions are, so that he hears only portions of what they say. Having made this experiment, let him then suppose further that instead of using his own voice to spell his words with, he is placed in one side of a machine so constructed that the thoughts running in his mind have a tendency to be registered in writing on the other side of the machine, not as fast as he thinks them, but at the rate of writing, and that it is only by reading this writing that his interlocutors know what he has to tell them. Let him suppose, further, that one or more other persons are standing near him on his side of the machine and talking to him or to one another within his hearing, so that the words which they say tend to be registered in the writing; and let him further suppose that he is unfamiliar with the machine, and that the writing produced has a tendency to vary somewhat from the words actually thought of by him, owing to imperfections in the machine. Let him further suppose that the part of the machine in which he is placed is filled with a more or less suffocating gas which produces a partial loss of consciousness, that sometimes this gas is much more poisonous than usual (weakness or ill health of medium) and that its effects are usually cumulative while he remains in the machine."

The foregoing considerations partially explain why the messages of spirits are often trivial and unimportant. Much is made of this by a certain class of critics. Referring to the communications of Frederic Myers, a writer in a popular illustrated magazine asks—

"Why having succeeded in getting into touch with his friends on earth, did he not attempt to tell them something of his present state, its conditions, his own feelings—anything, in fact, rather than pointless and unnecessary chatter."

Now, in the first place, it is *not* true that all the communications are trivial. A false impression is apt to be created in the minds of the readers of the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. In these Proceedings only evidential matter is printed and this must necessarily consist of particular and trivial incidents capable of being verified. Statements about the spirit's "present state, its conditions," &c. are for the most part *not printed*, because they are not evidential. Prof. Hyslop, says :—

"There has been, a great deal of matter in the communications that is not trivial in any sense of the

term, but owing to the nature of the problem, which demands evidential phenomena, we have been obliged to publish those records which contain the largest amount of detailed and trivial incidents, as necessary to the proof of the supernormal and then of the identity of discarnate spirits. No stress has been placed on matter and sentiments that are not trivial as they are often non-evidential."

Apart from this, messages, owing to the conditions under which they are sent, are, as a rule, bound to be somewhat commonplace. Let a critic like the writer to whom I have referred first frame and write down a message of some complexity and then impress it with all the emphasis at his command on the mind of a somewhat idiotic person and direct that person to convey the message to a friend. Let the person receiving the message take it down exactly as he gets it. Then let the sender of the message compare what was sent with what was received and he may begin to sympathise with the spirits who are harshly judged for not transmitting across the boundary that separates their world from ours the wisdom of Socrates, the Philosophy of Aristotle or the poetry of Shakespeare.

There is, however, a conclusive reason for the triviality of the messages. Nothing else will prove identity. To press the spirits to prove their identity and then to find fault with them for communicating what alone will serve this purpose on the score of their triviality is, to say the least, extremely unreasonable. Imagine a man to return to his country after long years of exile. As soon as he sets foot on his native land, he wires home that he is soon to meet his relatives. The relatives are sceptical and wire back to him asking him to give some proof of his identity. How will he satisfy his doubting relatives over the wire? By giving a graphic description of his place of exile or by mentioning petty and private incidents connected with his life which his relatives will at once recognise? To determine what sorts of things spontaneously occur to a man when he is suddenly called upon to furnish a proof of his identity, Professor Hyslop made a series of valuable experiments in Columbia University. I quote his shorter account of the results of these experiments,—

"If any one will stop long enough to think and to

ask what incidents he would choose to prove his identity over a telephone or telegraph wire he will readily discover that his spontaneous choice would be the most trivial incidents possible. With this in view, and knowing that human nature would select such incidents, I arranged a series of experiments over a telegraph line between two of the buildings at Columbia University. I had my operators there and brought two acquaintances, one to one end of the wire and the other to the opposite end. *A* of course, was to know that *B* was present at the other end, but *B* did not know that *A* was present. *A* was to send messages to *B* without giving his name until *B* discovered his presence and identity or gave it up. I said nothing to any one about the primary object of my experiments, which was to ascertain experimental evidence on the question whether men would choose trivial incidents to prove their identity. The sequel was that these persons, students and professors in the University, uniformly chose even more trivial incidents than we generally get through Mrs. Piper for the same apparent purpose. In fact, if we judge from the intellectual character of the communication over the wire, we could not distinguish Columbia University professors and students from boot-blacks or street gamins."

Lastly, we must remember that much of the triviality may also be due to the limitations of the communicators. Are we in this life always treated to sublime discourses even in our conversations with gifted men around us or, for the matter of that, would life be worth living if such a misfortune befell us? What right have we to expect that spirits should talk nothing but sublime philosophy? It is certain that many of them have not the capacity for it even if they had the will. Fools and knaves are not likely to be forthwith transformed into saints and philosophers by the mere fact of dying.

We thus see that on the spiritistic hypothesis the triviality of the messages is inevitable. But what can be the excuse for them on the telepathic hypothesis? An omniscient faculty which has access to the minds and memories of all living persons ought to be equal to the task of composing learned treatises. Why does not Mrs. Piper's secondary personality personate Darwin and Green, for instance, and produce scientific and philosophical essays worthy of them, gathering materials for this purpose from the minds of Dr Wallace and Mr. Bradley?

As to the objection that spirits do not tell us much about their present state and its conditions, the critics do not seem to consider whether the experiences of beings

of one order can be communicated to beings of another order. It must be as impossible for spirits to tell us what their world is like, what they do, how they live, and so forth as it is for the seeing man to convey his notions of colour to those who are born blind or for a full grown individual to explain his conception of the brotherhood of man to a child five years old. The spirits themselves say that it is beyond their power to make their mode of existence intelligible to us and all that they can do is to convey to our minds *symbolically* some vague notions of their world. Every intelligent person ought to see that this must necessarily be the case. Mutual intercourse is possible only on the basis of common experience. Spirits, therefore, can talk to us only about their *earthly* life and about things which *our* modes of thought and experience enable us to comprehend. Let a fastidious critic succeed in making the deaf and dumb appreciate music before he demands great things from spirits. "Notwithstanding the communion between the two order of spirits," observes Kant, "it is impossible that those ideas which are received by the embodied spirit, as a being dependent upon the material world, should pass without change into the minds of purely immaterial beings, or that the thoughts of immaterial beings should without losing their peculiar character, pass over into the consciousness of men; for the contents of those different kinds of cons-

ciousness are specifically distinct." I wish that this sound observation were appreciated not only by sceptical critics but also by a very different class of men, namely, the good people whose minds are overweighted with esoteric lore and who are equal to the task of writing histories and geographies of the other world.

But what need is there for impatience and a premature desire to learn secrets which a wise Providence has, perhaps, for our own good withheld from us. The duties of life are many and arduous and to think of aught else but their due performance as long as we are here is perchance not what the Supreme arbiter of our destinies desires of us. It is enough that we are permitted to know that beyond death there is a fuller life. For the rest, we may well be content to believe that a just and merciful Providence will ultimately call us to a station for which we fit ourselves by our own deeds. Toil faithfully and steadily in the Lord's vineyard, deserve, not by your sayings but by your doings, promotion to a better world and then when the end comes,

Welcome the hour that bids thee lie
In anguish of thy last infirmity!
Welcome the toss for ease, the gasp for air
The visage drawn, and Hippocratic stare!
Welcome the darkening dream, the lost control,
The sleep, the swoon, the arousal of the soul !*

HIRALAL HALDAR.

* Lines composed by F. W. H. Myers.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN POETRY

I.

Bi namudame nishane ze jamale dost lekin,
Do jahan bahum bar ayad, ser-i-shor-o-shar nadaram.

I would show a trace of the beauty of my beloved,
but I am afraid the two worlds would be thrown into confusion !

I can give you a glimpse : a sight :
But who can bear that beauteous light !

THE subject of poetry, whether of the East or West, is too vast and profound to be done full justice to in a brief article like this. However, I intend to approach it from a somewhat novel point of

view, and will keep myself confined to the outline of its one aspect only.

Poetry, like its sister arts sculpture, painting and music, is an attempt of the human mind to realise its ideal of perfect 'good' and 'beauty'. This human ideal, like human life, has to pass through its three main stages, *viz.*, childhood, youth, and mature age.

In the first, or infant stage, poetry is simple and *moral*. It tries to depict the

moral ideals of the time: courage, generosity, fortitude, sagacity, etc. Taabbata-Sharra, Samuel the Jew and other pre-Islamic poets of Arabia; with Rodaki, Ansari, Firdausi etc., of Persia; may be grouped under this head.* Their styles are simple and unaffected, and their poetry is a spontaneous utterance of their emotions of praise, blame or grief. One line of Firdausi would suffice to convey an idea of this kind of poetry

Khudawande bala wa pasti tu-yi,
Nadanam che-i, harche hasti tu-yi.

"O God, thou art the lord of high (heaven) and low (Earth,) I know not what thou (really) art, but whatever thou mayest be (this much I do know that) thou dost exist."

In the second stage, or youth, Poetry is complex and *aesthetical*. It has become self-conscious, and dresses itself in the garb of chosen words and phrases, adorns itself with the ornaments of figures of speech, and puts on the veil of beautiful imageries and allegories.

As the former kind of poetry appeals to the rudimentary passions and moral sense of man, this one appeals, mostly, to his emotions and artistic sense. Its chief theme is love,—love of a healthy hearty sort which wants to be one with the beauties of nature in what it calls their living or perceptible forms, not their abstract substance.

The moral standard is much higher in this stage than in the former. The ideal pearl though still in its mother's womb, the shell has been polished and refined to resemble a gem by itself. Its Hell is Dante's Inferno, and its Heaven a delightful garden populated with beautiful dark-eyed damsels, and strong handsome men of perpetual youth.

It is this stage, the stage of the Muses and Graces of sensuous charms and youthful dalliances, of virtuous joys and sentimental refinements, which is dear to the heart of all mankind, and counts by far the greatest number of poets among its votaries. The authors of the seven most distinguished odes in the Arabic literature of the pre-Islamic period (called Saba Muallaqat), Mutanabbi† and a host of other

* Chaucer and other early English writers of chivalric and pastoral poetry may be taken as parallels.

† Abu Tayyab nick-named the 'prophet pretender'

Arabian poets, together with Saadi, Anwari, Sulman Sawaji etc., of Persia, may be reckoned as aesthetic poets.*

This kind of poetry is so common that there is no need of giving examples. However I would quote two lines from Sulman Sawaji:—

Dar durj-e-dur aqiqe labat naqde jan nihad,
Jinse aziz yaft, bajae nihan nihad,
Qufle ze la'al bar dare an durj zad labat,
Khalat ze ambar amad o muhre bar an nihad.

(O thou perfectly beautiful one!) Thy cornelian (red) lips have placed the treasure of (the lover's) soul in the pearly casket of thy teeth; surely it was a precious article worthy of being deposited in a secret (safe) place. Thy lips placed a ruby lock on the lid of the casket, then thy mole of ambergris came and put a seal over it.

As an example of Mutanabbi's average composition the following two lines may be mentioned:—

Wa jala al-widao min al-habibe muhasinan,
Hasan-ul-azao, wa qad jalma qabiho.

I become conscious of my friend's loveable qualities after he had bade me farewell (and departed), and patience, which is usually a good quality, in the presence of that consciousness, began to look detestable (in my eyes.)

Ramiyatun be ashumin reesho hal hudbo.

Tashaqqul qalubo qabal-uj-julude.

(Beautiful women are) archers who shoot with arrows (eyes) whose feathers are their long eyelashes, and which pierce the hearts (of their victims) before piercing their skins.

Now we come to the third and the most important kind of poetry which is its climax and consummation.

This is the abstract and spiritual stage in which poetry has at last found its pure ideal, distinctly separated from its material settings. This realisation of its ideal has transported and elevated it beyond 'self' and the world. Aye, it looks down upon the delights of the Paradise itself with indifference! No wonder, then, if it shows contempt for the hypocrites, their rituals and ceremonies! It is accused in return, of licentiousness, and blasphemy, etc., but it laughs to scorn its maligners and pedantic libellers.

The number of the genuine poets of this class is necessarily limited. But those few who flourished in the 10th century A. D., carried the artistic poetry in Arabic to its climax and perfection, and was a man of first-rate genius.

* The writer has not studied the English poets sufficiently to pass his opinion on them, but he thinks that most of them, from Spenser downwards, would be included under this head.

are 'seers', saints and sages, as well as poets. Their poetry is the production of their hearts, not of their heads; it is a faithful copy of their feelings, and not of their fancies. No wonder, then, if it is forceful and effective and, though rightly understood by few, is liked by all.

Among this class of poets may be mentioned: Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammad, Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani Hafiz, Shams Tabrez, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, Hakim Sanai, Jami, Fariduddin Attar and several others.

The selfless, holy and truly philosophical lives these men have led compel our admiration and respect even more than the productions of their genius do. Maulana Jalaluddin "kicked away the world" as the Sufis say, when he was at the height of his social success, power, fame, popularity and worldly felicity and honour.

Of Hakim Sanai it is written that Sultan Bahram Shah, the King of Ghazni, being informed of his great learning and virtue, wanted to give him his sister in marriage together with title and position at his Court. The Hakim, who had retired from the world in the prime of youth, on hearing of this proposal, politely but firmly refused it saying:—

Man na marde zan o zar o jaham,
Ba khuda gar kunam wagar khwaham,
Gar tu tajam dihi wa ihsanam,
Ba sare tu ki taj nastanam.

I am not a man (tond) of wife, wealth and position. By God I will neither take the one nor I desire the other two. Even if you were to offer me your Crown and favour, I swear by your head that I will not take it.

Another fact worth mentioning about the poets of this class is that they rarely debased their poetry by writing under praise or censure of any worldly man, a weakness unfortunately too common among the poets of the other two classes. The state of society and other circumstances were in a great measure responsible for this deplorable misuse of talents.

The poetical compositions of these men are inexhaustible and inestimable treasures of profoundly spiritual reflexions and philosophical observations. If poetry in the first stage is milk and honey, and in the second highly flavoured and matured Port wine and Sherry, in the last stage it is real Champagne and Burgundy. If the

first pleases and strengthens, and the second stimulates and delights, the third intoxicates and transports. But, in order to appreciate and enjoy fully the Sufistic poetry, it is not enough to acquire a knowledge of the language and of the Sufistic speculations. One must penetrate into their subtlest thoughts and opinions, if he has not been born amongst such traditions, and he must possess certain ethical and theological convictions. There is a *taste* of spiritual poetry similar to the qualities of *'aesthetical sense* and the *ear* for music and, I believe it can be cultivated, to some extent at least, like the other two.

But a Sufi connoisseur alone knows how to enjoy this spiritual wine of poetry.

A few lines selected at random from the writings of the above mentioned poets are given here as specimens of the third stage of poetry. Ali says:—

Da wa o ka fika wa ma tash'aro,
Wa daoka minka wa ma tabsiro.
Wa taz'amo annaka jirmun saghiro?
Wa fikan tawa 'alam ul akbaro.
Wa anta kitabul mubin ul lazi
Be ahrofehi yazharul muzmaro.

It is impossible to reproduce the beauty of these and the following lines in translation; and the space at my disposal, which is necessarily limited, does not allow me to explain them fully. Therefore I shall content myself with the bare translation:—

"O man!

The cure lies in thee, and thou knowest not;
And thy disease arises from thyself, and thou seest not.
And thinkest thou art a small body in the universe?
But the great universe lies enfolded within thee!
Thou art a clear book by (reading) whose letters
The hidden secrets are revealed!"

Maulana Jalaluddin says:

Karkun dar kargah bashad nihan,
Tu biro dar kargah binash 'ayan.

The Workman is concealed in His workshop.
Go into the workshop, and see Him plainly!

Hakim Sanai has advised saying:

'Talab,' ai ashigane khush raftar!
'Tarab,' ai shahidane shirinkar!
Dar jahan shahide wa ma farigh!
Dar qadah jur'a-e wa ma hushyar!
Khiz ta zab-i-rue binishanim.
Bade in khaktuda-i-ghaddar!
Pas ba jarube "la" faro rubim.
Kokab az saqfe gunbade dawwar.
Ta ze khud bishnawad na az man o tu.
'Leman il-mulko?' wahid ul Qahhar.

"Search!" O well-behaved lovers!
"Rejoicing!" O beloved ones of sweet dalliances!

A sweetheart in the world, and yet we heart-free!

A draught in the cup and yet we sober!

Let us get up and put down the dust of this treacherous mound (Earth) with the water of our faces (vanity).

Then, with the broom of 'negation,' let us sweep away the (false) spangles (stars) from the ceiling of this revolving dome (the sky).

So that the One, the Omnipotent, should hear Himself, and not you and me, say: "Whose is the sovereignty?"

Note: The allusion is to a verse in the Quran which means that on the Last Day before the resurrection, God, having destroyed the Earth and Heavens and whatever exists besides Himself, will put this question: "Who is the master to-day?" To which, there being no one to reply, He Himself will answer: "It is I, the One, the All-powerful."

Hafiz, the most delightful and popular of all Persian poets, longs for death, saying:—

Khurram an roz kazin manzile wiran birawam.

Rahate jan talabam waz pai janan birawam.

Ba hawa dari-e-oo zarra sifat raqs kunan.

Ta labe chashmae khurshide darakhshan birawam!

O, the happy day when I shall quit this desolate inn, when I shall seek my spiritual felicity, and go in pursuit of my beloved! When attracted by the light of his love, I shall go, like the mote in a sunbeam, dancing up to the shining Sun!

Again, the same poet, bored by formalities and disgusted with the lifeless rituals, cries out:—

Fash mi goyim o az guftae khud dilshadam.

Bandae ishqam o az hardo jahan azadam.

Nist bar lohi dilam juz alif qamat-i-yar,

Che kunam harf-i-digar yad nadad ustadam.

I am speaking openly, and I am glad to say so, that I am a slave of Love, and free from both the worlds! There is no other letter written upon the

tablet of my heart except the aliph of my beloved's form. What can I do, my teacher has taught me nothing else?

These are a few common examples of the kind of poetry which, when properly understood, produces strong emotions. Nay, some men fall into a state of abstraction or ecstasy on hearing it sung. And such men are not always imposters, weak-minded, or of abnormally excitable temperaments! Indeed, in many cases, they are quite the reverse. Many instances can be given of sincere men of strong intellect and unimpeachable characters who have succumbed to the strong spell of spiritual poetry, especially when it was helped up by the charm of music. The writer contents himself with quoting one recorded instance only.

Sheikh Ali Hazin, the famous poet, scholar and moralist of Persia, writes in his Autobiography:—

One night sitting in a garden with a number of my friends, I fell into a profound state of Hal (ecstasy,) and passed the whole night in a condition verging upon death (which it is impossible to describe,) on hearing one of my companions sing the following verse:—

Imshab biya ta dar chaman sazim pur paimana-ra.

Tu sham'o gul-ra dagh kun, man bulbul o parwana-ra.

"Come to-night (O Divine Bride!) that we may drink deep the draughts of love in the garden of delights. You will burn the flame and the rose with envy, and I will put to shame the moth and the nightingale."

Note:—The moth is said to be the lover of the flame and the nightingale of the rose.

M. ISMAIL ALI.

THE ECONOMIC BOTANY OF INDIA*

If we could open and unbind our eye,
We all, like Moses, should espy,
Even in a bush the radiant Deity.

* * *

Upon the flowers of heaven we wondering gaze,
The stars of earth no wonder in us raise,
Yet these perhaps do more than they
The human lives about us sway.

IN this short paper dealing with the applications and industrial (especially medicinal) uses of Indian plants I have endeavoured to suggest and discuss some of the lines that may be profitably taken up in our present economic situation. The

problem of independent livelihood has been assuming larger proportions, and nobody can deny that it is on the solution of this that the success of our national activity in all directions depends. We have, in fact, reached the limit of our resources: until and unless there is a considerable increase in the sum total of our material capital, our

* Read at the Sixth Indian Industrial Conference, Allahabad, by Bhim Chandra Chatterji, Vidyabhusan, B. A., B. Sc., (All.) Electrical Engineer (Roorkee), Professor, Bengal Technical Institute (National Council of Education).

enterprises and movements in literature and science as in education and industries are likely to be jeopardised. There has necessarily been a constantly growing cry for the opening up of new careers in Commerce, Banking and Scientific and Technical professions.

In response to this demand for new openings, people have of late been suggesting and trying unexplored fields, and considerable national energy has been devoted to the discovery of the possible lines of economic advancement. Industrial success, however, is not to be an accomplished fact with the mere suggestion of industrial careers. It depends on a number of social conditions, both intellectual and moral, which are of slow and gradual growth. The story of the building up of an industry is the story of all developments; and economic movements like other movements in human society, must pass through the initial and intermediate stages before they are crowned with success. We may look upon all human endeavours as presenting the nature of a moral *series* of the Arithmetical or Geometrical order, of which every succeeding term is an improvement upon the one just preceding.

We have been conscious enough of our need to just commence our race, and are at present really at the first terms of our industrial series which will work itself out and evolve its real character in time. Commercial credit, the faculty of organisation which can make the best use of the *things*, as well as place each *man* in his proper position in some concern, and business capacity which is always in command of capital—in short, those socio-economic virtues that constitute Industrial Morality are very imperfectly developed in us; and our education is not sufficiently scientific and technical to keep our intellect alive to the industrial possibilities of our country and the broad economic forces that sway the modern world. As a consequence, our efforts in the direction of the material developments of our country must bear the stamp of weakness and tentativeness which characterise the initial stages of all movements.

The process in every country must be the same. In the first place, the industries have to be started, new commercial lines

have to be worked, improved methods have to be introduced; for it is the undertaking of actual business that is the real schooling for business ability, and develops commercial morality and intelligence. But from the nature of the case, these are to be regarded as mere experiments which have very little chance of proving successful owing to want of technical knowledge and business habits. Yet these are necessary for national experience, and what are individual losses or wastes become ultimately the pillars of national success.

In the second place, arrangements for manual training and scientific, commercial and technical education have to be made. Here, again, from the nature of the case one cannot hope for success; for there can be no demand for Industrial Education in a country in which there are few industrial fields. Technical and Scientific Education acts upon Industrial and Commercial development and is in turn acted on by it. So that Schools of Commerce, Business Academies, Technical Institutes cannot be successful in an economically young country; but yet they have to be kept up by the community as experimental seminaries for the diffusion of scientific and commercial knowledge.

In the third place, every community which is just entering on the threshold of a new industrial and commercial life must, in addition to the tentative efforts towards the developments of industries and the organisation of Industrial Education, try to profit by other people's experience and learn what they have to teach. And for this, attempts have to be made for training competent scholars in foreign schools, and receiving the advice of foreign experts as teachers, organisers or managers of the home schools and factories. For, how otherwise can any infant community have a supply of the men who are to take charge of the newly started industries and educational institutions? But here, again, as in other cases, we have to face disappointments and failures, for mere technical intelligence on the part of teachers and organisers is not the only thing that is to be counted upon for industrial success. Capital which seeks only the best investments cannot be attracted to them who have yet to prove their ability. They can-

not command the confidence and enjoy the 'credit' of the society which necessarily does not meet them half-way; for there can be no economic relations between the experts and the laymen so long as the business intelligence and technical skill are confined only within the small circle of a few scholars and experts who can be counted at fingers' ends, and are not sufficiently diffused among, at any rate, the enlightened sections of the community. As a consequence, Capital must fight shy of new and untried fields; and these concerns are sure to remain inadequately manned and financed for long.

These are the three possible courses which may be taken together or one by one; and we have seen that the initial stages in any course are not encouraging and do not offer any bright prospects. Hence people who seek careers and are only attracted by hopes of success are not expected to look with favour upon the infant industries or experimental schools and foreign trained scholars; and as national enthusiasm can not last long without sympathy and encouragement, industrial concerns and institutes are sure to be deserted when they appear to be waning, and people become despondent and pessimistic.

The question, therefore, is, How are new careers to be successful? How can secure investments and lucrative professions be built up in a country? There must be men who can afford to endure losses and can ungrudgingly spend their time, energy and money on what they find to be *prima facie* losing concerns. All capital, physical, intellectual as well as moral, is the result of abstinence, and sacrifice; and so those members of the community who can put off personal gains in the present, discharge a social function by helping in the growth and accumulation of capital which is to be the efficient cause of the things which are useful to the public in the future. Industry, like Religion, has its own martyrs, apostles and missionaries, who devoting themselves wholly to it, can create something out of nothing. It is these men, who not only open up new lines of industrial thought and activity, but also can make them successful in spite of the difficulties and oppositions natural to the initial stages. They feel the

responsibility of making their ideas the ideas of the many and the ideal of the community, and of ushering in that stage at which nothing succeeds like success. Alfred the Great's literary and educational efforts in England and Peter the Great's pioneering work for Russian Industry and commerce are instances of such responsible idealism.

Time has arrived when in the future interests of the people at large our financial resources have to be lavishly spent, on the principle of the Paternal Government, to investigate into the industrial and commercial possibilities of our community by organising academies, institutes, farms and research colleges, and by employing the best available men as scholars, organisers and experts. We are in need of educational, industrial and financial missionaries who can, without hope of success or the gratification of personal interests apply their skill, intelligence and money to what are at present thankless tasks and seem to be mere wastes.

Under the present economic circumstances of our country, when we have to be on the look out for the opening up of new careers and means of independent livelihood as well as new channels of industrial and commercial enterprise, we cannot over-estimate the importance of the field of Applied Botany in our country, which in the past had been the basis of its varied economic life by feeding its Agriculture, Pharmacy, and other Manufactures. Some of the old Botanical and allied industries are still extant; we have only to revivify them by applying our modern knowledge. In some cases we have to restore old channels now dried up; and with the patience and application necessary in all inventions and discoveries we may be in a position to create new ones.

Then there is the educational consideration, which also points to the extreme need of general Botanical training as the most effective means of helping the objective study of learners and developing their faculty of observation. And if knowledge is to be estimated by its commercial value we may observe that Botanical Education is also the most paying, for as we have seen it is likely to be in high request in the country, the industries and occupations

of which depend so largely on a knowledge of its Flora and the Botanical resources.

But when we think of Pharmaceutical Botany, we are studying not only an aspect of our economic life, we are concerned not simply with the medical professions and the medicinal drugs, some of the occupations and careers by which men can earn their bread; but we are concerned with the very conditions of our national health and vigour—the physical basis of our industrial efficiency. Ayurvedic Science, the result of investigations into the facts and phenomena of Indian medical system, and just suited to the life, climate, and surroundings of India, necessarily involves the question of our physical stamina and health; and when these considerations of the effective means of preserving and improving what Frederic List calls the "Productive Powers and Capabilities" of our nation are added to those of production itself *i.e.* of new industrial openings and technical professions, we are forced to the conclusion that this department of Indian Applied Botany cannot be easily ignored, but must be retained at any cost, modified and improved upon if possible.

Besides the Doctrine of Relativity on which the above conclusion regarding the maintenance of the Indigenous Medical System and the National Medical Science is based, according to which it is the duty of every nation to give full play to its individuality and develop its powers to perfection in every department of human activity, we believe further, that the restoration, according to modern methods, of the old Indian Learning, the Ayurvedic Theory of Medicine and Treatment of Diseases, is of great interest to theorists and scientists, and of extreme importance to the world which can scarcely afford to lose a type of the systems it has evolved through its history. Ayurveda, thus modernised, would be a contribution to the world's culture and add to its richness and variety.

It is high time therefore, for the Indian community to (1) institute an enquiry into the ancient literature and traditions on the subject of plants and to report on the modern researches about them; and (2) to organise a commission of experts to investigate into the history and existing condition of the trades and industries and to suggest

lines of industrial enterprise according to modern methods. The country can no longer depend on what individual thinkers and experts are doing out of their own literary curiosity or self-interest, though no doubt, their efforts have suggested the possible directions of activity and the difficulties and failures that are to be gaurded against. Time has arrived when responsible leaders should collectively organise all available skill and services and lay the foundations, however humble at the beginning, of Botanical studies and Research Societies of the future. And in the permanent interests of the nation statesmen with long views should not consider such inquiries and commissions as we suggest to be mere wastes and misapplications of the present national resources. The country expects that men should come forward, who, with the true missionary spirit, can waste their time, energy and money, and wait for the results of their endeavours in the long run. Much will depend upon the industrial, educational and financial idealists of our country.

We offer here a scheme for work that should be taken up just now or in the immediate future, in connection with one at least of the Department of Economic Botany *viz.*, Medical Botany:

1. The starting of factories for the application of Chemistry to the Indian Medical Plants with the object of preparing medicines according to the National Medical Science. This is the real Indian Pharmacy; whereas those workshops and factories which have taken up the preparation of medicines according to the European Pharmacopœia, though they have no doubt opened new industrial careers and fields for the investment of National capital, are really contributing to the foreign system and cannot by any means be looked upon as national in its proper sense. It is necessary to recognise this distinction at the outset; for Indian National Pharmacy while solving, like the other, the economic problem, presents a Medical system that has grown naturally on the Indian soil in harmony with the life of the people.

2. The laying out of Pharmaceutical Gardens for the cultivation of specimens and the encouragement of Pharmaceutical Agriculture to supply the raw materials for

the Pharmaceutival workshops and factories.

3. The foundation of Museums for drugs and specimens of genuine Ayurvedic medicines.

4. The Establishment of Academies and Research Societies—for the indentification of, and experiments on plants, the promotion of Pharmaceutival learning in diverse ways, and the study of the commercial aspects of Indian National Pharmacy.

5. The preparation of books in vernacular for the diffussion of Botanical and

Pharmaceutival knowledge among the Sanskrit scholars and the masses.

6. The starting of Ayurvedic Colleges or, at any rate, the opening of new classes for Ayurvedic Education after a stage in which a sufficiently broad basis of general culture through scientific, manual and literary training can be laid. These classes will offer Degree Courses in Ayurveda which will correspond to the higher University courses in the Arts and Sciences leading to specialisation in the modernised medical science of India.

BHUTAN

By SHASHI B. BISWAS.

[THE following informations regarding this little known country were collected by the writer from lamas and laymen during his stay for nearly three years in the neighbourhood of the present Bhutan and in the tract of the Himalayan Hills which was formerly a part of that kingdom. The Bhutanese pronunciation has been followed in writing the Bhutanese words. The article was written in 1902.]

The Bhutanese call their country *Dup* and themselves *Duppas*. The name Bhutan is derived from sanskrit *Bhulanta*. It is mentioned in the *Tantras*. But the Bhutia is a common name for the Tibetans, Sikkimese and Bhutanese. This name has been given by the plainsmen who mark no difference in appearance, dress, manners, customs, religion and language of the three people. But the differences are apparent to those who have studied them. The religion of the three people, though the same in the origin, has undergone considerable changes and modifications with each of them like their respective dialects, although the written language is common, but the pronunciation varies. The three people are not on the same level of civilization; and each have distinct national characteristics.

Bhutan is governed under dual kingship—Ngwan Namgay and Dessi Chhanjay, more commonly known, in the plains, as Dharma and Deb Rajas. Strictly speaking the

former is the real king and the latter is his minister in temporal matters. The first Dharma Raja came to Bhutan from Duralung in Tibet and fought battle with Samdun Sappa, a lama of Bhutan. During the advent of the first Dharma Raja, there were five monasteries in Bhutan and each presided over by a lama. Of them Samdun Sappa or Shapdun Lhopa of Chajungkha monastery in the district of Thembu was perhaps the head. Of the four other lamas the names of three are known, viz,—Lama Nening of Nening monastery in Thembu, Katakpa of Sha-bi-nah monastery in Wangdifordom and Lama Uggen of the monastery called after him in the district of Poonakha. But the religion which was then prevailing in Bhutan under the guidance of these priests was considered to be inferior to what was prevailing in Tibet. Human sacrifice and other relics of the Pen religion were lurking in the ceremonies of the people with all their hideousness. It is said that the first Dharma Raja was directed by his spiritual guide Pema Karpo to come to Bhutan from Tibet to bring chaos and confusion into order in that country and to spread true religion. Except the five priests, mentioned above, there was no king to rule over the savages who dwelt in the country. The Dharma Raja divided the country into districts and placed a lama in each as its Pounloop (penlow) and appointed

another holy lama to look after the temporal government as his prime minister or Dessi Chhanjay.

The following is the list of the race of holy men with whom the first Dharma Raja is spiritually connected. The list is of the spiritual guides and the chief disciples and not of fathers and sons as in ordinary genealogical tree.

- (1) Do-ji-chan
- (2) Telip (Tilopa.)
- (3) Naropa.
- (4) Marpa.
- (5) Mela (Satya Jogi in Hindi, an avatar or incarnation of Tilopa, No. (2)).
- (6) Sigi-Tapo-Lajay.
- (7) Phomo-toba
- (8) Sangay Lingzay.
- (9) Changpa Garay.
- (10) Sangay Yangray.
- (11) Galuan Chhuji.
- (12) Pema Karpo.
- (13) Ngwan Namgay (the first Dharma Raja).

No. (2) Tilopa and No. (3) Naropa, it is said, came to Tibet from India; some say from the Sahebgunj hills. The mountaneous tract of country from Rajmahal to Colgong is abound with relics of Budhistic faith. Caves dug out of rocks, carved with images that we find painted in the *gumpas* or temples of the Buddhists, images of Buddha himself and Pema Tunay and other gods and demigods lie scattered here and there in this region in sequestered places amidst the ruins and debris of temples and palaces of some by-gone days. The tract of country between Teliagarhi and Colgong must have been a flourishing city on the outskirt hills of which *Sramans* and ascetics used to dwell in times when Magadha was the stronghold of the Buddhists. The Tibetans, Sikkimese and Bhutanese still look upon these hills with reverential eye and cast a glance on them with mingled awe and veneration when they come to bathe in the Ganges at the Karagola Ghat or pass

by rail to Gaya. The Sikkimese point to Karagola as the furthest point of their old kingdom; but that is another story.

At Tangu in Bhutan there is the burning ground of the father of the first Dharma Raja. It is said that when the Dharma Raja settled himself in Bhutan, his father, who was a lama, fought with another lama in Tibet to settle religious differences. His antagonist completely defeated him in battle and after securing him completely in a bag threw him into a river. But he did not die but managed to come down to Bhutan by the aid of the current of the stream; and met with his son. He did not return to Tibet and lived in the country of his son till his death.

It is generally believed by the outside world that the Dharma Raja is considered by the Bhutanese as incarnation of Buddha. But it is not so. A Buddha is not a Buddha if he incarnates himself. But the Dharma Raja is considered to be a very holy man who though has not attained that spiritual excellence which enables one to attain the *nirvana*, has risen to certain planes in the spiritual world which is not reached by ordinary holy men; and therefore he is more fit for guiding the spiritual welfare of human beings than any other mortal. But the Dharma Raja incarnates. It is said that the present Dharma Raja is only an incarnation of the first Dharma Raja Ngwan Namgay, the disciple of Pema Karpo. The first Dharma Raja wrote the book named "Soi-Chhoizang Tempay Rinchen" which is extant and read by the Bhutanese lamas.

The Dharma Raja has not begun to incarnate himself since his coming to Bhutan to spread the true religion. But he was incarnating himself in his native country of Tibet. The following is the list of his incarnations in Tibet:—

- Riday Onpu.
- Songtsen Gampo.
- Sinta Rakhita.
- Naropa Pepahari.
- Tapo Lahzey (Dauya Zenu)
- Dagen Tsangpa Gayre (Yssay Gnatook).

. Nangwa Dudal.
 |
 Gayrua Zey (Galwa kun chyen
 Wangpo.)
 |
 Koma Dupay Zen
 |
 Kunchhen Pema Karpu.

The last in the list, Pema Karpu, has been shewn in the previous list as the spiritual guide of the first Dharma Raja. This is explained in this way: the soul of the spiritual guide entered into the body of the disciple when the former gave up the ghost.

It has been said above that the Dharma Raja is the real king and the Deb Raja is only his minister in temporal matters. Formerly the Dharma Rajas used to elect his Deb Raja and Pounloops (Penlows). But at present Deb Rajas and Pounloops are elected by the Pounloops, Zempens and lamas; and the Dharma Raja simply gives his assent to the election. Since the death of the last Deb Raja, Dessi Sithup, none has yet been elected in his place. The Pounloop of Tongsa, who was with the Tibet Mission, and who is very friendly with our Government, is the *de facto* Deb Raja of Bhutan at the present time. His father Jimi Namgel, who afterwards became the Deb Raja under the title Dessi Deb Naku, played a prominent part during Sir Ashley Eden's mission to Bhutan and brought about the Bhutan war, which culminated with the loss by the Bhutanese of the Duars and the hilly country west of the Jalohaka and east of the Tiesta, now a part of the district of Darjeeling.

A Deb Raja rules the body and a Dharma Raja rules the heart of the Bhutanese. When a Dharma Raja dies and his incarnation is not found on earth, in this period of interregnum, a priest styled as Khenn Muchi officiates as Dharma Raja. It has been said by one who intimately knew the Bhutanese court, that during Sir Ashley Eden's visit Yssay Endoo was officiating as the Dharma Raja. Surgeon Rennie, who accompanied Sir Ashley Eden writes in his book on Bhutan:—

"The first signs of the re-appearance of the Dharma Raja are supposed to be indicated by the child refusing his mother's milk and displaying a preference

for that of the cow. He is also supposed to articulate a few words distinctly, and convey his meaning in an intelligible manner by certain signs".

But the Lamas say that the child does take mother's milk and when three years of age he speaks out that he is the incarnation of the Dharma Raja and that he did such and such acts in his past life. Then the parents of the child bring the news to the chief lamas who in a body hasten to the birthplace of the child with various articles of the late Dharma Raja such as garments, books, &c., and lay them, mixed up with the articles which were not of the Dharma Raja, before the child. If he recognises the articles of the late Dharma Raja, he is taken in great pomp and ceremony to the monastery of Punakha and is placed under a very learned priest who is called Loben. Cases are cited where the infantile candidates for the high seat of the Dharma Raja have been rejected owing to their inability in recognising the articles of the Dharma Raja. A Dharma Raja does not marry. Female devotees can enter the monastery where he resides. There are female slaves to do the domestic work and as well as male slaves. A seal of the Dharma Raja is kept by the Deb Raja to affix on state papers. There is a tradition prevalent in Bhutan—and this is also among the lamas—that Queen Victoria was related to the Dharma Raja as his sister; that is to say in their past lives they were brother and sister. Perhaps according to this belief before the outbreak of the last Bhutan War the Bhutan Government sent a letter, purporting it to have been written by the Dharma Raja, to our Government, in which the Dharma Raja addressed the Empress of India as his sister. A lama promised the writer of this article, to show the tradition written on holy books. But he, as can be imagined, entirely failed when the writer demanded to see the passage or passages at once. They were at the time of the conversation inside a monastery where the particular books were kept. The old lama turned page after page in vain; and at last abandoned the idea of pointing it out in wonder and disgust. But he was sincere in his belief.

THE CRISIS IN THE BOMBAY COTTON MILL INDUSTRY

AT the present moment our cotton mill industry is passing through a serious crisis. And as the industry is largely centred in Bombay, the crisis has assumed a violent form in that locality. At a time when earnest endeavours are being made, throughout the country for the development of our economic resources, the fact that our premier manufacturing industry is thus involved in loss may produce mischievous effects upon the general economic situation. The notoriously *shy* capital of India may become still more shy, and the investment-tendency which is now slowly developing in this country may receive a serious check.

A careful study of the history of modern industrial development will not, however, justify such a procedure; because such a study reveals the fact that in no country the course of economic progress has been smooth, that all the great industrial countries have passed through repeated disturbances and crises, and that while these economic evils may largely be minimised by enlightened and judicious methods of business organisation they cannot altogether be avoided. In fact, it is now generally recognised that in the Western world a crisis occurs once every eleven years. And some economists go so far as to regard these crises as not pure evils; for, while they undoubtedly result from speculative promotion and injudicious investment, they at the same time indicate conditions of a vital dynamic life in the countries concerned.

It has been observed that the course of industrial progress in all modern countries has been marked by certain common phenomena, of which crises are one. These crises may be caused by various circumstances; but so far as *capital crises* (to use Sir Robert Giffen's phrase) are concerned, their course is marked by certain common characteristics, *viz.*, speculative promotion

and over-investment—incident to a "good time" in industrial activity—accompanied by expansion of the banking business and inflation of credit and increase in stock market operations, production in excess of existing demand and failure to realise anticipated earnings, crises, depression and liquidation.

In this country the cotton industry is one of the few industries that have been organised in accordance with up-to-date modern methods. That it should exhibit those phenomena which characterise the modern industries of Europe and America is only natural. And from facts at our disposal it appears that the present crisis in Bombay resembles in all essential aspects the several crises that have occurred within the recent time in Europe and America.

In comparing the present crisis in Bombay with those crises in the Western world an explanation is necessary with regard to a distinction which is often made between a general crisis and a special one. A general crisis is one which affects the whole industrial environment, while a special crisis affects only a particular industry. According to this distinction the present crisis in Bombay will of course belong to the special class, while the European and American crises alluded to should be considered under the general class. It is admitted on all hands that a general crisis always affects particular industries. But it is denied by some writers that a special crisis will necessarily lead to a general one. For instance, Mr. D. E. Wacha, following the German economist Von Dr. M. Bountatian, says :—

"Of course it goes without saying that the general has its influence on the particular. But it by no means follows that the particular will evoke the general."*

* In a letter contributed sometime ago to the columns of the *Times of India*, Bombay, on the causes of depression in the Bombay mill industry.

We are by no means sure that as a general proposition this statement will be acceptable. For in the advanced countries of Europe and America, *where the whole industrial structure is built on a complex system of credit*, a special crisis will certainly lead to general one unless steps are taken at the right time by the general business community to prevent such a consummation. We are, therefore, inclined to think that in those countries the distinction between a general and a special crisis is, for all practical purposes, immaterial. Disregarding these considerations it may, however, be said that so far as *capital* crises are concerned, those of them which have occurred within the recent time, whether general or special, have all been marked by the same common phenomena, *viz.*, speculative promotion and over-investment, over-production, crises, depression and liquidation. And from Mr. Wacha's letter to the *Times of India*, already referred to, we conclude that those phenomena characterise the Bombay crisis also.

In that letter Mr. Wacha has given an instructive account of the circumstances which have brought about the present crisis in Bombay. In 1905 there was a great boom in cloth prices in India. This led producers to entertain great expectations about the weaving industry. "So the rage for extension of the weaving industry began fast and furious." The following table indicates the strength of this extension :—

	Spindles in Lakhs.	Looms in Thousands.
1904-05	51'96	47'3
1905-06	52'93	52'3
1906-07	55'46	59'6
1907-08	57'63	66'7
1908-09	60'83	76'9

The following table indicates the movement of cloth output during the same period :—

	CLOTH IN CRORES OF lbs.
1905-06	15'66
1906-07	15'90
1907-08	18'12
1908-09	18'41

So much for the productive side of the industry. On the side of consumption it is to be observed that while the exports to foreign countries did not show any appreciable increase (as is indicated in the following table) the off-takes within the country

was slackened to a great extent by heavy imports of Lancashire piece-goods.

EXPORTS.

		Grey Cloth.	Coloured Cloth.
1907	Yards in crore	4'22	3'42
1908	" "	3'94	3'43
1909	" "	4'35	3'41

Thus while there was an increase of 62 per cent. in the loom power and a resultant increase of 17'6 per cent. in the output of products, the exports remained stationary and consumption within the country was not adequate. Consequently virtual *over-production* occurred with its accompanying crisis and depression. To understand the situation fully it is necessary to note that the mill industry is depressed not only on the weaving side but also on the spinning side. Since 1905 the spinning business has been undergoing a costly process of liquidation on account of a depression largely due to the contraction of our Yarn Markets in China and the Straits.

In the above analysis Mr. Wacha has dealt with the *external* aspect of the circumstances which have brought about the crisis. The external phenomena are, however, expressions of an *internal* cause. Extension of looms and spindles of course resulted from increased investment of non-material capital, which in an advanced industrial country would commonly imply expansion of the banking business and increase in Clearing House transactions, and a high time in Stock Exchange operations. To what extent the capitalistic expansion in the Bombay mill industry was based on credit is not known to us. From facts already stated, however, it is clear that the Bombay crisis is a *capital* crisis. It has resulted from over-investment, that is to say investment, of a more or less speculative character, which was encouraged by the boom of cloth prices in 1905. The over-investment by causing over-production has brought about the crisis. Thus the general theory of *capital* crisis is fairly illustrated in this particular case.

In subsequent issues of the Review we propose to undertake a study of the crises of 1873 and 1884 in Europe and America so as to see how far the present crisis in Bombay resembles those crises in the Western world.

SATISH CHANDRA BASU.

AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES IN CHOTANAGPUR AND CONSEQUENT LEGISLATION

AFTER the conflicts and affrays that had occurred in the parganas of Sonapur and Basia in the year 1858, were suppressed, the Government seriously discussed the question of registering the special tenures of Chotanagpur. The authorities at length saw that the only effectual mode of preventing a repetition of such affrays and riots would be to remedy the grievances that had given rise to them. And accordingly, under Government orders, dated the 15th April 1858, Lal Lokenath Sahi, a local Zemindar and a Sub Assistant Commissioner was deputed to prepare a register of all Bhuinhari lands. This officer began his operations in August 1860, and continued his work till his death on the 13th August 1862. During this period his enquiries extended to 572 villages of which he could complete the registers of 429 villages only, while those of 143 villages were left incomplete. The parganas in which he carried on his investigations were,—Lodhma, Khukra, Udaipur, Sonapur Doesa, Korambe, and Basia. The Lal appears to have exempted all 'danr' (high) lands from his registers as he seems to have been of opinion that no land except low or 'don' land could be Bhuinhari. He was moreover, not vested with powers to adjudicate finally on questions of disputed title. His decisions might be either upheld or rejected by the ordinary Civil Courts. The idea however, that some operations were going on to protect their rights, pacified the Mundas and Uraons for the moment. But with the death of Lal Lokenath Sahi and the withdrawal by the India Councils Acts (1867) of the power of passing summary orders in Non-Regulation provinces, disputes between landlords and tenants broke out afresh. And, at length, with a view to an authoritative settlement of the title to Bhuinhari lands, the Chotanagpur Tenures Act (Act II of 1869) was passed by the Bengal Council on the 26th July 1869.

The scope of the Act was thus described in a Bengal Government Resolution of the 25th November, 1880:—

"The disputes which had assumed so chronic a character in connection with these (special) tenures were attributable to encroachments, generally on the part of the landlord, but, sometimes, on the part of the tenants, to claims advanced by tenants to lands alleged to be *bhuinhari*, and resisted by the landlords; and to the exaction from the tenants of services in excess of, or other than, those which they were bound to render according to the custom attaching to their tenures. It was therefore provided by Act II (B.C.) of 1869, with the view of stopping these causes of dispute, that the tenures should be defined and recorded, and a register made of all rights, privileges, immunities and liabilities affecting the holders. The tenures mentioned in the Act were, however, only the Bhuinhari and Manjhihas, the latter including Betkheta, and thus the large class of Rajhas tenures were not specifically dealt with in the operations which ensued. The Lieutenant-Governor was empowered to appoint one or more persons as special Commissioners to carry out the provisions of the Act. Each Special Commissioner was to investigate claims to the tenures and demarcate the lands, and then make for each village an accurate register of all the tenures specifying the conditions to be fulfilled, the rent and services to be rendered, and the rights and privileges to be enjoyed. He was authorised to restore to possession all persons (or their heirs) who had been wrongfully dispossessed within 20 years of the passing of the Act, and to enter their names as occupants of the lands in the village register. Tenures which had come into existence within twenty years were not to be registered unless they were created in revival of previous occupation. Tenants who were bound to fulfil certain conditions, or to give certain services in respect of their tenures, and the persons having the right to exact such conditions and services, were authorised to apply to the Special Commissioners for the commutation of the conditions and services for a payment in rent. Provision was made for the hearing and decision of such applications by the special Commissioners, with the help of two Assessors appointed by each party respectively. The procedure for the filing and hearing of appeals against the decisions of the Special Commissioners, and for the disposal of applications for review of judgment, was also laid down in the Act. The decisions of the Special Commissioners were made appealable to the Commissioner of the Division, whose judgment was declared final. Petitions presented in relation to any matter cognisable under the Act were exempted from Stamp duty. ...A copy of each entry was to be furnished to the tenant, and a copy of

each register to the farmer or proprietor of the village. The register, when finally revised and corrected, was to be submitted to the Commissioner of the Division for confirmation and it was directed that one copy should in future be kept in the Deputy Commissioner's office and another in the office of the Board of Revenue."

The operation under the Act were extended to as many as 2,482 villages situated in 35 parganas* of the Lohardaga (now the Ranchi) District. As many as 13,473 claims were disposed of, besides 1,161 applications for commutation of services and 3,544 miscellaneous cases. Of the 13,473 claims, 7,423 were contested. The Special Commissioners granted review of their own judgments in 294 cases, and 844 appeals from their decisions were preferred to the Divisional Commissioner. Out of the appeals, 636 resulted in the confirmation, 28 in the modification, and 14 in the reversal of the orders passed by the Special Commissioners. As many as 68 were summarily rejected, and in 98, the cases were remanded for further hearing. The operations under the Chotanagpur Tenures Act of 1869 commenced on the 1st of April 1869 and continued up till the 31st of March 1880. The total expenditure of these operations amounted to Rs. 2,69,887 besides minor charges for tents and surveying and mathematical instruments. The registers of lands recorded as privileged tenures under the Act fill 13,720 pages of sixty-nine volumes.

The high hopes entertained at its introduction into the Council were, however, far from being fulfilled. The sanguine expectations of the framers of the Act as to its success in removing all grievances and allaying all disturbances, were soon found out to have been but illusive. And the reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, the Act came too late. As early as in 1839, we find Dr. Davidson, then Principal Assistant to the Governor General's Agent, urging the necessity of an authoritative investigation into the claims of Bhuinhars. Said he;—

"The value the Bhoonears attach to their land is very great: nothing will ever reconcile them to be deprived of it. They are always buried in the villages where their Bhoonearee lands are situated, and even if they die at a distance, their heirs consider it a necessary act of piety to transport their bones to their

own village, that they may be buried in the Harsali, or burying-ground of the village. The disturbances in Nagpore of 1832, were caused by no one cause so much as the dispossession of the Mundas and Mankies, who are the Bhoonears of Sonepur, of their lands; and until the Bhoonears are protected in the possession of their lands, we never can be certain of the peace of the country. For this reason, I would strongly recommend that you should authorize the Assistants of the Division to investigate all cases for dispossession of Bhoonearee lands as miscellaneous cases, and when satisfied of the justice of the Bhoonears' claim, and that he has not been more than twenty years out of possession, to decree in his favour, and give him possession, allowing the opposite party to appeal to you. A reference to a regular suit is not at all applicable to a Kol; and if so ordered, in nine out of ten cases, the powerful Zemindars will thereby be able to defeat the poor Bhoonears."

These apprehensions were alas! fully justified by subsequent events. The results of the "Bhuinharee" settlement under Bengal Act II of 1869, revealed how great had been the havoc committed on the "Bhuinharee" lands in the half a century that preceded the passing of the Act. In the beginning, as we have seen, the villages of the "Mundas" were of the "Khuntkatti" type, and even to this day as many as 156 "Munda" villages have succeeded in retaining their ancient Khuntkatti nature intact. It was in such "Munda" villages as entirely succumbed to the aggressions of the "Jagirdars" and "Thicadars", that the descendants of the original "Khuntkattidars" were deprived of their rights to the village itself, but were allowed to hold their original clearances which now received the name of "Bhuinhari" lands. At first these "Bhooinhari" lands would appear to have covered a very large area,—in fact, the greater portion of the cultivated lands of the village. But, by continual encroachments of the Zemindars on these lands, the "Bhuinharee" area shrunk into less and still lesser area and the "Majhas" and "Rajhas" lands increased in direct proportion to the diminution of the "Bhooinharee" area. And the varying proportion of "Bhooinharee" to other classes of lands found in different villages during the "Bhooinharee" settlement, would go to show this. Thus, Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar, the Special Commissioner appointed under Act II of 1869, says, in his able Report:—"It may be broadly stated that the proportion of "Bhooinharee" to "Rajhas" vary from even less than the hundredth part of the cultivated lands to

* Parganas Tamar, Rahe, Bundu, Baranda, Sili, Borway and Biru in the Ranchi district were exempted from the operations under the Act,

more than three-fourths. In some villages, it may be correct to say that one-fourth of the lands is "Bhooinharee", in others one-third, one-half, two-thirds, or even so much as three-fourths." Thus, in a single village, namely, Dorma in pargana Sonepur, the Special Commissioners demarcated more than 1,500 bighas (495 acres) of "Bhooinhari" lands. In one village in pargana Lodhma and in four villages in pargana Sonepur, the "Bhooinhari" lands demarcated under the Act exceeded 1,000 bighas (330 acres) in each, but were less than 1,500 bighas. The "Bhooinhari" lands in village Bargari measured over 3,200 bighas (1,056 acres) out of a total area of 4,300 bighas (1,419 acres) of lands in the village. Village Lalgunj with a total area of about 2,600 bighas (858 acres) was found to contain as many as 2,000 bighas (660 acres) of "Bhooinhari" lands. Out of a total area of 4000 bighas (1,320 acres) of land in village Nagri, as many as 3,000 bighas (990 acres) were demarcated as "Bhooinhari." On the other hand, two villages in pargana Lodhma and twenty-three villages in pargana Sonepur were found to have each less than 100 bighas of "Bhooinhari" lands. In six villages, in pargana Lodhma and twenty-two in Sonepur, only Pahanai lands, varying from a bigha and a half to not more than thirty-four bighas, could be found for demarcation under the Act.

The second cause which seems to have contributed to the failure of the Tenures Act of 1869, in allaying the unrest, is to be sought in the ignorance and stupidity of the aborigines. As one account says:—

"It must be borne in mind that only a few of the 'Bhooinhars' fully relied on the good intentions of the Government and understood the purpose of the Act. A great many of them looked with suspicion on the proceedings of the surveyors and the Special Commissioners thinking that nothing but the imposition of a new tax, or something like it, was contemplated, and this superstitious fear of the 'Bhooinhars' was turned into account by the land-lords and 'Thikadars,' who tried their utmost to dissuade them from putting forward their claims. In pursuing their objects they had recourse to promises or threats or gifts or money for the sake of spending it in the liquor shops; and last but not least contrived means to disunite the 'Bhooinhars,' according to the maxim '*divide et impera*.' Government officials and the Missionaries too tried their utmost to enlighten the people on the purpose of Government in passing the Act. The Missionaries even translated it into their language and admonished them to be of one accord and after all to speak the truth;

but only the 'Christians' listened to what was told them and the non-Christian 'Kols' for the most part either omitted to claim their 'Bhuinhari' lands in full or in part and in many places combined with the Zemindars against the Christians and thus against their own cause. It must be admitted that in some instances the Christians put forward exorbitant claims and therefore made their statements unreliable, thereby losing instead of gaining something."

The Vorstand of the G. E. L. Mission from whose Representation* to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, made in 1889, we quote the above, mention several such cases. One of these cases was communicated to them by the chief Special Commissioner, the late Mr. Rakhal Das Halder himself. Mr. Halder is reported to have said:—

"All the cultivators in a certain village stated before me in court, that there was no 'Bhuinharee' land in their village and that they were simply Rayats and not Bhuinhars. I knew better how matters stood in their village, and that by a good quantity of pork and liquor they had been prevailed upon by a Zemindar to deny their claims. I therefore adjourned their case for 8 days, telling them, that if they after the expiration of this time, had not come to their senses and would even then abide by their present statement, their Bhuinharee would be gone for ever. They returned after 8 days and told the same story, so I could do nothing for them. A long time after this, these villagers again came to me complaining that the Zemindar had dispossessed them of all Bhuinharee lands. Of course it was too late to help them and they owe it to their own folly, if in this village no Bhuinharee lands have been recorded."

The third cause why the Chotanagpore Tenures Act failed to give satisfaction to the "Mundas" and "Uraons" is that the Act left untouched several other classes of tenures and a number of other rights to land or their produce, about which these aborigines have always been very keen. Again, no provision was made in the Act for the protection of the immemorial rights of these people to cut and appropriate wood from the village jungles for building and repairing their houses, making and mending their agricultural implements, as well as for fuel and other domestic uses. No provision, again, was made for securing to the Bhuinhars the mango groves and topes of other trees said to have been planted by them or their ancestors on uplands, and over which they claimed to have been always in possession. "Sarnas" and "Bari-lands", "Hargaris" and "Masnas", too were similarly left out of the record. Although

* This representation was signed by the Rev. Dr. A. Noltrott, Rev. J. F. Hann and Rev. Betzler.

the tenants have in many cases succeeded in preserving their rights to these, instances are not rare in which landlords have wholly or partially dispossessed the tenants from such lands. Another most objectionable omission of the Chotanagpur Tenures Act of 1869 would appear to have been the exclusion of Khuntkatti tenures from the scope of the Act.

It was not till late in the year 1903 (August), that by Bengal Act V of that year, special provisions were made to protect the Mundari Khuntkatti tenancies from the unscrupulous aggressions of landlords and money-lenders, and the suicidal acts of the Mundas themselves. But in the meanwhile what a considerable number of Khuntkatti tenancies had been destroyed by avaricious landlords as well as through the folly of the Mundas, it is difficult now to estimate. Writing in 1871, (August 21), Mr. Rakhal Das Halder, the distinguished Bhuinhari Commissioner, says:—

"I have reason to believe that one Mankipatti in Sonepur has been extinguished probably more than sixty years ago—the Jiwripatti, owned by the Thakoor of Tilti. The Mundas and Pahans exist only in name, have not yet forgotten the time when their ancestors were the sole undisputed owners of the villages. Another Mankipatti—that of Chalom, exists in name as belonging to a Manki,—although the head of the patti has been reduced to the position of an ordinary makararidar."

In his speech in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 18th July 1903, the Hon'ble Mr. F. A. Slack, said:—

"Owing to the non-recognition of their rights, the Mundaris for more than three-quarters of a century have been in a state of agitation, which from time to time has culminated in outbursts. This (discontent among the Mundas) found a vent in the great rebellion of 1832-33, the immediate cause of which was an attempt by the Thakur of Sonepurgarh to destroy Khuntkatti rights in Bandagaon and Kochang in the district of Ranchi. The attempts to destroy the Khuntkattidars' rights did not then cease, and they were the cause of the disturbances between landlords and tenants in that district in the year of the Mutiny. Both sides took advantage of the disorder that then prevailed,—the landlords to oust the Khuntkattidars who were holding at low permanent rentals, the Khuntkattidars to recover the Khuntkatti lands which the landlords had previously succeeded in making rajhas or manjhihas, i.e., rayati or sir.

"Eventually the Chotanagpur Tenures Act of 1869 was passed, and effected some improvement. But it omitted to deal with all the privileged lands, as it took no notice of intact Khuntkatti villages. This omission left such villages at the mercy of the

spoliator. The destruction of the Khuntkatti tenancies went on, and the discontent thereby created brought about the outburst of 1888, when what is locally known as the Sardar Larai began and has not yet ceased."

To this effect also were the observations of the then Settlement Officer of Ranchi made in May, 1903. Said he,—

"Of the disturbances of 1857, the Bhuinhari Act of 1869 was the direct fruit. This Act dealt with certain privileged agricultural lands known as Bhuinari, Pahanai, &c., on the one side and Manjhihas and Bethkheta on the other. It provided for their survey and record; and it totally failed to effect any real amelioration of the condition of the Mundaris. It is not difficult now to see why it was foredoomed to failure. In the first place it dealt with a portion only of the privileged lands. Bhuinhari is merely another term for Khuntkatti; and, from the scope of that survey were excluded precisely those areas of the Munda Country where Khuntkatti rights still most vigorously flourished. Only the miserable "*dissecta membra*" of what had once been intact Khuntkatti villages were dealt with and the Five Parganas and the Mankipatti, the heart of the Munda country, were left to become the sport of the Ranchi law courts. Further the optional character of Clause IX of the Act left open the running sores of abwabs and begari. And finally, the Bhuinhari tenures, which were not customarily alienable by sale, were not made legally inalienable."

On the other hand, the passing of the Registration Act (XVI of 1894) which came into force on the 1st January, 1865, and the Registration Act, XX of 1866, which came into force on the 1st May 1866, would seem to have given an impetus to such alienations.*

We have now indicated the main causes that led to the failure of the Chotanagpur Tenures Act. Though it was productive of some amount of good, it did not deal with all the irritating causes of dispute between the Mundas and the *dikus*. More than one numerous signed memorial was sent up to the Local and Imperial Governments and even to the Secretary of State by or on behalf of several thousands of Mundas and Uraons.

The simple aboriginies were the unsuspecting dupes of a band of unscrupulous agitators, since known as Sardars, and, deceived by the false hopes held out by them, spent a good deal of hard-earned money

*The first Ex-officio Registrar of Dt. Lohardaga was Mr. H. L. Oliphant, and the first Ex-officio Deputy Registrar of Ranchi was Lieutenant Lilington. No document seems to have been registered in the District before 1865. Before that the Deputy Commissioner used to endorse documents from time to time, but no copy of such documents were kept.

in getting up these petitions. As the Hon'ble Mr. Slacke said in his Council speech of 1903:—

"Utilising the bitter feelings of the Mundaris, some of their fellow clansmen persuaded the people that the Hindus had no right to the lands, that the lands belonged to the Mundaris, that no rent should be paid, and that the Sovereign had given a decree to this effect."

The extravagant claims put forward in these petitions defeated their own object.*

* Here is a specimen of the recklessly rabid petitions submitted by these Mundas.

To

The Commissioner of Chota Nagpore.

Dated Ranchi, the 25th March, 1879.

We, the Mundas of 8 Perganas of Chota Nagpore beg most respectfully to lay before your Honour the following prayers, and hope you will be good enough to consider them duly. That the measurement of Bhooihurree lands in Chota Nagpore made by the special Commissioner Babu Rakhal Dass and others is not rightly done. He measures the land which the Ticcadars say; they do not measure what is not measured (mentioned?) to them by the Ticcadars; they strike off the claim of the Mundas from their ancestral land. Therefore we the Mundas do not at all agree with the measurement made by the Native Special Commissioners. They have put aside the claim of many from their ancestral land and the ticcadars consequently begun to oppress us excessively. And therefore the inhabitants fly to Assam to escape oppression, their lands being dispossessed by the Elakadar. How the rights of the Elakadars are come to be settled and that of the Mundas not? If Chotanagpore does not belong to the Mundas, it belongs to none,—neither to Ticcadars or Elakadars nor to the Nagbunsis. Chotanagpore was established by the Mundas and possessed by them. Nagbunsis, now the ruling power of Chota Nagpore, were servants of the Mundas. Afterwards by dishonesty they usurped the Raj and they falsely declared that it was given to them by the Mundas. What worthy deeds they performed to the Mundas that they gave it to them? What, had the Mundas no appetite or hunger that they gave it? Nobody can give to any even $\frac{1}{4}$ of a seer of rice, then how the Mundas gave such a vast Raj to the Nagbunsis? If the Raj is given to the Nagbunsis they ought to bring their babus (bahis?) or Saboot before Government. The Nagbunsis were only Bhuinharies and Tahsildars of the Mundas: such was our primeval state; but by time it has undergone a calamitous change. At present even the little possession under the name of Bhuinhari land is going to be in the danger of being dispossessed.

Yours most obediently
JUGDEEP, JOSEPH,
MANMASEE
CHUMNA &c.
14,000 Christians.

The memorials they forwarded to the local and Supreme Governments are too lengthy to be quoted, but all are in the same strain as the above.

Their principal prayer, that of being allowed to form themselves into village communities directly under Government, was, under the changed circumstances of the country, found to be unreasonable and extravagant, and the petitions were all rejected.

The heads of the missions sought in vain to convince these memorialists, of the futility of prosecuting their hopelessly time-barred claims. The infuriate Sardars (who called themselves Christians) resented the remonstrances of the missionaries and severed their connection with the missions. The Missionaries of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chotanagpur forwarded a Memorial to the Bengal Government regarding certain grievances of the aboriginal tenants of the District and the Lieutenant Governor by his Minute, dated the 5th July 1876, informed the Memorialists that 'he did not share their apprehensions that the Kols may be tempted to resist authority or disturb order'. But unfortunately Sir Richard Temple's optimism was not borne out by the event. The agitation assumed a threatening aspect and riots and other disturbances of the public peace were not long in coming.

Some of the leaders, it is said, attempted to coerce their tribesmen into seceding from the Churches and withdrawing their children from the Mission schools. One of the agitators himself made an unauthorised celebration of a marriage according to Christian rights.

The year 1881 witnessed a ludicrously comic show at village Doisa, which had once been the seat of the ancestors of the Maharaja of Chotanagpur. A small band of malcontents styling themselves the "Children of Mael", and their leader "John the Baptist", established themselves on the ruins of the *garh* of Doisa* and proclaimed a Raj of their own.

* These Munda sardars went to the length of claiming the 'Doisa garh' as having been founded by their ancestors. Thus in a memorial to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal submitted in 1884 by about 12,000 Mundas, we read:—

Many monuments still exist of big stone-slabs and foundation-stone-pillars, high above the ground. In Sutiamba Ghar, and also in several other Ghurs, in several Pergunnahs of Chotanagpore, to bear testimony to the ancient deeds of the Mundas, wherever they at different times and places first established

Threatening letters were sent to the Munsiff of Lohardaga. Some of the ring-leaders were promptly prosecuted and punished by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Power. But the agitation went on unabated for the next few years. The excitable Kols of the villages were easily drawn into the movement, and thus commenced what is now known as the "Sardar Larai". As the Settlement Officer of Ranchi observed in May 1903,—

"The Sardars—an unscrupulous and dishonest gang of cheats obtained so great a measure of support because of the growing discontent of the Mundaris with the enhancement of begar and abwabs, with the extension of the "Manjihahas" of the landlords, and above all with the constant sapping of Khuntkatti rights in village after village.

"To one who has not been among them it is difficult to realise the passionate attachment of these savages to the grove and graveyard of their clan and to the fields which their ancestors cleared among the forests, and equally difficult to realise how sensitive they are to the degradation from the honourable rank of Khuntkattidar to that of mere raiyat. To lose all this or to see neighbour after neighbour sinking into this pit,... was calculated to set on fire a far less excitable people than the Mundas."

The unrest and the agitation grew every day more and more acute. One band of agitators stopped the Bara Lal of Palkot, a near kinsman of the Maharaja, on a journey, when the Bara Lal with great presence of mind, succeeded in making good his escape by temporising with them and acknowledging their pretended claims. Meetings were held by the Mundas at many places in the south and south-west of the district and in Porahat, and it is said that the "thirty-five Sardars"* gave

themselves in a body, and long before the family of the now-called Rajahs settled there. Specially the two stupendous old monuments respectively in Pergunnahs Doisa and Khukra, known as Nava-Ratnas.

* The signatories to the Memorial of 1884 appear to have been thirty-six in number, *vis* :—

1 Samuel Munda; 2 Munmasi Munda, 3 Paulus Munda, 4 Patras Munda, and 5 Boas Munda of Pergana Basia; 6 Biswas Munda, 7 Jakrid Munda of Pergana Belsia; 8 Nikodim Munda, 9 Barnabas Munda, 10 Poulus Munda, 11 Manmasi Munda, 12 Nikodim Munda, 13 Doah Munda, 14 Bijha Munda, 15 Mansid Munda, 16 Obed Munda, 17 Lita Munda, 18 Mansid Munda, 19 Gidhone Munda, 20 Samuel Munda, 21 Gopal Munda, 22 Reda Munda, and 23 Moni Munda,—of Pergana Sonepur; 24 Johan Munda, and 25 Jhirga Munda of Pergana Belkadi; 26 Daud Munda and 27 Mansuk Munda of Pergana Lachra; 28 Tinga Munda of Singbhum; 29 Gidhone Munda of Porahat; 30 Thinga Munda, and 31 Singa

out that as they had filed strong petitions against the 'thirteen hakims' of the district, the people should resist the authority of the local officers and seize "Manjihahas lands". These dangerous counsels do not appear to have been extensively acted upon. It was probably owing to the precautions taken by the authorities, the strengthening of the Police force, exemplary punishments awarded in the few cases that came up to the Courts, that there were not many instances of riots or serious disturbances in the harvesting season. Only one case of paddy-cutting at Tilma, and cases of trespass on the Manjihahas lands of the Rani of Tamar, besides a few other cases in the Parganas south and west of Ranchi, were reported to have occurred. The causes of the disputes that survived the operations under the Chotanagpur Tenures Act of 1869, were thus pointedly explained by the then Deputy Commissioner of the District,—*

"No doubt can possibly exist as to the beneficial effect resulting from these coveted tenures (the Bhuinhari) being ascertained and demarcated. It is a pity, however, that the opportunity was not taken of measuring and settling each whole village instead of Bhuinhari and Manjihahas lands only. The Bhuinhars generally claimed their entire holdings, and often other lands, of which they were out of possession, as being all bhuinhari. When a decree was given for a portion only, no finding was come to with respect to the remainder beyond recording that it was not *bhuinhari*, but *rajhas* (rent-paying) or *manjihahas*. When held to be of the latter description, it was demarcated under the Act, but when declared to be *rajhas*, a door was opened for numerous complications. The Special Commissioner had no power to determine whose *rajhas* it was, nor what rate of rent was payable for it. Usually it was either in possession of the claimant rightfully, or had wrongfully been taken possession of by him when operations under the Act commenced and held by him since without payment of rent. As soon as the Act came into force, it was not uncommon for Bhuinhars to combine and take forcible possession of lands which, according to their lights, they were entitled to claim them as Bhuinhari, withholding payment of all rents. Active and solvent Illaquadars protected themselves well enough by resort to the Criminal Courts; but when, owing to the incompetence or poverty of Illaquadars, resistance was feeble, these combinations were frequently successful. As the bhuinhari cases came to an end, the struggle for

Munda of Tamar Parg and, 32 Samuel Munda, 33 Asab Munda, 34 Markus Munda and 35 Amus Munda of pargana Doisa, and 36 Joseph Munda of Pargana Khukra.

* Quoted in Bengal Government Resolution (Revenue Department), dated the 25th November, 1880.

the *rajhas* commenced. Whether lands really belonged to the Bhuinhar or not, the Illaquader might be supposed to say to a Bhuinhar,—“You claimed all your land as Bhuinhari and have only got a decree for a fraction; you have put me to expense in contesting the Bhuinhari case, you are not a tenant to my mind. I can get a higher rent for the *rajhas* from Ramjiwan Kurmi or Baksu Jolaha, so turn out and let me settle the land with a man after my own heart.” The reply would be: ‘Decree or no decree, the land was brought under cultivation by my ancestors, the village is ours, and the country is ours, not yours. If compelled to do so, I will pay rent, but turn out I will not.’ Then ensues the usual litigation, first in Criminal, then in Revenue and Civil Courts, to carry on which the demarcated Bhuinhari is probably mortgaged or sold to a *mahajan*. The Illaquader registers a pottah in favour of Ramjiwan Kahar or Baksu Jolah, who, with two or three witnesses, formally scatters some seed on the land either before or after the Bhuinhar has done so. When the crop is ripe, a report is made by one party or the other to the thana that there is a likelihood of a breach of the peace, and whichever party reaps the crop is charged with theft. At specified seasons, the Courts are almost swamped with criminal trespass and paddy-cutting cases. It may generally be said that, when Illaquaders are intelligent, and powerful, they are in the wrong; and that, when they are otherwise, the Bhuinhars are at fault. The result, however, is seldom satisfactory; for, in protracted litigation, intelligence, length of purse, and influential position will, in the long run, carry the day. “When an illaquader accepts a Bhuinhar as tenant for lands claimed as Bhuinhari but declared to be *rajhas*, even then disputes arise about the rate of rent. When the ordinary rates are demanded, the Bhuinhars are clearly wrong in declining to pay rent accordingly, but he almost always invariably does so, contending, even in the face of a final decree, that the lands are Bhuinhari still. It often happens that there are two rates of rent in a village—the old customary rate paid by the native cultivators, and the contract rate paid by new ryots settled on vacated lands by illaquaders. Illaquaders always try, naturally enough, to level up to the

contract rate without the tedious process of measuring the whole village.”

Thus disputes between the Mundas and their landlords continued, and, now and again, assumed a serious aspect. Although at this period, several special Acts relating to Chotanagpur were passed by the Legislatures, none of them grappled with the most crying grievances of the people. In the beginning of the year 1879, Act I of 1879, known as the Chotanagpur Landlord and Tenant Procedure Act, was passed by the Bengal Council. The Act of 1879 closely followed the provisions of the Bengal Rent Act of 1859, and failed to effect any appreciable improvement in the relations between the Mundas and their landlords. The Chotanagpur Encumbered Estates Act passed by the Supreme Council in 1876 (Act VI of 1876) and amended in 1884 by Act V of that year, hardly touched the Mundas. The ‘Hazaribagh and Lohardugga Rural Police Act’ was passed by the Bengal Council in 1878 (Act VIII of 1878) and was superseded in the year 1887 by the Chotanagpur Rural Police Act (Act V of 1887).

In his report on the agrarian disturbances of 1886-1887, Mr. Stevens, the then Commissioner of Chotanagpur, acknowledged the assistance he had received in the matter of dealing with the agrarian disturbances, from Dr. Noltrott of the German Mission Revd. J. C. Whitley, of the Anglican Mission and from the Roman Catholic missionaries generally.

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE

BRITISH AFFAIRS.

THE political situation in these isles is very difficult to define just now. The Government have, no doubt, retained their position in the new Parliament; but how they will shape and control the course of public business in the immediate future is hardly known or realised as yet. The Parliament Bill, destroying the Veto of the Lords in all strictly financial affairs, and

considerably modifying it in regard to other matters also, will, of course, receive their first and earliest attention. Mr. Asquith is pledged definitely to this business, and even if he were to falter, the powers that really hold him in his place would not tolerate such indecision, and it is inconceivable that he will take any course likely to destroy his Ministry. But the Parliament Bill itself has left loop-holes to which public attention is being turned

to be diverted by the Opposition leaders, at least in the public press. The preamble of the Parliament Bill supplies this loophole. It is not very difficult to see how and why this Preamble came to be stuck into the Bill. It is the Preamble which really saves the Bill from being an absolutely revolutionary measure. The mere destruction of the Lord's Veto would practically reduce the British Legislature to a single-chamber institution. There are "advanced politicians" who are absolutely in favour of a single-chamber legislature. But the native Conservatism of the British cannot brook such a revolutionary idea. In spite of progressive,—and aggressive—democracy, and the class-hatred with which in many cases this democracy is so distinctly tainted, the "Dooks" are yet a great moral power among the people. The deference that countless generations of British men and women have paid to the holders of aristocratic titles, will take a long time to kill. It is still a very living and active moral force in the community. And consequently, though the House of Commons may,—and indeed, will—destroy the predominant political privilege of the aristocracy, the people as a whole will continue for long years at least to look upon the old leaders of their people with unfeigned respect and submissiveness. The moral hold of the Lords over the populace is still very great. The Conservative politicians know it, and are so fully assured of it, indeed, that they have not hesitated to break an actual scheme of legislation, under certain conditions, by the Referendum. This proposal to decide all vital and irreconcilable issues between the Conservatives and the Liberals,—the two great and dominant political parties in the State just now, is without doubt, the most democratic that has been made in this country. The Referendum, if it can be honestly worked, offers a more direct participation by the general body of citizens everywhere, in the affairs of the State, than Parliamentary or Representative Government ever does. Representative Government means really class-rule. It is essentially oligarchic; and though the final authority in the State is vested under the Parliamentary system, in the enfranchised citizens, these last exercise but little direct or effective

control over their own State affairs. The work and authority of Government vest necessarily in a few men, oftentimes these are usurped by political caucuses. Self-government in America means really this Government by caucus. It means practically the same thing even in England, though the English Party system has not yet developed all the enormous corruptions of the Tamanny Hall. Still, it is not really democratic. And the Referendum is, therefore, a distinct advance towards direct and popular self-government such as has not yet been realised,—and indeed, never will be realised—by the kind of representative institutions and parliaments so far known to history. It is without doubt a progressive proposal; but the fact that it has been put forward by a rigid Conservative Party, and is being stoutly repudiated as mischievous by those who have always been known as a progressive party in British politics, throws a good deal of light upon the unpromising actualities of British political life. The Liberals would not hear of the Referendum; and why? They do not openly avow it, but their real fear is that the Referendum would transfer the centre of political power and authority in the country almost permanently to the hands of the Lords and their entourage in the Conservative or the Unionist Party. The open opposition of the Liberals to the Referendum scheme is based upon the fact that it would practically destroy Parliamentary Government in the British Isles. But these gentlemen dare not examine their position with sufficient candour to be able to see or confess even where they do see, that Parliamentary Government is not the last word of free democracies. Popular freedom under Parliamentary Government is really a sort of mere make-believe. It does not, by any means, mean the freedom of the people to direct and control their own national affairs, but only the right of delegating this work and this duty to a small body of men who are left free, once they are elected, to manage or mis-manage these affairs just as it suits their fancy or their interest, until some conflict between the ruling clique demands a dissolution and a fresh appeal to the country. And we all know here what this "appeal to the country" really means; and how far any General Election

reveals the real thoughts or desires of the electors. The ordinary elector scarcely has any thought regarding the complex public issues upon which he is supposed to pronounce an opinion. They rarely know what these issues really are; they are simply driven, blindfolded, by catch phrases and loud posters, towards the polling booths. As regards any true and living interest in the larger public questions upon which elections are fought, the ordinary voter hardly feels any interest, and has, therefore, no real desire to have either the one or the other of the two great political parties in power. Left to themselves, a very large percentage of even the enlightened British voters would have never cared to waste their time and energies upon a General Election. They vote—and full ten per cent. of them and even more do not vote at all—simply because either they are coaxed and cajoled or are threatened and intimidated, or simply in some cases, merely for the fun of the thing. The politicians know all this here. The Liberals know it all. And knowing how little active interest there is in the community in political affairs, they are opposed to the Referendum because they fear that the direct result of it would be to place a great power in the hands of the Conservative Aristocracy, to whom the masses still look up for support and guidance. And this Liberal opposition to a proposal which is essentially the most democratic that has yet been broached in British politics, is a practical and potent, though silent, recognition of the moral hold that the Lords here still have upon the populace.

And this fact considerably adds to the difficulties of the present situation. On the one hand, there is, undoubtedly, a very large and substantial volume of articulate public opinion, which is strongly, and even bitterly against the present political status and legislative privileges of the Hereditary Chamber. It is shared by a very large section of the ruling classes here. No Government in this country can afford to ignore this body of opinion. The Radicals are almost to a man, opposed to the House of Lords. The Whigs if not for any other reason, at least from considerations of Party-interest, are also more or less partial to their democratic opposition to the Lords. The Labourites, representing the

articulate working classes, are frankly opposed, not merely to the present position of the Hereditary Chamber, but to any Hereditary Second Chamber at all. There is a clear suspicion that if they have their way, the Labour and Socialist Party would have no Second Chamber in any shape or form whatever. The Irish Nationalists naturally look upon the House of Lords as their Hereditary enemy. It is practically this House that prevented the passage of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in 1885. The removal of the Lord's Veto is almost an absolute condition precedent of getting Home Rule for Ireland by peaceful and constitutional means. All these indicate the strength of the Ministerialists in the matter of the Lord's Veto. But the unity in the Ministerial ranks upon this question, is essentially what may be called, a negative unity. It is a unity brought about among essentially disunited parties, for a temporary purpose, to fight and kill a common enemy. So far as, therefore, the destruction of the Lord's Veto is concerned, the Ministerialists and their allies are absolutely united. But there is no such unity in regard to the reform and reconstruction of the existing Second Chamber in Great Britain. Yet that is clearly a matter which the Liberal Government either do not care or do not dare to refuse to consider. At least, it is absolutely certain that if the present Parliament Bill had not offered a definite promise for the reform and reconstruction of the House of Lords, as soon as their financial veto was destroyed, a large and very influential body of Moderate Liberal opinion in the country would not have given it enthusiastic support. This is the psychology of the Preamble of the Parliament Bill. I am not sure whether the suggestion regarding the reconstruction of the Upper Chamber did not originate with the Sovereign himself. It is well-known that when the Budget was thrown out by the Lords, and feelings ran very high against the Lords among Ministerialists and their allies, the late King had repeated conferences with the leaders of the two dominant parties. The Parliament Bill was framed after these conferences. On the other hand, as soon as the issues between the Lords and the Commons became very serious and acute,

Lord Rosebery brought forward a number of Resolutions embodying a scheme of reform of the House of Lords. And when the Lords themselves showed such readiness to mend their own Constitution—however much their opponents might ridicule the attempt, and characterise it as “Dolly reforming herself,” which is the title of a popular musical comedy that had the run of the London stage for some time last year,—the Government trying to destroy the financial veto of the Upper Chamber could not refuse to promise to work out a final solution of the problem of the Second Chamber. The Preamble was, thus, largely a tactical move on the part of Mr. Asquith’s Government. It has become, however, in view of later developments a rather complex and delicate move. Now that a second General Election has returned the Liberal Government once more to power, and specially that this Election was openly fought upon one simple issue, namely that of the Lord’s Veto, as embodied in the Parliament Bill, the Opposition have no reasonable excuse to hold out any longer. Of course there is a good deal of wild talk in the more sensational Unionist press, about the indecisive character of the Election. The Government have not gained a larger majority than what they had in the last Parliament. They had made a second appeal to the country distinctly to secure a more decisive verdict. This they have not got. So the Unionists say that the Veto Bill cannot be accepted by the opposition as representing the wishes of the people. All this may, to some extent, be true. But we cannot have another General Election upon the same issue. And if we had, the result would still be the same. Governments may try to ascertain definitely the will of the people, but if the people will not come in larger numbers than they have recently done, to express their will, the affairs of the country cannot be permitted to stand in a state of deadlock. So the Liberal Government must carry out their own programme and policy. This is fully recognised by sober and responsible politicians on the other side. But

while admitting all this, they demand that the Preamble of the Parliament Bill should be fully worked out and developed in the present Bill, and the destruction or modification of the Lord’s Veto should not be separately dealt with and secured before the other and more vital question of the reform and reconstruction of the Upper House has been settled. This is the move that the Opposition has made now. And it makes the work before the Government far more difficult and delicate than what would have otherwise been. It is then clear that the whole fight will rage around the Preamble of the Parliament Bill. If the Commons refuse to consider the question of the reform or reconstruction of the House of Lords along with that of the Veto, the Lords may well resent the creation of five hundred peers for the passing of the Veto Bill. It is not unlikely that by the time the Lower House is debating the Veto Bill, the Upper House may adopt and pass a more comprehensive measure, embodying the main points of the Veto, but simultaneously formulating a new constitution for the House of Lords, thus saving, if not anything else, at least to some extent, the hereditary element of that House. And this will place the Government in an unenviable position. They will be like the proverbial Indian snake which swallowed a rat. They could neither take it in nor throw it out. Then perhaps will come another opportunity for deciding this complex constitutional question by “Consent.” If the Lords do make this move, they will give a very strong reason to their Sovereign to refuse to take the unusual step of creating five hundred emergency peers, at the bidding of his Liberal Cabinet. Either there will be a settlement by mutual consent, or if the Liberals refuse, or are forced by their allies to refuse, a compromise, we must have another General Election before the year is out. But in that case, the appeal to the country will be made not by Mr. Asquith but by Mr. Balfour. But let us wait and see.

LONDON, FEB. 3, 1911.

E. WILLIS.

THE EX-IMPERIAL SHOWMAN.

I

When I was Lord of the Land in the East my feet
Trode on air and my head struck the stars !
And, lo, as I bumped my head against Sirius,
It swelled to an enormous size, and ever since
I have suffered night and day from a swelled head.
I have shed the crown of my glory and my purple mantle
Has been torn off my back by ruthless hands.
Natheless my Delhi Durbar was my unfailing solace ;
For I glanced back along the vista of the ages
And I stood supreme as the Imperial Showman.
Behold the pavilion that I built ; at one end
I placed my throne, and my clear imperious voice
Reached the great assembly from end to end.
I rehearsed the procession and the elephants
Passed slowly to a stately measure ;
I saw the turbans of the Imperial Cadets
And the leopards' skins on their saddles,
And they passed prancing on their fiery steeds.
The remnants of Empire lay on either hand !
And the dead awoke to the thunder of my greeting !
Ever and anon comes back the glorious scene to me
Dispelling the icy touch of the deepening gloom.

II

And now, woe is me, the one glory of my life
Is destined to fade into nothingness like all
I have striven to achieve. I was Eclipse,
And my shadow darkened the suns and the moons ;
But I am now doomed to darkness everlasting,
Submerged in the swift silent waters of Lethe !
For he of whom I was but the shadow, whose majesty
Is proclaimed from sea to sea and continent to continent,
And whom millions acclaim King and leige Lord,
Will sit in the hall of the Emperors high on his throne,
Girt round by the jewelled Princes of Ind, greeted
By the full-throated plaudits of the multitude. Once again
The peerless Kohinoor will flash on the Imperial brow ;
And the loving homage of a countless people will ascend to heaven.
Land and sea will echo with saluting thunder ;
A vibrant symphony will pass round and round
The sun-lit Empire owning him sovereign Lord.
I was but the shadow, he is the refulgence of the sun.
Hail Cæsar ! Hail to thy heritage of Empire !
All hail ! I pass as the mist before the sun.

N. GUPTA.

seldom seen. His poems are flawless gems : his essays are the most perfect specimens of Bengali prose : his criticism contains the sanest and most crystalline interpretations : his novels mark a new era in Bengali fiction : his songs breathe the most enthralling strains—the spirit's utmost rapture and aspiration—taking us to "the very verge of the infinite and letting us gaze into it" : his short stories possess like those of Nathaniel Hawthorne, invention, creation, imagination and originality and belong to the highest class of narrative. In fact, in the opinion of many persons, his tales and his musical pieces constitute his most valid title to immortality. For, in them "not only is all done that should be done, but (what perhaps is an end with more difficulty attained) there is nothing done which should not be. Every word tells, and there is not a word which does not tell" (Poe). There is scarcely a literate Bengali household where Babu Rabindranath's name does not work like a heavenly incantation : there is scarcely a Bengali youth who has not drugged himself, so to say, with his lyric verses. He is not a sort of "coterie-idol" : not to admire him is open "treason to culture." Neither Byron nor Tennyson ever enjoyed even in the days of their greatest vogue such wide-spread fame and such passionate adoration. No age and no nation can show an instance of a writer who has achieved such vivid and enduring and marvellous results in almost all the departments of human speech,—in poetry, drama, essay, fiction, criticism, song, story, political disquisition, religious discourse.

In the paper under reference Babu Rabindranath has very finely brought out the inner meaning of the drama. The most pleasant feature about it is the fact that the poet-critic has not attenuated Sakuntala to a theory or an abstraction : there is no ingenious attempt at padding the play with fantastic allegoric significances, with erudite elucidations, with fatuous ponderosities of commentary. The heroine has been represented as a human being wearing the imperial diadem of beauty and youth, and athrill with the passions that flesh is heir to. She is a creature crowned with all the attributes of joy and woe. She does not shiver across the stage like a remote shadow, she moves along with a firm, steady step capable of infinite pain and infinite bliss. To heighten further the interest of his criticism Babu Rabindranath has happily compared Sakuntala with Miranda. There are many points of similarity between them. They are simple, they are sincere, they are full of "the sacred candour from which spring the nobler manners

of a world more real and glad than the world of convention and proprieties and pruderies" (Dowden).

But the following remarks are hardly justifiable :—

"Sakuntala's simplicity is natural, that of Miranda is unnatural, Sakuntala's simplicity was not girt round by ignorance as was the case with Miranda... Miranda's simplicity was never subjected to such a fiery ordeal ; it never clashed with knowledge of the world." A calm appraisal of Miranda's character does not establish the truth of these lines. Miranda when set over against Sakuntala gains in loveliness, in purity, in enchanted maidenly attitude. We cannot say of Kalidasa's heroine that she had

"passed by the ambush of young days

"Either not assailed, or victor being charged".

She was much too easy of conquest. She fell to pieces before the seductive glamour of sense without a struggle. She was not won as Desdemona was won by Othello, or Elaine by Sir Lancelot. No fiery tales of heroism have been poured into her ears : no tragic incidents have been recounted in glowing terms to stir her imagination or enkindle her sympathy : her extreme simplicity and innocence have deprived her of the woman's armour : instead of rebelling against the first intruder she yields to his

"sallying wit, free flashes from a height

Above her, graces of the court, and songs,

Sighs, and slow smiles and golden eloquence

And amorous adulation "

If it had not been Dushmantya, it would have been somebody else. The dramatic conditions, the structural necessities of the plot required that a king should woo her : but it does not constitute an extenuating circumstance—it merely enhances the interesting points of the play, deepens its picturesque effect and suffuses it with greater splendour. Miranda, on the other hand, instinctively puts a hedge round herself—there is a moral rampart which Caliban's outrageous villany could not overleap. Though the magician's room peopled with preternatural powers is her nursery, yet she is human in every respect, in harmony with her natural impulses and with the social laws that govern her set from which she has been banished. To my mind Miranda answers at all points to the human verisimilitude and is a perfect creation. And her individuality is quite distinct—she is a crystal "isolated, infrangible, infusible" not to be lumped up with commonplace characters at any stage of her romantic life.

H. L. C.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Hegelianism and Human Personality by Professor Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph. D, published by the University of Calcutta. Pp 61.

This was the thesis written by Professor Haldar and approved by the University of Calcutta for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The author has been profoundly influenced by Hegel, Green, Caird, and Sterling, but he has not

slavishly followed their doctrines. Prof. Haldar is an original thinker and has, in this book, given a new interpretation of the views of Hegel. According to him Hegel does not teach that the Absolute is a Unitary Personality. His real theory is that the Absolute is a Unity differentiated into persons. It is a co-ordination of many Selves, the organic unity of Selves. Dr. McTaggart has arrived at a similar conclusion. But while McTaggart holds that Hegel's Absolute is an impersonal unity of persons,

Professor Haldar is of opinion that it is a self-conscious unity of its constituent selves—it is a Self of selves. As the author has subjected McTaggart's opinion to a searching criticism, the book has become highly controversial. But it was unavoidable on the part of the author as his views ran counter to those of an accredited and influential expositor of Hegel. The book is an original contribution to the philosophic literature of the day and we hope its merits will be recognised in the philosophic world.

Lectures on Hindu Philosophy, Part I by Mahamahopadhyaya Kamakhya Nath Tarkabagisa, translated by Babu Akhil Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., B.L. Published by Gopal Chandra Mukerjee from the Sahitya Sabha, 1001 Grey Street, Calcutta. Pp. 42.

The first lecture is on "The leading systems of Hindu Philosophy—their scope, general topics and unification" and the conclusion of the author is:—

"It is, therefore, quite patent that the so-called divergence of opinions amongst the authors of the Hindu philosophical systems is very far from being a real or substantial one. The difference is only with regard to the mode of treatment and not at all in fundamental points."

The second lecture deals with the "Proof of the existence of God", which he tries to establish by quoting and explaining the following verse from the *Kusumanjali* of Udayanacharya:—

"From effects, combination, support, etc., traditional arts, authoritativeness, Sruti, the sentences thereof and particular members—an Everlasting, Omniscient Being is to be established" (V. I).

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Volume VI.—Part iii, The Vaisesika Sutras of Kanada with the commentary of Sankara Misra. Translated by Babu Nandalal Sinha and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Basu at the Panini Office, Rahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 169—270 Annual Subscription:—Inland Rs. 12; Foreign £ 1. Price of this number Re 1/8.

This part contains V. 1. 10. to VII. 2. 28. (sutras 190—300). The contents of this part are:—

- (1) The Sanskrit Texts of the Sutras.
- (2) The meaning of all the words of the Sutras.
- (3) The English translation of the commentary named 'Upaskara' by Sankara Misra.
- (4) Extracts from the gloss of Jayanarayana in English. It is the 18th part of the series and like the other parts has been ably edited and translated. We wish the series every success.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

Brahma Jijnasa: by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. Second Edition (with additions and alterations). Pp 202. Bound in cloth. Price Re. 1/—

Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan is well-known to our readers and requires no introduction from our pen. There are only four persons in Bengal who have made any original contribution to the Bengali philosophic literature. Babu Rajnarayana Basu is no longer in

our midst; the other writers are Babu Dvijendranath Thakur, Babu Nagendranath Chatterjee and Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan. We are grateful to these writers for what they have done for Bengali literature. The book under review is a philosophic treatise on the fundamental principles of Religion. The author has tried his best to make all the important points clear to the readers, and, we think, has succeeded well in his attempts. The book does not represent any particular church and is quite unsectarian in nature. It is written from the idealistic standpoint. The reasonings throughout are very close and pertinent. It is an original and very powerful production and does credit to the author and to the country. Any country would be proud of such a production.

Those who are interested in the subject would do well to buy a copy and read it carefully and thoroughly. It is not a book to borrow from some one and to skim over lightly.

The second edition contains two new chapters and is an improvement on the first. The get-up of the book is excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Foara (Fountain): by Professor Lalit Kumar Banerji, M. A. Bhattacharyya and Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta, 1317. Price 0-12-0.

This nicely-printed volume of 229 pages contains a few essays which are serious, others which are serio-comic, others again which are frankly humorous; and social skits, apothegms in the manner of Rochefoucauld, satirical discourses on the methods of philological and scientific research have been thrown into the mixture to make the whole a curious but delightful literary olla-podrida, which is just the thing to look for when one has to while away an idle hour whether alone or in company. There is one characteristic which makes the book specially welcome to cultured people and also in family circles, and differentiates it from the majority of comic productions in Bengali. It is the purity of its humour, its freedom from vulgarity and coarseness, and its many apt classical quotations and allusions which give the essays, written in chaste and at times ornate Bengali, a charming literary flavour. The author's intimate acquaintance with Bengali poetry of every description, doggerel not even excepted, also deserves mention. The first essay on 'The Bullock Cart' seems to us to be the best of the whole collection, and recalls in its finest passages the writings of Charles Lamb and Oliver Wendell Holmes; those on 'Pilgrimage' and 'Lovers' separation' are in the serious vein, and eminently readable; but the poem on Benares does not appeal to us particularly good—poetry is not evidently in the author's line. To Professor Banerji belongs the credit of showing how subjects like the history of English literature and Philosophy can easily lend themselves to comic treatment, and be made to yield mirth galore, one is however apt to rise from their perusal 'with laughter holding both his sides', but with the question on his lips—*Cui Bono?* This question has been answered in anticipation by the author, who in the title-page approvingly quotes the Sanskrit poet who says that witty sayings should not be taken too seriously. On the whole the book deserves a place all by itself in a corner of our bookshelves.

GUJARATI.

Amaru Shatak, by Keshavlal Harshadrail Dhruva, B. A. Printed at the Union Printing Press, Co., Ltd., Ahmedabad. Third Edition: 'cloth bound: Illustrated: pp. 103, (1910). Price Re. 1

This is a *Suma Shloka* translation of the famous *Shatak* of Amaru into Gujarati, and we have great pleasure in having again had to revert to the literary work of an acknowledged scholar. While reviewing his translation of *Mudrarakashas* [July, 1908,] we have already recorded the very high opinion entertained of his abilities in Gujarat, and this work, if it does nothing more, confirms it. Amaru is the Prince of Erotic poets, and his *muktaks* challenge comparison with writers on the same subject in India, such as Bhartrihari, and Juvenal and Hafiz, outside India. It is at all times difficult to translate such highly lyrical verses into another language, and when to that difficulty is added the restriction of preserving the same metre in both, the task becomes enormously exacting. Mr. Dhruva, with his vast knowledge of both the languages has had no difficulty in accomplishing the work successfully, but even he had to feel the full force of the ordeal, because all throughout, we find the translation strewn with words newly coined to meet the exigencies of the situation, or with words obscure and little known, and at all times with explanations and commentaries to bring out the meaning and spirit of his translation. Therefore in spite of all these facilities offered to the general reader, the work is bound to remain known only to the select few.

A great resemblance to this mode of poetry writing i.e., *muktak* writing, where each *shloka* stands independent and by itself, is to be found in the *Gazals* of the Persians, where each *Bait* is complete in itself and expresses one single idea.

The preface and the illustrative notes, it need not be said, are the best portions of the book; the former shews that the writer is bubbling over with an intimate knowledge of ancient history and specially of Gujarat, and the latter shew what a master of *Alankarashastra* he makes himself out to be. The words in which he sums up the characteristics of a commentary called the *रसिक सञ्जीवनी* on the original of his translation are in every way applicable to him, viz., "that the commentary is sufficient to shew the wide extent, the depth and the accuracy of the knowledge (scholarship) of its author."

Saubhagya Sangit Sangraha, by Natwarlal Kanaiyala Vaishanan. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Thick Cardboard, pp. 136. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1910).

This is a collection of songs, intended for the instruction and dilectation of ladies, selected from modern writers, and ought to prove of interest to the class for which it is intended. K. M. J.

Kavyakalika by Ambuj and Bhramar, published by Mohanlal Mansukhram Shah, Laharipura, Baroda. Thick Cardboard, pp. 66. Price Re. 0-5-0. (1910.)

The words Ambuj and Bhramar represent the *nome de plume* of Messrs. Ambalal Maniklal Mehta and Jaysukhraj Purushotamraj Joshipura. It is a collection of short poetical pieces composed by them in what is called the modern style. As a whole, we think the compositions of the latter are inferior to

those of the former, both in expression and spirit, and are further marred by Kathiawadi provincialisms, which somehow or other appear out of place in verses modelled on those of Mr. Narsinhrao B. Divatia. In fact the whole collection seems to have been written on the basis of his verses, and everywhere one comes across either faint echoes of his handiwork or something very near to it. We must however say that in some places we do find real flashes of the poets' genius, which relieves the otherwise flat monotony of the whole performance.

Nargis Nataka Kar, written by G. K. Delvadakar, and published by Chimanlal Ranchhodlal Desai of Broach. Cloth bound, pp. 252. With illustrations. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1910).

This book purports to give in the form of a tale the doings of an honorable actress on an Indian Stage. The actress is supposed to be the illegitimate daughter of a Nawab of Dacca, and is made ultimately to marry a foster brother of hers, who is Hindu. She is further made to deliver a sermon on stage morality and roundly expose the tricks of theatre-runners. The story told is unnatural and improbable, and the purpose with which it is written, it entirely fails to carry out; we get no adequate idea of the heinousness of the crimes of those who enmesh youngsters into the wiles of low actresses, and the inner workings of the green-room could have been much better portrayed. It perpetuates all the faults which we noticed in reviewing a former work of Mr. Delvadakar, and we regret to say we find no good point in the book which we can bring out here. His quotations are as inapt and out of place as ever, and the composition is further disfigured by the interspersing of advertisements with reading matter and a large number of typographical mistakes. The photos of a Bengali girl in the dress and outfit of a Gujarati (with the red sandal paste mark or *chanla*) seem to betray the absence of the faculty of accuracy and taste in the writer.

Arya Dharma Niti and Chanakya Niti Sar, published by the Society for the encouragement of cheap (Gujarati) literature, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Paper Cover, pp. 160 & 53 (1910).

The useful work done by this Society has already been noticed by us, previously, and we are glad to find that it is persevering in that commendable path in spite of many difficulties, shewing that the helmsman is a determined man and will not be cowed down by difficulties. The object is very praiseworthy, as it aims at cheapening the best works in Gujarati literature, till they attain the place of the famous works of Dickens and Thackeray in the English publishing market, i.e., are offered to the public at phenomenally low prices. The Society has outlined a scheme and advertised it in this book as an introduction, for bringing out several standard works at very low prices. Into the details of this scheme, we have no space to enter, but we may say this much that if it is carried out even partially it will inaugurate a new era in the publishing line of our literature. One of these two works has been thoroughly revised and purged of the inaccuracies committed by its translator Narayen Hemchandra, from Bengali and the other is well-rendered too. The Society deserves encouragement.

Kaya Ishwar-a-a Vishwa Rachyun? (which God created this Universe) by Narsinhbhai Ishwarbhai Patel of Mehsana, published by Wadilal M. Shah, Editor, Jaina Samachar, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, pp. 49. (1910.)

This is an essay written in easy style on the different problems of Monism, Atheism, and the theories

of the creation of the Universe, soul, etc. Modern European authorities and the views of scientists have been embodied in it, and it fulfils the object with which it is written, *vis.*, to set the reader thinking and cogitating on these questions

K. M. J.

NOTES

The Native States.

The creation of the new Feudatory State of Benares has not attracted that amount of attention at the hands of the publicists of this country which its importance deserves. A principle which the far-seeing politicians—both European and Indian—have advocated ever since the suppression of the Indian Mutiny has been recognised by elevating to the rank of a feudatory chief the descendant of Chet Singh. From the time of Cornwallis down to that of Dalhousie, the Scotch Laird of Cockpen, it was the earnest endeavour of every Governor-General of India to wipe out of existence the independent principalities by the adoption of means which it is not necessary here to examine. The map of India was to be dyed red and as everything is said to be fair and just in love and warfare, so all was permissible to those honorable and noble lords who came out to govern India to bring her under the political sway of England. The recently published private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie throw a flood of light on his motives and methods in annexing the then existing Native States.

But the Indian Mutiny showed their importance to the existence of British rule in India. For, without the help of the feudatory chiefs whose territories had not been wrested from them it is more than questionable if the Mutiny could have been so easily suppressed as it then was. Lord Canning perceived the importance of these States and it was on his recommendation that Her Majesty the Queen Victoria was graciously pleased to assure the Indian ruling chiefs that their principalities were no longer to be annexed in future.

A decade after the occurrence of the Mutiny, Mysore, which had been brought under the control of the British by the crooked policy of Bentinck, was restored to its legitimate ruler. At that time Lord Cranborne—afterwards Marquess of Salisbury—was the Secretary of State for India. He was also impressed with the necessity of preserving the then existing Native States.

In the debate which took place in the House of Commons in May, 1867, on the occasion of the Mysore succession, the Secretary of State drew a comparison between the British and Indian systems of Government, which was not palatable to the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats, as he made pointed references to the defects inherent in the British administration. It was at that time suggested in certain influential quarters that the creation of Native States was calculated to make the lot of Indians happy and contented. But this suggestion was repugnant to the feelings of the then Viceroy, who happened to be the celebrated Lord Lawrence of the Punjab fame. Those who are acquainted with the antecedents of that nobleman, need not be surprised at his feelings. He had not received his training in the English school of politics, or learnt lessons in statecraft at the feet of the renowned statesmen of Great Britain. He came out to India as a Civilian while quite young and was fortunate enough to rise to the highest post in the gift of the British Crown. He was brought up in the School of Dalhousie and as the right-hand man of that noble lord in the administration of the Punjab, he was for the adoption of measures not favorable to the aristocracy and gentry of the newly annexed province.

He quarreled with his brother Sir Henry Lawrence, whom he got removed from the Punjab, in order to carry out Dalhousie's policy. From a man of Lord Lawrence's training and antecedents it was quite impossible to expect that he would favor the idea of parcelling out India into a number of feudatory states. He made one of his Secretaries, by name Mr. J. W. S. Wyllie, address the Anglo-Indian officials to answer Lord Cranborne's statement. These officials were not left the choice of giving expression to their independent opinions—for in the circular letter addressed to them, Lord Lawrence had very freely given his opinion as to the superiority of British rule over that of the Native States. The answers received from the officials were embodied in a book which was published as a State record. At this distance of time, the perusal of this document is both interesting and instructive. The arguments which were adduced as unfavorable to the Native States do not hold good now. A good many of the Native States have made progress by leaps and bounds and are in a position to give points to many Governments in the world. These States have made education up to a certain standard free and compulsory. Representative assemblies on the model of parliaments have been instituted; the judicial and executive departments have been separated. A great stimulus has been given to commerce and industries and various steps for the economic development of their principalities are being taken by their rulers. The native princes are not now as a rule given to debauchery and indolence as was the case a generation ago. The enlightened prince of Baroda is not an exception. The rulers of Mysore, Travancore, Cutch, Jhallawar and many other States take deep interest in the welfare of their subjects and are doing much to make them prosperous.

It is because the Native States are well-governed that a new one has been created, which, let us hope, is the precursor of many others which will conduce to the political and moral advancement of the Indian people.

A Bengali Author of Islamic Works.

Babu Girish Chandra Sen was a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj of India. He

was the maternal uncle of Mr. K. G. Gupta, I.C.S. He was a follower of the late Keshab Chandra Sen. When the doctrine of the harmony of religions was promulgated by Mr. Keshab Chandra Sen, he was selected and appointed as the expounder of Islam.

Prior to his being ordained as a missionary he had a tolerable knowledge of Persian and Sanskrit. He now put to the best use his knowledge of Persian by making numerous translations. His *Tapos Mala*—Lives of Mohammadan Saints in six parts and Life of Mohammad in three parts are a monument to his untiring literary activity.

His crowning success is the entire translation of the Koran into Bengali. Hadish he has left unfinished. He has brought out only four parts of it. He was a profound Arabic Scholar. At the age of forty-two, he went to Lucknow to learn Arabic. He now set himself to the hardest task of translating the Koran. He was a man of his word. He never swerved from the path of rectitude. His religious conviction was very deep-rooted. The religious truths which he accepted in his younger days under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen was his landmark through his whole career. Bengali literature will ever cherish his name as the interpreter of Islamic religion. The style of his writing is very chaste and simple and fascinating to read. The profit of his own numerous works he never utilized for his use in his life. He lived like an ancient Hindoo sage. He was a vegetarian. By his will he has bequeathed his literary property to the cause of spreading Brahmoism. As a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, he did wonderful service. He visited the sub-divisional and district headquarter towns of East Bengal, North Bengal, Orissa, Chhotanagpur, Behar, North-West Provinces, Oudh, Central India, Rajputana, the Punjab, Madras and Burmah and other places.

He has laid the whole Mohammadan community of Bengal under an immense debt. Here is a copy of letter from a Bengali preacher of Islam,—

"Alas! who will now enlighten the Mohammadan public with Islamic teachings by presenting them with the best and the sweetest Bengali translations of the Arabic and Persian works! Alas! who will now complete the translation of *Miskat Shariff* (Hadhis)? By the death of Girish Babu, the Mohammadan com-

munity has really been a great loser. It has lost a true friend."

I give below a list of books he translated from the original Persian and Arabic languages. Most of his books are published by the Mission Office, No. 3, Romanath Mozumdar's Street, Calcutta, under the supervision of Babu Kanti Chandra Mitter.

1. The Koran.
2. Hadish.
3. Life of Abraham.
4. Life of Moses.
5. Life of David.
6. Life of Mahammed in 3 Vols.
7. Hitopakhyan Mala, Part I.
8. Do. Do. Part II.
9. Niti Mala.
10. Tatvaratna Mala.
11. Tatva Sandarbha Mala.
12. First four Caliphs.
13. Tapos Mala in 6 parts.
14. Dewan i-Hafez.
15. Tatva Kushum.
16. Sayings of Koran.
17. Religious Exercises of the Darveshes.
18. The sayings of the Darveshes.
19. The work of the Darveshes.
20. Darveshi.
21. Brahmomoyee Charit.
22. Sati Charit.
23. Life and Sayings of Paramahangsha.
24. Imam Hosen and Hoshen.
25. The Religion of Mahommed.
26. Dharmabandhur prati Kartabya.
27. Dharma Shadhon-Niti.
28. Maha-lipi.
29. English Rule in India.
30. Autobiography.

SATISH CHANDRA SEN.

A South African incident and its moral.

The telegrams published by the newspapers towards the close of January last in connection with the reprieve granted by Lord Gladstone to a native of South Africa sentenced to death on the charge of outraging a white woman suggest some melancholy reflections on the vaunted progress made by Western civilisation in moral ideas. The main facts of the incident may be thus summarised. Numerous resolutions were passed in South Africa protesting against the commutation of the death sentence, and Lord Gladstone, replying to them, agreed as to the need of exemplary punishment of natives assaulting white women, but pointed out that in this case there was a distinct doubt whether the offence had been committed. In the meantime feeling against Lord Gladstone's action

had grown very strong in England, and the *Unionist Globe* pointed out the danger of having a sentimental ruler in a country like South Africa, and demanded his recall. The Liberal papers, represented by the *Westminster Gazette Daily*, were unable to go further in their defence of Lord Gladstone than to say that if hanging is necessary, there must be certainty that the offence has been committed. Even after Lord Gladstone's explanation was published, the majority in England were disposed to think, so Reuter tells us, that the man should have been executed, as the native mind is incapable of understanding the fine distinction between attempted and accomplished crimes in these cases. Finally, on January 30, Reuter wired the following choice bit of information, culled from the leading article of the great London *Thunderer*, whose bloodthirstiness appears to be on a par with that of the Red-Indian scalphunters:

"*The Times* is relieved to find that though Lord Gladstone differs from the general view in this individual case, he accepts the position that death is an appropriate penalty for such crimes. After his statement, the journal adds, it cannot be maintained that he disregarded the law or the special conditions of South Africa or the normal South African opinion. The paper hopes that what it describes as an excusable agitation will now be assuaged."

A perusal of the above *resume* will show that (i) in the opinion of all white men, British or Colonial, Liberal or Conservative, death is an appropriate penalty for crimes like rape *when committed by a coloured man*, (ii) in the opinion of advanced Liberals, the penalty should follow upon proof of the crime, (iii) in the opinion of the majority, to make proof of crime a condition precedent for hanging a mere 'native' is maudlin sentimentalism, and a governor who proposes this should be recalled. The horrible and inhuman murder of American negroes suspected of a similar offence by lawless gangs of hooligan whites in the presence of guardians of the law and the police, which is popularly known as 'lynching', proves that the majority of the citizens of the great republic of the West harbour the same views on the subject. The laws passed by the various British Colonies and some States of the American union against Asiatic immigrants are frankly unjust. In India itself, the Criminal Procedure Code

introduces humiliating distinctions between the method of trial prescribed for white foreigners and native Indians in criminal cases. It would therefore be safe to say that the introduction of inequality on a racial basis is the corner-stone of Western legislation. And yet one can well imagine the look of horror depicted on the countenance of the western jurist who, going through the Code of Manu or Yajnavalkya, finds that there is one law for the Brahmans and another for the inferior castes, (which we unhesitatingly condemn) and concludes, not without a secret self-satisfaction, that the author of the Code lived and legislated at a time when civilisation was young and the moral sense of society was little developed. The glorious poems of praise in honour of Christianity and Western civilisation, which would then burst forth in dithyrambic strains from the admiring lips of our imaginary jurist proud of his occidental origin and utterly oblivious of the beam in his own eye, would be a sight for the gods to see. But we think it was Buckle, the historian of civilisation, who said more than half a century ago that the moral sense of the world had not advanced at all since the days of Christ and Buddha, and a cynic might well say, after the deplorable exhibition of race-feeling evoked by the Gladstone incident, that he was right. To those who like the Western nations, have not yet got beyond the Darwinian theory of merciless competition embodied in the gospel of survival of the fittest in their conception of evolution, might is bound to be synonymous with right, and the idea of any higher moral law governing the universe and the conduct of men and nations is absurd and an impossible dream. An overpowering sense of the omnipotence of the moral law is the special spiritual heritage of the East—the ancient mother of civilisations as well as of religions. But the East must once more purge itself of its torpor before it can make the parvenu West recognise the supremacy of that law.

“Political importance” of Indian Christians.

We confess that we do not understand what is meant by the phrase “political importance of Muhammadans, as a thing belonging specially and only to them.” Certainly

the expression does not mean that the British administration of India is impossible without them. Nor does it mean that they alone are loyal to the British Government and others are not. As to their loyalty what a tale would those Anglo-Indians tell who had the misfortune to fight battles to quell the fire of the Indian Mutiny. If some of the deceased Anglo-Indians were restored to life they would give an unvarnished interpretation to the phrase “Political importance of Mahomedans.” Their “political importance” was such that Lord Ellenborough wrote to his friend, the Iron Duke of Wellington, from Simla on 4th October 1842, after the fall of Cabul and Ghazni:—

“I could not have credited the extent to which the Mahometans desired our failure in Afghanistan, unless I had heard here circumstances which prove that the feeling pervaded even those entirely dependent upon us.

“Here there is a great preponderance of Mahometans. I am told that the guns produced absolute consternation visible in their countenances. One Ayah threw herself upon the ground in an agony of despair. The Commander-in-chief observed it amongst his own servants * * The Hindoos, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful.”

Again writing to the Duke of Wellington on January 18, 1843, Ellenborough said:—

“I have every reason to think that the restoration of the gates of the Temple of Somnauth has conciliated and gratified the great mass of the Hindoo population. I have no reason to suppose that it has offended the Mussalmans; but I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race is fundamentally hostile to us, and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindoos, * * ”

For the greater part of the last century, the question was asked very often by Christian Anglo-Indians whether Indian Mussalmans could ever be loyal to British rule. It taxed all the ingenuity and scholarship of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to answer that question in the affirmative. But the Wahabi Trial, the assassinations of Mr. Justice Norman and Lord Mayo did not convince them of the loyalty of Muhammadans, notwithstanding all the arguments and pleading of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

Owing to English education and *Pax Britannica* a new life was being infused into the dead and dry bones of the Indian nation. This was the observation of no optimist Indian, but of an Anglo-Indian administrator

—no other than the late Sir Auckland Colvin, who read the signs of the times correctly. Both the Hindus and Muhammadans were going to be welded into a strong Indian nation. At such a juncture Lord Dufferin came out to govern India. A past master of diplomacy and an apt follower of Talleyrand, that noble lord perhaps thought that such a thing was not desirable for the maintenance of British supremacy. He discovered the special "Political importance of Muhammadans." In reply to an address from that community at Calcutta his Lordship said:—

"Descended as you are from those who formerly occupied such a commanding position in India, you are exceptionally well able to understand the responsibilities attaching to those who rule; nor does it surprise me to learn, considering the circumstances under which your forefathers entered India, that you should be fully alive to the necessity of closing its gates, for it is only by such precautions that content can reign, that commerce can flourish, or wealth increase."

Lord Dufferin then was the first Viceroy of British India to acknowledge the special political importance of the "Gate-keepers" of India.

A few days afterwards in reply to another address from Mahomedan associations at Lucknow, his Lordship was pleased to say:—

"I need not now repeat what I have often said, that, having for so many years of my previous public career found myself closely connected with Mahomedan Governments and Mahomedan populations, it was an additional pleasure to me in coming to India to remember that it would be one of my duties to watch over the interests of fifty millions of Her Majesty's Mahomedan subjects. Fifty millions of men are themselves a nation, and a very powerful nation; and when we remember the circumstances under which the Mahomedan community has come to form an integral part of the Indian people, and all the splendid antecedents attaching to their history, a ruler would indeed be devoid of all political instinct if he were not careful to consider their wants and wishes, and to bring their status and condition into harmony with the general system over which he presides."

Here then was enunciated for the first time in the history of British India the theory of the special "political importance" of Muhamaddans. If what his Lordship said was true and correct, if it was not merely the language of diplomacy, why did not his Lordship at once appoint some of the educated Muhammadans to the highest administrative

posts of this country? That he did nothing of the kind at once explains his motive. His Lordship probably thought that he would render an important service to his country by strangling the Indian National Congress, which came into existence during his tenure of office. He left no stone unturned to achieve his end. To play Muhammadans against Hindus, thought his Lordship, would bring about the desired result. The Aligarh school, who were not liked by the orthodox Muhammadans of India, for they nicknamed them "Necharis" or worshippers of Nature, joined Lord Dufferin and other Anglo-Indians in their crusade against the Congress. Syed Ahmed Khan made the discovery that the English being Christians were "people of the Book" and so exhorted his co-religionists to side with them. For his services Syed Ahmed Khan got the distinction of K. C. S. I.

Since that time has been recognised the special "political importance" of Musalmans. The Anglo-Indian heroes of the Mutiny would have laughed to scorn the idea of the special "political importance" of the Muhammadans. Those who were devout Christians, whom the leader of the Aligarh party called the people of the Book, were averse to pin their faith upon the professions of any follower of Muhammad. Very naturally they inclined to the belief that the continuance of British supremacy in the East depended on those whom the missionaries proselytised to the creed of Christ. Mr. William Edwards, who rose to be a judge of the Agra High Court and had taken part in the suppression of the Mutiny, wrote in a work which was perused with great delight by the Anglo-Indian officials and others of the last generation that

"We are, and ever must be, regarded as foreign invaders and conquerors, and the more the people become enlightened and civilised the more earnest will, in all probability, be their efforts to get rid of us. Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country; for although Christianity does not denationalize, its spread would be gradual, and Christian Settlements scattered about the country would be as towers of strength for many years to come, for *they* must be loyal so long as the mass of the people remain either idolators or Mahomedans."*

In the eyes of Anglo-Indians who are

* "Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian", London, 1866, page 336.

true to Christ, Indian Christians must possess greater "political importance" than any other community of India. But it is a mystery to us why their "political importance" is not recognised and a separate electorate and over-representation granted to them as in the case of Muhammadans, who claim to have been the rulers of India a century and half ago. Christians being the present rulers of India, surely Indian Christians can lay claim to their unique "political importance" and make demands on Government as the Moslems are doing. If it be said that *Indian* Christians are not the rulers of India, it is their *British* co-religionists who are, then a similar argument can be used to disprove the claims to political importance of the majority of Indian Musalmans. For it is a well-known fact, and the Census Reports show it, that most of the present day Indian Musalmans are descended from Hindu converts to Islam. Hence just as the Indian Christians did not conquer and do not rule India but their British co-religionists did and do, so the ancestors of the majority of the Indian Musalmans did not conquer or rule parts of India, but their co-religionists of Pathan, Persian and Mughal extraction did. Therefore if Indian Musalmans claim special privileges because some co-religionists of theirs ruled *parts* of India in the past, surely Indian Christians can claim special privileges with greater justification, for their co-religionists *do* at present *practically* govern the *whole* of India. If Indian Christians have not been encouraged to put forward such a claim, it is for reasons which everybody can surmise.

Post-graduate Research Scholarships.

Following the usual practice, two post graduate research scholarships have been announced this year by the Government of Bengal, to be awarded to two candidates possessed of high qualifications and of proved capacity for original research. One of the scholarships is to be awarded for original research in some scientific subject, *e.g.*, natural or physical science, chemistry, &c., and the other for original research in some literary subject, *e.g.*, comparative philology, palæography, archæology, anthropology, &c. We know that every year two or more such scholarships are granted,

but there our knowledge ends. The public are absolutely in the dark as to the future career of these scholarship-holders, and the researches they make. If what rumour says be true, few of these scholars get sufficient encouragement either in the way of prospects and emoluments or by the publication of their researches in scientific journals and the like, to feel inclined to continue their labours, and some of them are even supposed to regard the situation they hold merely as a stepping-stone to the bar or to one or other of the minor civil services under the Government. Indeed enthusiasm is the last thing to be expected of a bureaucratic form of Government in respect of any of its activities, however laudable and noble in inception and origin; cold formalism and red-tape are more in its line. Perhaps the dignified indifference which befits the seat of authority would consider its sense of propriety shocked at the suggestion that a little more active interest might with advantage be taken in the result of the work carried on by these scholars. The unfit should be weeded out, the fit should be helped and encouraged, instead of their investigations being docketed, labelled and pigeonholed, which, in the absence of information to the contrary, may reasonably be inferred to be the fate impartially awaiting them all. In the light of our present experience, we cannot say that the object of those who instituted the post-graduate research scholarships has been faithfully carried out; nor are we sure that if the scheme has not proved a complete success, the fault lies entirely with the research scholars themselves, for we doubt whether they have been given a fair chance.

A Cure for Snake Bite.

In a book named 'From an Easy Chair' by Sir Ray Lankester, K.C.B., F.R.S., (London, Archibald Constable & Co., 1909), we find on pp. 141-42 the following account of the discovery of what is claimed to be a sure cure for snake-bite. The article in which the account occurs is headed 'Cruelty, Pain and Knowledge'. We doubt if this cure is at all widely known even in ordinary medical circles in India—a country where the mortality from snake-bite is the greatest in the world. If this cure is not like the

other cure—permanganate of potash—so long in favour among Indian Doctors, but which has recently been discarded by the Bombay Medical Congress as positively harmful, it ought to be more widely known and easily available in India. We shall be glad to see the subject discussed in the Indian Medical journals.

Thus in the inquiry as to the possible prevention of the deadly effect of snake poison introduced into the human body by the bite of snakes, the first question asked was, "Is it true, as sometimes stated, that a poisonous snake is not poisoned by having its own poison injected into its flesh?" The experiment was tried. The answer was, "It is true." Next it was asked, "Is this due to the action of very small doses of the poison which pass constantly from the poison gland into the snake's blood, and so render the snake 'immune,' as happens in the case of other poisons?" The experiment was tried. Snakes without poison glands were found to be killed by the introduction of snake's poison in a full dose into their blood. Then it was found that a horse could be injected with a dose of snake poison, or half the quantity necessary to cause death, and that it recovered in a few days. The question was now put, "Is the horse so treated rendered immune to snake poison, as the snake is which receives small doses of poison into its blood from its own poison gland?" Accordingly the experiment was made. The horse was given a full dose of snake poison, and did not suffer any inconvenience. At intervals of two days it was given increasing injections of snake poison without suffering in any way, until at last an injection in one dose of thirty times the deadly quantity of snake poison—that is enough to kill thirty unprepared horses—was made into the same horse, and it did not show the smallest inconvenience. The question was thus answered: Immunity to snake-bite can be conferred by the absorption of small quantities (non-lethal doses) of snake poison. The next question was this: "If something has been formed in the horse's blood by this process, which is an antidote to snake poison, should it not be possible, by removing some of the horse's blood and injecting a small quantity of it into a smaller animal, to protect that animal from snake bite?" The experiment was accordingly made. Rabbits and dogs received injections of the blood of the immune horse. An hour after they received full doses of snake poison. They suffered no inconvenience at all; they were "protected," or "rendered immune." The next question was, "Will the antidote act on an animal after it has already been bitten by a snake?" The experiment was made. Rabbits were injected with snake poison. After a quarter of an hour they were on the point of death. A dose of the immune horse's blood was now injected into each—in ten minutes they had completely recovered and were feeding. The means was thus found of preventing death from snake-bite. The protective horse-blood was properly prepared, and sent out at once to Cochin China and to India. It was there tried upon human beings who had been accidentally bitten by deadly snakes, and it proved absolutely effective, it saved the men's lives. It is now used (wherever it can be obtained in time) as the sure antidote to snake-bite,

though it is not at present possible to supply it whenever and wherever it is needed.

The Census and the Muhammadans.

Mr. Mc. Swiney, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census operations, Eastern Bengal and Assam, has issued a circular from which we learn that the Government has decided that the Kulus and the Jolahas are to be returned not as Kulus and Jolahas, unless they themselves so desire, but as Shekh, Pathan, &c., as in the case of other Muhammadans, even if the enumerator considers them to be Kulus, Jolahas, &c. It will thus be seen that the agitation started by the Moslem League at Dacca with the object of removing caste distinctions among Mahomedans, not in actual fact, but from the Census Reports, has partially borne fruit; for according to the Census Report of 1901, Vol. VI, the Kulus and the Jolahas form regular endogamous castes, and the organisation of the latter is as strict as that of any functional group amongst the Hindus. Pathans and true Shekhs belong to the *Asraf* class, corresponding to the twice-born castes among the Hindus, and Jolahas and Kulus are among the *Ajlafs*, corresponding to the Sudras of Manu. The claims of Muhammadan weavers and oilpressers to rank higher than they really are, has therefore received the sanction of the Government at the present census, though ten years ago Mr. Gait was of opinion that 'this could not be agreed to, as it would have vitiated the returns', (page 446, Vol. VI, Census of India, 1901). One is naturally reminded in this connection of the coldness with which the prayer of the Kayasthas to be ranked as Kshattriyas has been received by the authorities, and specially of the instructions issued this year by Mr. Gait, now Census Commissioner for India, to return as Animists certain classes of people hitherto censused by the enumerators as Hindus. In the one case, the opinion of the enumerators is to be discarded with a view to give *brevet* rank to certain Muhammadans of humble rank; in the other case, it is to be ignored for degrading a class of people who had gained the status and dignity which attaches to Hinduism as distinguished from Animism. We do not grudge the Muhammadan oilpressers and weavers this signal mark of official favour; what we beg to

urge is that the same treatment should be meted out to "low-caste" Hindus. The only concession which the East Bengal Government has so far made in this direction is that *jugis* may return themselves as *yogis*. To go higher up, the Kayasthas may use Barman as their caste title and their women may call themselves *Devis*, but they must return themselves as Kayasthas but not Kshattriyas.

The Council Regulations Debate.

On the 24th of January last, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council :—

"That this Council recommends that the Government may be pleased to appoint a committee, consisting of official and non-official members, to consider and report what changes should be made in the Regulations promulgated under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, so as to remove all legitimate complaints on the score of inequality in the treatment of the various sections of His Majesty's subjects, and in regard to some of the disqualifications and restrictions placed on the choice of candidates seeking election to the Councils ; also to ensure that the provision for a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils shall be more effective in practice."

This resolution and the speech which Mr. Malaviya made in support of it, have given rise to considerable discussion of a somewhat heated character. We have, therefore, read carefully both the resolution and the speech as published in *The Gazette of India* of the 4th February last, but we do not find in either anything that any fair-minded man can reasonably take exception to. Let us, however, consider some of the remarks made on the resolution. Nawab Abdul Majid said :—

I feel regret that my friend's remarks to-day which he has addressed in this Council will open up the controversy afresh. The excitement which was prevailing in this country a year ago, I am afraid, will revive again, and we will have the same excitement and the same controversy raging all over India again. I am surprised, my Lord, for this reason that it was only the other day that we had a conciliation meeting at Allahabad when about 50 or 60 Muhammadan gentlemen who were present at Nagpur attending the meeting of the Moslem League there ; they had come over under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan to meet the Hindu leaders in Allahabad to find out a *modus vivendi* by which a feeling of amity may be established between the two communities. At that time certain points were drawn up and they were considered to be the points of controversy upon which the two communities differed, and I am sorry to say that the subject of this Resolution never formed

one of those points. But notwithstanding that, my learned friend the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a leader of the Hindu community especially of the United Provinces, who was also present there and who took part in the deliberations that day, has come forward and moved this Resolution. My Lord, separate representation given to Muhammadans was decided not as it were suddenly and by a jump, but Government, after full deliberation and considering all the circumstances of the country, and considering the importance of the Muhammadan community as a homogenous community, had come to that decision and had granted them separate representation. My friend has said why it was and on what grounds Government was pleased to do so, what political importance Muhammadans have got that they were given something more than their fair proportion of representation. If I were to enter into and to give this assembly all the reasons of political importance, probably I will be wounding the feelings of many members here, and I will simply confine myself here to say that one of the reasons why the Muhammadans should be considered to have sufficient political importance is this, that it is only a century or a century and a half ago that Muhammadans were the rulers of this country ; Hindus were the subject race of this country. How it is possible that people who have lost their sovereignty, they should be considered as having no political importance as compared with the people who were their subjects for centuries and centuries ? Now to go further into this question, I will simply put an illustration before this assembly, and it is this. My Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a Brahmin and is a leader of the Hindu community : could it be said that a man who belongs to the untouchable class, will he be of the same importance as my friend, because he is one person just as my friend is ? To have importance it is not necessary that we should count people by numbers only, but we should consider their position, we should consider their status, we should consider their history and we should also consider whether they are a homogenous people or not. The Muhammadans who number between sixty and seventy millions in India, they believe in one God and they are a homogenous people ; they are not so much divided among themselves as the Hindus are ; they unite together as one people.

On the above extract, we have a few remarks to make. The great object in politics, so far as representation goes, is not to avoid opening up controversies, nor to prevent the revival of excitement, but to do justice to all classes. It is easy to cry peace when there is no peace, it is easy to pretend that there is good feeling when there is none, it is easy to suppress discontent, but the part of a statesman is to produce heartfelt contentment. Moreover, controversies and excitement must recur wherever there is life. With reference to the Allahabad conciliation meeting the Nawab is mistaken in thinking that "the subject of this resolution never formed one" of "the points of

controversy upon which the two communities differed." It did from one of the points.

Regarding the importance of the Muhammadan community, no one says that the Musalmans are not an important or politically important community. They are a very important community with a great past. But when they claim to possess greater political importance than any or all other Indian communities, the claim can not be admitted. The Nawab appeared to be reluctant to "be wounding the feelings of many members here"; perhaps in his opinion the Hindus are never happy except when they are told that they were "a subject race." Perhaps that is his method of promoting the objects of the conciliation meeting at Allahabad. When any Anglo-Indian reminds any Indian by speech or conduct that the latter belongs to a subject race (which is a fact), neither Hindu nor Musalman likes the Anglo-Indian. The Nawab should not therefore have made the insulting and partly false remark that the Hindus were in the past a subject race.

We think the Nawab is ignorant of Indian history. For the benefit of men who are equally ignorant, we extract below passages from the works of three well-known English authors:—

Grant Duff calls, not the Moslems, but the Marathas, "our predecessors in conquest in India." Says he:—

"The object of this work is to endeavour to afford some information respecting the condition of the Mahrattas under the Mahomedan dynasties, and to trace, more clearly than has yet been done, the rise, progress, decline, and fall of our predecessors in conquest in India, whose power, it will be perceived, was gradually gaining strength before it found a head in the far-famed adventurer, Sivajee Bhonslay." [Pp. 35-36, Vol. I, *History of the Mahrattas*, by James Grant Duff, Esq. Fourth Edition, Bombay; published at the *Times of India* Office, 1878].

Similarly Sir A. Lyall says:—

"There is good ground for the opinion that if at the time of the dissolution of the Moghul Empire, India had been left to herself, if the Europeans had not just then appeared in the field, the whole of Southern and Central India would have fallen under Maratha dominion. It was very fortunate for the English that they did not come into collision with such antagonists, until their own strength had matured; since there can be no doubt that throughout the latter stages of the tournament for the prize of ascendancy between England and the native Powers, our most dangerous challengers were the Marathas." Pp. 111-112 of *The Rise of the British Dominion*

in India," by Sir A. Lyall, K.C.B. London: John Murray, 1895.

We shall next make some extracts from Sir W. W. Hunter's "*The Indian Empire: its Peoples, History and Products*," new and revised edition, 1893.

"The popular notion that India fell an easy prey to the Mussulman is opposed to the historical facts. Muhammadan rule in India consists of a series of invasions and partial conquests, during eight centuries from Subuktigin's inroad in 977, to Ahmad Shah's tempest of invasion in 1761 A.D. These invasions represent in Indian history the overflow of the nomad tribes of Central Asia, towards the south-east; as the Huns, Turks, and various Tartar tribes disclose in European annals the westward movements from the same great breeding-ground of nations. At no time was Islam triumphant throughout the whole of India. Hindu dynasties always ruled over large areas. At the height of the Muhammadan power, the Hindu princes paid tribute, and sent agents to the Imperial Court. But even this modified supremacy of Delhi did not last for 150 years (1560—1707). Before the end of that brief period, the Hindus had begun the work of reconquest. The Hindu chivalry of Rajputana was closing in upon Delhi from the south; the religious confederation of the Sikhs was growing into a military power on the north-west. The Marathas had combined the fighting powers of the low-castes with the statesmanship of the Brahmans, and were subjecting the Muhammadan kingdoms throughout all India to tribute. As far as can now be estimated, the advance of the English power at the beginning of the present century alone saved the Mughal Empire from passing to the Hindus." (P. 323.)

"In less than two centuries after his death, the successor of Akbar was a puppet in the hands of the Hindu Marathas at Delhi." (P. 323.)

"The Delhi Empire was therefore beset by three perpetual dangers:—first, the Hindu races whom the early Delhi Kings neither conciliated nor crushed. It was reserved for Akbar the Great to remedy the inherent weakness of the position; and by incorporating the Hindus into his government, to put a curb alike on Muhammadan invaders from without, and on too powerful Muhammadan subjects within. The early Sultans of Delhi completely failed to conquer many of the great Hindu kingdoms, or even to weld the Indian Muhammadan states into a united Muhammadan Empire". (Pp. 342-343.)

"The Hindu subjects of the Empire were at the same time re-establishing their independence. The Sikh sects in the Panjab, driven by oppression into revolt, had been mercilessly crushed in 1710—1716. The indelible memory of the cruelties then inflicted by the Mughal troops nerved the Sikh nation with that hatred to Delhi which served the British cause so well in 1857. In 1716, the Sikh leader Banda was carried about by the insulting Mughals in an iron cage, tricked out in the mockery of Imperial robes, with scarlet turban and cloth of gold. His son's heart was torn out before his eyes and thrown in his face. He himself was then pulled to pieces with red-hot pincers, and the Sikhs were exterminated like mad dogs. (1716). The Hindu princes of Rajputana were more

fortunate. Ajit Singh of Jodhpur asserted his independence, and Rajputana practically severed its connection with the Mughal Empire in 1715. The Marathas having enforced their claim to blackmail (*chauth*) throughout Southern India, burst through the Vindhyas into the North, obtained the cession of Malwa (1743) and Orissa (1751, with an imperial grant of tribute from Bengal (1751). (P. 372).

"That sovereignty was now, after little more than two centuries of Mughal rule, lost for ever by their degenerate descendants. The Afghans defeated the Marathas at Panipat in 1761, and during the anarchy which followed, the British patiently built up a new power out of the wreck of the Mughal Empire. Mughal pensioners and imperial puppets still reigned at Delhi over a numerous scragho, under such lofty titles as Akbar II, or Alamgir (Aurangzeb) II. But their power was confined to the palace, while Marathas, Sikhs, and Englishmen struggled for the real sovereignty of India. The last nominal Emperor emerged for a moment as a rebel during the mutiny of 1857, and died a State pensioner in Rangoon in 1862." (Pp. 373—374).

"The British won India not from the Mughals, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal Empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi King, nor with his revolted governors, but with two Hindu confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Our last Maratha war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh confederation was not finally overcome until 1849. (P. 375).

So, if conquest in the immediately pre-British days bestows on the conquering community superior political importance, which, again, justifies a claim to over-representation, then it is not the Moslems but the Marathas and the Sikhs who ought to have over-representation.

The real reason why bureaucrats support the idea of Moslem political importance of a special kind is that the Muhammadans have in the past both passively and actively opposed the agitation carried on by Indian nationalists of all shades of opinion.

We have already said, in our previous number, that representative government is by nature democratic. For that reason, and also because according to the Queen's Proclamation all Indians are equal subjects of the British Monarch, no politically superior class ought to be or can be recognised. Moreover, if the superiority of a class be admitted, why not of individual men? In that case Mr. Gokhale should have many times as many votes as some other Councillors.

Indian Muhammadans are not a homogeneous people, though it is true that "they are not so much divided among themselves as the Hindus are." Homogeneity means oneness in race, descent or blood, unity in

speech, &c. These the Indian Musalmans do not possess, though they are one in faith. This unity in faith, however, is only relative, for they have many sects, which not unoften gives rise to bloody riots. The Parsis are a perfectly homogeneous body and very important because of their enterprise, wealth, culture, public spirit and great public munificence. Should they not have separate representation? The Indian Christians are practically as homogeneous as Indian Musalmans and are the co-religionists of the living rulers of India today. Should they not have special representation? Particularly as among them there are no degraded or depressed classes, which do exist among Muhammadans, though to a lesser extent than among Hindus.

As to the relative importance of a Brahman and an "untouchable," Pandit Malaviya will be the last man to deny that *politically* they are equally important units. And does the Nawab mean to imply that all his co-religionists, *collectively and individually*, are the political Brahmans of India, and all non-Moslems the political untouchables? Did the ancestor of every Indian Musalman conquer and rule India? Did even a majority of these ancestors do so? In defence of the mixed electorates the Nawab says:—

It was simply for this reason that my Hindu brethren—they were all along crying with one shout that you must have mixed electorates if you want to make India one nation. It was on their crying, on their shouting, that the Government, besides establishing separate electorates, established a mixed electorate also.

But when did the Hindus demand that *in addition to* separate electorates giving Moslems over-representation, there should be mixed electorates *also*?

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan thought it a great pity that Mr. Malaviya "should have brought such a controversial question in the Council today." We suppose it is axiomatic that only perfectly non-controversial matters should be expatiated upon in the Council. Again: "that the Local Governments were the best judges to consider any such defects that might exist in the regulations." What a pity then that the Bengal Government should have appointed a committee, consisting partly of non-officials, to point out some of these defects!

Maulvi Shamsul Huda referred to "the spirit which animated the speech" of Mr. Malaviya, but had not a word to say on the spirit which animated the speeches of Nawab Abdul Majid and Lieutenant Malik Umar Hyat Khan. Our opinion is that Mr. Malaviya's speech was made in very good spirit. Regarding separate communal representation the Maulvi said :—

The question is not whether, if this Council were composed entirely of Hindu members, Muhammadan interests would or would not be safeguarded, but the question rather is, would that satisfy the sentiments of the Muhammadan community; and I am here to say most emphatically that in the present state of feelings it would not satisfy their sentiments.

But it was not separate representation which Mr. Malaviya opposed so much as over-representation. Here is what he said :—

I am not opposed, my Lord, to communal representation; I want that men belonging to different communities should have their places in the Councils. I do not want that only members of one community should be represented in the Council or that they should be over-represented. I believe, my Lord, that as we Hindus and Muhammadans, Christians and Parsis all live under the same Government and are all equally affected by the same laws, and as we live with each other every day as members of one body politic, I believe, that under any natural and reasonable arrangement, there would be a sufficient number of representatives of every important persuasion, sect or religion in the general body of persons elected to the Councils, if the ground of election was only ability, integrity, and public spirit in the person who was elected. But, my Lord, if that will not satisfy my Muhammadan friends, the utmost they are entitled to ask is that it should be provided that their representation on the Council should not be less than their proportion to the total population. Their proportion to the total population and, in addition to it, the contributions they make to the Government, might be regarded as the two criteria which should determine the measure of representation which they are entitled to ask should be secured to them.

The Maulvi said, "it is very convenient for my learned friend to say, only so many are Muhammadans and the rest are all Hindus." We can safely challenge the Maulvi to quote any passage in Mr. Malaviya's speech where he says this or anything similar to it. The Maulvi raised the question of the Hindu depressed classes and as to whether Brahman members were entitled to represent them better than Muhammadan members. But let us concede that the "untouchables" and other depressed classes numbering more than 60 millions, are not Hindus. But they are not Muham-

madans, too. Therefore, on the theory that they are not Hindus and that every large separate community ought to be represented, it follows that they should be represented in the Councils by men of their own community. We personally know "untouchable" gentlemen who would make better councillors than some honourable members we could name. The reference to untouchables does not at all strengthen the position of the Muhammadans. The Maulvi also asked in what sense the Hindus represented the Animists. But Musalmans also can not represent them. Animists, who number nearly 9 millions, ought according to the theory of communal representation to be represented by Animists. So this question also does not justify Musalman over-representation. The real fact is, Hindus (even after excluding the "untouchables" and the "Animists," are more than twice as numerous as, and more wealthy and educated than Musalmans. So argue how one may, Muhammadans cannot justly claim to return as many members as the Hindus, not to speak of their returning more members than the latter.

Mr. Gokhale said among other things that,—

"At our present stage separate electorates cannot be avoided", "that under existing arrangements the Muhammadan community is over-represented in all the Councils", "I do not think that the late Viceroy intended to convey that the Muhammadans were politically more important than the Hindus", "I do not think that, looked at in that way, any objection need be raised to the statement that the Muhammadan community was a politically important community in the country", &c.

He added :—

"They are a minority, but they are the most important minority in the country, and therefore it was necessary that representation should be conceded to them in accordance with their importance. In recognizing this importance, however, there is no doubt that the Government have gone too far and that over-representation has been granted to the community.

So far there is nothing in Mr. Gokhale's speech which may arouse much opposition. But the following passages contain more debatable matter.

My Lord, after all we have got to take a large view of this matter. What does it really matter how many Hindus and how many Muhammadans sit in this Council? The more important question is how many of us work and in what spirit we work here? The

numbers would matter on some future occasion when probably questions will have to be carried here by the weight of numbers; to-day we certainly do not purpose to carry our points by the weight of numbers. As a matter of fact, whether we are many or few, it is only to the moral influence that we exercise on the Government that we have to look at the present stage. Why my Lord, even if I could defeat the Government to-day I would not do it, I would not do it for this reason; the prestige of the Government is an important asset at the present stage of the country and I would not lightly disturb it. Therefore the question about the numerical representation of Hindus and Muhammadans may be left over for some time.

If a question like this may be raised here, then cow-killing, or the question about Hindu and Muhammadan riots and such others may be raised by somebody else in other places; and then that harmonious co-operation between the two communities which we hope to promote by this Council, and which we hope to see gradually extending all over the country, would most unfortunately be disturbed and the interests which my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya himself has so well at heart would be seriously jeopardised.

Well, if it does not really matter how many Hindus and how many Muhammadans sit in the Councils, then why did the Musalmans agitate for a guaranteed number of members of their own community returned by a separate Moslem electorate? Mr. Gokhale's argument cuts both ways. It cannot be used only to palliate Musalman over-representation. Moreover, it would be a convincing argument only if all members were returned by mixed electorates as the most eligible men in the country, sat in Council as representatives of all communities but not of particular communities only, and acted in a non-sectarian, non-partisan spirit. But as matters stand at present, one particular community sends their own representatives, (the majority of whom are not certainly the most qualified men even among Moslems) most of whom look after only the interests of their own community. Under such circumstances, how can Mr. Gokhale's argument console or satisfy any non-Moslem? Mr. Gokhale also attached greater importance to "how many of us work and in what spirit we work here", and "the moral influence that we exercise on the Government." We are also of that opinion. But is it not clear that under the regulations as they now stand, a considerable number of men become members who will not do and are not qualified to do their work? Is it not inevitable under the present circumstances that many members, if they work at

all, will work in a narrow, partisan and obsequious manner? Is it not clear, too, that there are and will be members whose character, incompetency, and intellectual disqualifications will stand in the way of their exercising any healthy and progressive moral influence on the Government?

We admit that the prestige of the Government is an important asset. But do not the people also count for something? Are they always to be crawling on the ground in a helpless condition? Mr. Gokhale may not like to defeat the Government, it is very generous of him not even to entertain that idea. But we are certain the Government will never pay *adequate* attention to popular views or demands, until they are defeated or run the risk of being defeated in the Councils. In history on every important occasion political generosity has proceeded from political necessity.

We confess we do not understand the meaning or the relevancy of Mr. Gokhale's dragging in cow-killing and Hindu-Muhammadan riots. Mr. Malaviya spoke of the Council regulations in Council, because they are the Government's own manufactures. Mr. Gokhale certainly does not think that the Government are interested or implicated in cow-killing and Hindu-Muhammadan riots. Nor can it be said that these two questions stand on the same footing as Musalman over-representation. Cow-killing is thought by most Musalmans obligatory. Is the demand for over-representation also laid down in the Koran? or does any Musalman insist on breaking Hindu heads in the same way as many Musalmans insist on killing cows? Moreover, it is not the *discussion* of a question, say Moslem over-representation, that creates excitement or bad feeling, as the very fact of its existence. Is the discussion of a grievance more dangerous or the grievance itself? The doctor who diagnoses a disease and says that the proper remedy must be applied is certainly a wiser man than he who would wink at the existence of the malady and delusively say, "it is all right." Mr. Malaviya has done well by playing the doctor's part.

There can never be good feeling between Hindus and Musalmans so long as Musalmans consider themselves politically superior to Hindus.

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR MARCH, 1911

Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu made a very important and outspoken speech. There is nothing in it, however, which calls for any criticism. There will be no hesitation on the part of the educated non-Moslem public to endorse every word of what he said.

We shall now quote a passage from Mr. Jenkins's speech—

There is however one point upon which I am authorised to make a definite declaration, and that is the question of separate representation for Muhammadans. Government have given the fullest and clearest pledges to Muhammadans that they should have separate representation. Whether these pledges ought or ought not to have been given may be a matter of opinion, but they have been given and I am sure that the strongest opponent of the arrangement which was made will realise upon reflection that the Government of India cannot honourably recede from their undertaking unless and until the Muhammadans themselves come forward and say that they no longer require the privilege. It will be the duty of the Hindus, assisted perhaps by the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque, to convert them. I am sure I do not know how long the process of conversion will take or whether it will be effected at all.

This is quite consolatory. Evidently Government are entirely at the mercy of the Muhammadans. It is a question whether it would be allowable for non-Moslems to refuse to pray to the Muhammadans to release Government from their pledges to the Moslem community. It is also doubtful whether it would be permissible to remind Government of the *prior* promise of equal treatment of all religious sects made in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and confirmed later by their Majesties Edward VII and George V. Evidently *royal* pledges given to *all* communities should be at least as binding as *State-Secretarial and Viceregal* promises made to *one* community.

Mr. Jenkins professed not to understand whom Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu meant by the great middle classes of India. We, however, find the following passage in a press communique recently issued by the Government of Bengal:—

The Lieutenant-Governor in Council has appointed a Committee, consisting mainly of non-official gentlemen, to advise the Government regarding certain amendments of the Bengal Council Regulations. The principal matters which will be referred to them for discussion are, firstly, the degree of representation to be provided for the educated middle classes and...

So Mr. Basu did not use words which are ordinarily incomprehensible to Anglo-Indian officials.

Much was said regarding the inopportuneness of Mr. Malaviya's resolution. In conclusion we consider it our duty, therefore, to make an extract or two from his speech in reply:—

My Lord, I do not think I yield to any friend of mine in this Council in the desire to see that discussions on public questions in this Council and elsewhere should be conducted in a spirit of amity and goodwill towards our fellow-subjects. But I think that many will agree with me that that object cannot be gained by concealing the real facts of the situation and by pretending to accept matters which are not really making for amity and goodwill as establishing good will and promoting good feeling among the people. Now, my Lord, ever since these regulations were passed, as has been pointed out by my Hon'ble friend Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, there has been a great deal of public opinion in this country against the regulations. By memorials addressed to Your Excellency's noble predecessor, by resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress, by resolutions passed at the Provincial Conferences, the attention of Government has been repeatedly drawn to the dissatisfaction which is felt by a large body of non-Musulman subjects of His Majesty in this country, and my Lord,—I may be wrong,—but I think that I have done my duty in bringing this matter to the notice of the Government in view of the announcement that the regulations are shortly to be revised.

We ought all to remember that we are all subjects now of one Government. It is our duty to represent the grievances of all sections of His Majesty's subjects. It is undeniable that there is a large body of public opinion in the country, with which I am in touch, which is dissatisfied with the existing regulations. The only way to remove that dissatisfaction is to bring the causes which have given rise to it before the Government, in the earnest hope that they will be removed as they ought to be removed.

And the following paragraph from the *Indian Social Reformer* may also be quoted in defence of what Mr. Malaviya did:—

Presiding over a meeting of the East India Association, at which a paper was read by a Mahomedan gentleman, Lord Lamington observed: "The other main point to which the Syed drew attention was with reference to the Mahomedan representation in the Legislative Councils of India. I am not quite able to follow all his figures but, as far as I understand it, he says that there is no disproportionate representation of Mahomedans; but be that so or not, we have heard so little lately about the variance of opinion on this point that we may hope that both Hindus and Mahomedans are quite content with the settlement that has been arrived at." If that is what a gentleman in the position of Lord Lamington infers from the absence of vociferation, those of us who deprecated Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution may have to reconsider our opinion.

Mrs. Sodha.

We reproduce from *Indian Opinion* a portrait of Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha who was

arrested and prosecuted for entering the Transvaal as "a prohibited immigrant." After many adjournments she was tried on the 30th December, 1910, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Against this sentence, an appeal was filed, of which we do not yet know the result. We understand that during her trial the proceedings were keenly watched by the Indian community. Many Indian ladies were present. Mrs. Vogl, Miss Schlesin, the Rev. Mr. Doke, and Mr. Kallenbach also attended. The



MRS. RAMBHADR SODHA.

Indian ladies remained with Mrs. Sodha the whole day and showed her marked attention. It was a pathetic scene to see her in the Court house with her baby in her arms and a three-year-old child by her side.

Mrs. Sodha is the wife of a passive resister who is at present serving imprisonment at Diepkloof for the offence of asserting his right of entry as a freeborn British subject possessing the qualifications required by the Immigration Law of the Transvaal as

apart from the Asiatic Act. She was proceeding to Tolstoy Farm, to which she was being taken by Mr. Gandhi pending her husband's continuous incarceration.

Some Indian Pictures.

The London correspondent of *The Pioneer* makes the following appreciative remarks on some Indian pictures:—

I have to thank the Indian Society of Oriental Art for a delightful Christmas gift, three reproductions of pictures by Bengali artists. One is called *The Sati*, and is by Nanda Lal Bose. It is an exquisite little harmony in rose-colour, gray and gold, showing a Hindu widow kneeling before the funeral pyre, and illustrates a verse from that charming Bengali poetess, Sarojini Naidu:

Life of my life, Death's bitter sword,
Hath severed us like a broken word,
Rent us in twain who are but one....
Shall the flesh survive when the soul is gone?

The Feast of Lamps by Abanindro Nath Tagore is a dainty little sketch of a Hindu woman placing a lamp in a niche, the pure blue of the dress being placed with delightful freshness and piquancy on the gray background. The third is a magnificent thing by Nanda Lal Bose, *Savitri and Yama*, showing the faithful Hindu wife pleading with the Indian Pluto for her husband's life. In this picture, which is, I think, the strongest of the three, Mr. Bose has caught much of that fine dignity and statuesque simplicity of attitude which we find in the best of Buddhist art. These three pictures are reproduced like the two first of the series, the *Music Party* and *Kaikeyi* (which by the way attracted a good deal of attention in the recent Japan-British Exhibition) by a wellknown Japanese company of art printers, by a process hideously called chromoxylography. I have shown them to some of the foremost colour printers in London and they are enthusiastic in their praise of the delicacy and beauty of the work. Mr. Havell has rendered a great service to us over here in introducing us to this new school of Bengali art. *The Studio* has just produced in a manner worthy of the subject a portfolio of Abanindro Nath Tagore's illustrations to the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, with the text of Edward Fitzgerald's translation, the first edition being used presumably because the last is still in copyright. Each picture is reproduced in colour and separately mounted on a board, so that the set may be framed without the preliminary dismemberment so repugnant to book-lovers. Omar has been illustrated by several of our best artists, notably by Mr. Brangwyn and Mr. Edmund Dulac; but these illustrations of Mr. Tagore's hold their own against any in the field. This is not merely my own opinion; but that of several critics, who all of them praise the charm of the drawings, the spirituality of the interpretation, and the quite extraordinary subtlety and beauty of the colour. Above all it is felt that the Indian artist is wise in seeking to build upon the art traditions of his own country, which are different from, but not inferior to, our own. As long as Indian artists worshipped at the shrine of South Kensington they were doomed to be

banal, insincere, commonplace. Bilingualism is as noxious a weed in art as it is in education. Japanese artists, who have copied the French, are only tolerable imitators, who are not seriously considered in Europe. So it must always be. The art spirit lives in the genius of a race; it grows gradually through centuries of handicraft and legend: it is a *genus loci* and cannot be imported like merchandise or learnt like mathematics. Though it demands dexterity of hand and learning of eye, it is in its essence an inward and spiritual grace, living in the heart not only of the artist but of his country. Art is a heart language, like poetry and the foreigner seldom or never masters it. In proof of this I need only remark that all the hundreds of Indian students who have slavishly followed South Kensington methods have not stirred a ripple in European art circles. Whereas Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore's work has been treated with the utmost reverence by our foremost art journal.

Chinese Enterprise.

According to the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, the most up-to-date factory in France, and perhaps in Europe, has just been established in Paris by a Chinaman, and all its employees are young Chinese. The factory aims at the production of semi artificial food, something like the famous nutritive pills of the late Professor Berthelot. The factory is established on a very solid financial basis, too, with a capital of £80,000, all subscribed by Chinese imbued with modern ideas. All the machinery is of Chinese invention and manufacture, and the raw material for the food-stuffs of the coming millennium is imported from China.

The factory has been founded by a young Chinese, Li Yu Ying, 30 years of age, who is an expert chemist, engineer, scientific, agriculturist, and a former student at the Pasteur Institute. He is the son of a former Minister of State at Peking, and went to France in 1901. After spending some time at the Agricultural Institute at Chesnoy, near Montargis, he entered the Pasteur Institute at Paris. There he studied alimentary subjects from a vegetarian point of view, and developed a number of formulæ for improved and concentrated food-stuffs, for the production of which he conceived the idea of establishing a factory near Paris. Two years ago he went to China to secure the necessary capital, and at once obtained a sum of £80,000, half of which was subscribed by men in Government circles. A company was formed according to Chinese laws, with headquarters at Tientsin, and Li Yu

Ying then returned to France to purchase the ground and establish the factory at Lea Vallees, near Paris. It covers a vast area, and the machinery, as it arrived from China, was rapidly put in place. Special workmen, twenty-four in number, all Chinese, were brought over, and are now employed at the factory. The products are extracted principally from the famous Soya beans, and the amount of alimentary substances extracted is astounding. It is said that they include milk, cheese, caffeine, oil, jellies, flour, bread, biscuits, cakes, sauces, and a variety of vegetables.

Is there any Indian enterprise similar to this?

East and West.

The Christian Register of Boston says:—

The Western world must understand the East before it can come into cordial relations with India and China and induce them to accept whatever is best in our religion and our civil life. We cannot impose upon them a set form of religion or civil policy which does not accord with that which is best in their own traditions and the principles to which they appeal as the sources of that which is best in their own national life. Great days are coming when great things will be achieved in a house-cleaning of the whole world. So long as Orientals believe that the secret of our dealings with them is a desire to make gain at their expense or a conviction on our part that we have a right to dictate to them as inferiors, they will resent the advent of our Christianity and our efforts to control them for their own good.

The East does not believe that the West controls it for its good; on the contrary the East believes that the West does all the controlling for its own good, any benefit to the East being merely incidental.

Cordial relations with the East cannot be established so long as the West is not convinced that it, too, has much to learn from the East.

Russian Students and Politics.

Reuter informs us that St. Petersburg messages state that a university crisis has arisen owing to the Government prohibiting students from taking part in political agitations and has culminated in strikes of students. An extraordinary scene was witnessed when the police attended the lecture rooms. Students sang songs and poured malodorous chemicals in the corridors. One thousand five hundred were arrested. The trouble has extended to other cities and includes women students.

This news adds to our glory. In this case the West has copied the East. For in India the prohibition of students from taking any part in politics is of older date than this Russian order.

Moral influence on the Government.

"Novalis," whom we know, writes in *The Tribune of Lahore* :

Mr. Gokhale is always very highly praised by official members as 'an eminent statesman' but his resolutions are thrown out as steadily as those of other members. The one exception was that about emigration to the Transvaal, but there the Government was already prepared to take some action. Outside criticism and outside advice are as ineffective as ever in shaping the policy and action of the Government.

Giotto's Portrait of Dante.

Our frontispiece this month is Giotto's portrait of Dante. This is the young Dante, the Dante of the *Vita Nuova*, of the love of the young Beatrice, not that sad soul, the author of the *Divina Commedia*,



DANTE,

By Gustave Dore.

of whom the folk whisper, as he goes by,
"there is the man who has journeyed in

purgatory and hell." This is the troubadour, the man of his period,—deep in its culture, able, it is true, to write an exhaustive account of its science and its institutions, but not yet the Dante of loneliness, of bereavement, of bitter climbing up another stair. Gustave Dore's portrait, reproduced here, represents the Dante of this latter period.

His *Divina Commedia* may be said to have made the Italian language, which was before so rude and unformed that Dante himself hesitated to employ it on such a theme, and is said to have commenced his poem in Latin. No work probably in the world, except the Bible, has given rise to so large a literature. To say nothing of nearly six hundred MSS. in which it was copied before printing became common, there have been published about three hundred editions; it has been no less than a hundred times translated into various European languages; and of commentaries, introductions, essays, and monographs there is no end.

The Murder of a Policeman.

At an interval of more than a year, there has been, if the general surmise regarding its character be correct, another terrorist outrage. This time the victim is a head constable, that is to say, a policeman of the lowest rank but one, belonging to the C. I. D. It is deplorable that this murder should have taken place at a time when public life and activity in Bengal were showing signs of flowing in new channels. We can only hope that in course of time such murders will be things of the past. No one can say definitely when and how terrorism will be got under, but it ought to be clear by this time that repression is not the infallible remedy that the official mind thinks it to be.

Hindu-Moslem Language Difficulty.

The memorandum of business which was placed before the Hindu-Moslem Conference which met at Allahabad last January, contained among others the following item of business :

"6. Stoppage on both sides of endeavours to proscribe the language of either side."

This item takes it for granted that Hindus and Musalmans have different Vernaculars,

which is not true. It is mainly in the Panjab and the U. P. that there has been any feeling displayed on the subject. But even there, Urdu is spoken by a section, mainly the educated section, of the people among both Hindus and Musalmans. Among the most noted writers of Urdu there are both Hindus and Musalmans. Nor is Urdu a distinct language. It is the same as Hindi; only it is written in the Persian character, and has a larger admixture of Persian and Arabic words than Hindi. If, however, one asks what is the vernacular spoken most widely in the Panjab and the U. P., the answer must be, it is Panjabi in the Panjab and Hindi in the U. P. In the Panjab we have personally found even in Lahore illiterate persons who can understand neither Urdu nor Hindi, and have found well-dressed and educated Musalmans who talked with one another in Panjabi. Similarly in the U. P. we have heard rustic Musalmans speak Hindi.

When we leave these two provinces and the contiguous districts of other provinces, we find that in Bengal Bengali is spoken by both communities; Gujarati is spoken by them in Gujarat; Tamil, Telugu and the other vernaculars of the Southern Presidency are spoken by both in Madras, and so on. Wildly incorrect statements like the following in the February number of *The Muslim Review* are worse than useless:—

"We say emphatically that undoubtedly not only in the Punjab, but throughout India Urdu is the common dialect and is equally spoken by high and low people... we don't see a single Hindu house in the whole of India (what to speak of the Punjab) in which Urdu is not spoken." P. 168, in the article headed "Survey of the Muslim World."

The above untrue statement is contradicted by the following in the first article,

written by a prominent Musalman, in the same number of the same review:—

"The very fact that the Bengali speaking Mahomedans do not speak either Urdu or Hindi", &c. P. 98.

Nor should the advocates of Hindi allow their zeal to affect the strict accuracy of their statements. For instance, in the course of a speech delivered by the Gaekwad of Baroda at Allahabad in January, he is reported in *The Leader* to have said: "My personal experience is that people all over India understand easy Hindi." His Highness has probably met select people who do understand Hindi, but that is not the experience of others, including our humble selves. The real fact is that the group variously called Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani is more widely understood and spoken than any other Indian Vernacular but it is not true to say that it is understood all over India.

The language question ought not to be made a religious or sectarian one, though every one is and ought to be at liberty to improve his vernacular and its literature. Whether Hindi, Hindustani, or Urdu will ever become the common language of India or not, we do not know. But as the Gaekwad says—

LET US BE REASONABLE.

In my humble opinion, it is today high time that we, both Hindus and Muslims, should try to be sane, sober, practical and reasonable. If at present Hindi and Hindustani are not absolutely the same as they ought to be, the fault lies with the Hindus and Muslims, who have given free rein to their religious bias, which regards a particular language as sacred—Sanskrit to the Hindus, Arabic to the Mahomedans.

PUT ASIDE RELIGIOUS BIAS.

Now so long as we hug this prejudice, so long will Hindi and Hindustani militate against each other—so long will they continue to be divergent and antagonistic. But the minute both the large communities

of India decide to fling aside this religious bias, which has been playing havoc with our people for centuries together, Hindi and Hindustani will cease to be two and then India truly will have a *lingua Indica*. I wish I could impress upon this assembly just how the outside world laughs at us for failing to understand that language is a mere vehicle of thought—a mere means to an end—nothing more, nothing less.

LANGUAGE NON-RELIGIOUS.

It is futile to look upon it as religious or irreligious, —it is merely non-religious. The time has come, herefore, gentlemen, for us to refuse to permit so-called religion to keep us divided on the question of India's *lingua franca*.

The term Hindi is repugnant to a great many of our friends, because they read into it the fact that it is inseparably bound up with the Hindus.

HINDI DOES NOT MEAN HINDU LANGUAGE.

May I beg to remind these gentlemen that the word Hindi is derived from the Persian, and that to any reasonable Mahomedan it should not give any umbrage at all.

AMERICANS REGARD US ALL AS HINDUS SPEAKING HINDI.

Over in the United States of America, I found, to my great but pleasant surprise, that every one calls an Indian—whether he be a Mahomedan, Indian Christian, or Hindu—a 'Hindu.'

Our good friends, the Americans, designate the language current in India as 'Hindi', few of them, poor well-meaning foreigners, realise that here in India a Mahomedan does not relish being called a Hindu, and that in this day and age we have a battle of lingoes, derived from multitudinous sources, Sanskrit, Dravidian, Semitic, Tibetan, Burmese, and goodness knows how many others. But our American friends are really not as ignorant as some of us may be disposed to think.

HINDUSTAN, HINDU, HINDI.

They know our land is called 'Hindustan.' They therefore call us, the natives of this country, 'Hindu,' and our language 'Hindi.' Happy will be the day when we Indians, too, begin to call ourselves and our *lingua franca*, by the cognomens bestowed upon them by Americans.

Hindus and Musalmans should all be

actuated by the spirit which pervades the following passage from a speech delivered in his pre-separatist days by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, K. C. S. I., LL. D. :-

Hindoos and Muhammadans should try to become one heart and soul, and act in unison, for, if united, they can support each other. If not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both. Hindu and Muhammadan brethren! Do you people any country other than India? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not born, and burned on or buried under the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and receive nourishment from the same Mother-Earth. Remember that the words "Hindoo and Musalman" are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons who reside in India belong to one and the same nation. In the word "nation," I, therefore, include both Hindoos and Muhammadans—and all other Indians—because that is the only meaning I can attach to it. With me it is not worth considering what is our religious faith, but that we inhabit the same land, that we are subject to the same Government, that the fountains of benefit for all are the same and that the pangs of famine also we all suffer equally. It is therefore that each and all of us must unite for the good of the country, which is common to all. These are the different grounds upon which I call all the communities which inhabit India, by one word—"Hindoo"—meaning to say that we are all natives of Hindustan.

The prolificacy of Muhammadans.

Much is being made by certain Hindu writers of the fact that in North Bengal the rate of increase of Hindus in the decade ending with 1901 was the same with, whereas in Central Bengal it was even slightly greater than that of Muhammadans. Professor Deuskar, for instance, argues from this fact that the fecundity of Hindus shows no decrease as compared to that of Muhammadans. Apart from the phenomenal increase of the followers of Islam in East Bengal, this conclusion can only be arrived at by overlooking certain observations of Mr. E. A. Gait at page 157 of Vol. VI of

the Census of India for 1901. There, referring to the apparent advantage and equality enjoyed by Hindus as compared to Muhammadans in Central Bengal and North Bengal respectively in the matter of productiveness, Mr. Gait says:—

"In both these cases the result is due entirely to migration. The immigrant population has grown very largely, and the great bulk of the new settlers are Hindus. In North Bengal, moreover, the enumeration of Sikkim by religion has added 38,000 persons to the Hindus and only 21 to the Muhammadan population."

It is also worthy of note that the greater

relative longevity of the Hindus, on which Professor Deuskar dwells, has also been challenged by Mr. Gait in the following passage which occurs at pages 214-15:—

"The Muhammadans have a lower mean age than the Hindus because they are more prolific. There is no reason to suppose that there is any marked difference in their relative longevity."

Professor Deuskar's conclusions would have been more convincing if he had attempted to refute these statements instead of ignoring them.

V.



YAMA & NACHIKETA.

By permission of the artist, Babu Priyanath Sinha.

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RACE-EQUALITY

ARE all races of men equal? The question raises another: Are all men equal?

The Church and the State had both combined to set up various artificial barriers in Europe, in the middle ages, against individual effort and initiative, denying to the laity and the general masses of people the privileges and opportunities enjoyed by the clergy and the classes. The dogma of human equality preached by the Eighteenth Century Illumination, was only a protest against these artificial distinctions. These distinctions were based upon an exaggerated theory of human inequality. The protest against this theory was an equally exaggerated statement of human equality.

All men are equal, declared the authors of the American constitution. But are all men equal? Is it a statement of fact? No one would say it is. All men are not equal: rather that is the truth. Some are strong, some weak constitutionally: some intelligent and some dull, from congenital causes: some endowed with exceptional aptitudes for a perfect moral life, some cursed with inherited criminal instincts. These inequalities exist everywhere, and are absolutely undeniable. The principle of human equality must, therefore, be interpreted in some other way.

The fact is that the democratic gospel of human equality means, really, not equality of endowments or acquisitions, but simply the right of every individual, whatever his birth or social position, to have equal opportunities with other individuals,

to freely pursue and realise his personal end and destiny, absolutely unhampered by any restrictions or limitations whatever, except such as his own capacities and acquisitions may themselves impose.

Equality does not even mean equality of rights. No person can have a right to any position or privilege the duties of which he may not be able to adequately discharge. Children have the franchise nowhere, and no one would contend the deprivation to be an injustice. Rights are determined by duties, and duties by capacities. Owing to unequal capacities, there can really be no equality of rights.

Rationally interpreted equality can mean, therefore, only one thing, namely, equal claim to the opportunities of life. In other words, the dogma of equality demands that no individual or class or caste shall be prejudged and prejudiced in regard to their capacities or incapacities owing to the accidents of birth, but that every individual shall have the freest scope for proving what he or she may be worth, as a social asset, shall be allowed to test for himself or herself their personal endowments and capacities, and to claim and enjoy the social and political rights to which their endowments and capacities might entitle them.

All men are equal means only this, namely, all men are entitled to have equal opportunities, - and nothing else.

But this question of equal opportunities raises another. Opportunities are only for those who can utilise them. Why should the stronger or the more capable offer equal

opportunities to the weaker or the less capable, which would involve much dissipation of energy and woful waste of time, and the creation of future rivals and competitors in the race of life. The question cannot be satisfactorily answered by any purely individualistic social philosophy.

The French Revolution started the cry of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; but it did not fully realise the organic unity existing between them. Equality necessarily followed Liberty. There is no Liberty without Equality, as Fichte declared. This much the French Revolution clearly understood. Liberty and Equality formed, therefore, an organic whole, the one demanding the other as a logical necessity. But pure individualism has no such necessary relation to Fraternity. Fraternity is the formula of Association; and the Principle of Association is very feebly grasped by the individualistic philosophy upon which the gospel of the French Revolution was essentially based. Fraternity, in this gospel, was therefore, either only another name for human equality, or a mere generous sentiment that had no organic relation to the philosophy of that epoch-making movement in Europe. The dogma of human Brotherhood of the French Illumination which still holds sway over European thought and philanthropy, was simply the expression of a broad human sympathy, not the statement of a fundamental truth of social philosophy. Claiming freedom for themselves as the highest good, they wanted it also for others: this was the underlying meaning of the gospel of human brotherhood preached by the authors of the French Revolution. This sympathy was perhaps prompted very largely by their intense hatred of the royalty and the aristocracy in general. Mazzini was among the first to recognise the lack of philosophical basis of the dogma of Fraternity as propounded by the French Revolution. "Fraternity does not supply," he said, "any general social terrestrial aim; it does not even imply the necessity of an aim. It has no essential and inevitable relation with a purpose or intent calculated to harmonise the sum of human faculties and forces." And he pointed out that fraternity, though a necessary link between the terms liberty and equality, which sum up the individual synthesis—does not pass

beyond that synthesis: that its action is limited to the action of individual upon individual, that it might be denominated charity, and that though it may constitute a starting point whence humanity advances in search of a social synthesis, it may not be substituted for that synthesis.

The Humanitarianism of the French Illumination, upon which the dogma of human brotherhood is based, was really more sentimental than rational. Philosophical Humanitarianism can only grow from a clear and strong conception of Humanity as an organic whole. Modern thought in Europe has risen pretty fully to this organic conception of Society. The slow growth of this organic conception of Society, is seen in the advance of Socialism or Collectivism in every European country. Socialism is as yet a mere economic, or at most a politico-economic theory; and its strong economic emphasis is due to the excessive industrialism of the present age. But the philosophical basis of Socialism or Collectivism is found only in the new conception of Society as an organic whole.

And this organic conception of society really supplies the foundations of the doctrine of individual freedom and equality. The claim to equal opportunity, is really set up not by the individual or for the individual, but by Society, for itself,—the realisation of its own ends. If social life were not something organic, that is something which had an end unto itself, if social relations were not something interdependent upon one another and upon the collective life of the community as a whole, if individual self-realisation were possible without the simultaneous furtherance of social ends, if it were possible without the similar self-realisation of the other members of the social whole, human equality would have no ethical significance, and human freedom would kill all altruism, and selfishness instead of self-sacrifice, would be the normal rule of life; struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest would be the law of the human, as it is, to such an extent, the law of the animal kingdom; and liberty would mean not closer unity and stronger amity, but keener discord and wider gulf between man and man.

Collectivism is the real philosophy of Democracy.

Humanitarianism is the fundamental philosophy of Race-Equality.

This Collectivism is an essentially organic conception. The conception of the Whole here is not that of Unity but of Totality, which both sums up and transcends, but does not destroy or ignore, Duality or Differentiation. It is a whole not made up of separate parts, as an arithmetical total, but a living whole, composed of living parts, a whole that cannot live apart from its parts and parts that cannot live apart from the whole. Here the parts find their fulfilment in the whole, and the whole finds its expression only through the parts. The decadence of a part means the partial decadence of the whole, and through the whole, a partial decadence also of the life of the parts.

This Humanitarianism is also an essentially organic conception. In Collectivism, Society is the whole, the individuals are its parts: in Humanitarianism, Humanity is the whole, the races are the parts.

As individual equality does not mean that all men are equally endowed, but only this, namely, that all men have a legitimate claim to equal opportunities of self-development and self-fulfilment, in and through the collective life and activities of the social whole; so racial equality does not mean that the different races are equally, that is uniformly, constituted or endowed, either physically, intellectually, or morally, but only this, namely, that every race, whatever its endowments or actual acquisition, shall have like every other race, the same unrestricted opportunities of growing to its own highest stature, and realising its own specific life in the collective life of Humanity. Individual equality means freedom of movement and growth, for the realisation of individual ends: Racial equality means the same freedom of movement and growth, for the realisation of racial ends. The one has reference to social units, the other, to Universal Humanity. Human equality would have no meaning if each individual human unit were not an end unto itself: Racial equality also can have no meaning if each race or nation is not an end unto itself. But specific ends are always subordinate to and dominated by universal or general ends. Individual ends are subordinate to and

dominated by general social ends; and similarly, racial ends are subordinate to and must always be dominated by, the universal ends of Humanity. And as in all organic relations, so here also the larger element shall not hinder but on the contrary help the smaller ones, and the higher ends shall not cancel or destroy but rather legitimately advance and fulfil the lower and the subordinate ends.

As an individual or personal end, sufficient unto itself, but organically bound up with universal social ends, constitutes the fundamental basis of individual freedom and equality, so what may be called racial ends, that while sufficient unto themselves, are yet organically bound up with the larger and higher ends of universal Humanity, constitute the fundamental basis of racial equality. The problem of racial equality must, therefore, be approached from the stand-point of racial differentiation.

The modern social ideal fully recognises individual differentiations, which form really the basis of the human personality. Indeed, it not merely recognises, but deliberately tries to maintain and develop and perfect these individual characteristics. We now fully realise what a serious loss the elimination and obliteration of individual peculiarities would be to the collective life and evolution of society. The ideal of modern pedagogy is, therefore, not to develop any one particular intellectual type, but to seek to discover, and to perfect the constitutional peculiarities of the intellect of every individual student, and by this means to work up a complex and complete culture, representing different types, but all united in a common universal ideal. These differentiations enhance rather than destroy the broad and organic unity of culture. For the Intellect is one, though its moods or modes are many. The Mind is one, though the same Mind expresses and realises itself through multitudinous expressions, each peculiar in itself. This variety constitutes both the beauty and the strength of the intellectual life. The different branches of human culture supplement one another and combine to perfect the ideal unity of Universal culture. All organic unity is unity in difference; to destroy the notes of differentiation is not to develop

but only to kill this unity. No educationist destroys, in our time, these individual differentiations in the life of their students but rather helps them to grow in their own way, along their own line, to their highest stature, and thus help to make the intellectual life of the community fuller than what it has hitherto been. So also in the æsthetic or the economic life, the ideal of unity and perfection is sought not through uniformity, where every production is like every other production, but through the development of specific variations and wide divergences, each seeking perfection in its own way and along its own line. Even the religious and ethical ideal also seeks to realise itself through the perfection of different types of piety and character. Here there is no attempt to impose any one particular ideal upon all the varieties of human endowment, human effort, and human movement.

Why, then, should the attempt be made in sociology alone? Why should Asia or Africa be judged by the local standards of England or Germany or France or America? Why should New York be the measure of Cairo? or London the measure of Delhi? or Rome the measure of Benares, or Berlin the measure of Peking?

No man judges the rose by the standard of the violet or the glorious sun-flower by the measure of the daisy. The lion is never measured by the elephant, nor the rhinoceros by the tiger. Here in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, each species is judged and measured by its own specific standard, and not by that of another species or class. Why should it be different in the case of humanity? The genus homo, like every other genus, includes many species. Or if you take humanity as not a genus but only a species, it includes many classes each different, constitutionally, from the others.

Whether there was, originally, only one pair of Adam and Eve or many pairs, is a futile question. The Book of Origins is hidden from the view of man. Science does not waste its precious time in this vain speculation. It always tries to build up its theories and explanations upon what is actually present before it. And what we see now is that the different races of men differ structurally from one another. How

or when these structural differences arose or grew we do not know.

All that can be said of these racial differentiations is that they are original and organic, that we have found these there in the structure of the different races from pre-historic times. These racial differentiations are structural, are observed in the physical and physiological structures of the different races of men. Indeed, these physical and physiological differences constitute the basis of our classification of mankind into different groups, e.g., Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro, etc. These differences in physical structure are universally admitted. Attempts have even been made to regard these physiological differences as indicative of mental and moral differentiations. Whether, and how far, these differences of physical and physiological structure indicate intellectual and moral superiority or inferiority, we do not as yet know. It would be rash, in the present state of our knowledge, to try to deduce any large generalisation in regard to this matter, from the researches of Criminal Anthropology. But apart from the accepted differences of physical structure, whatever these may or may not mean to the intellectual or moral capacities of various races, we know, at least so far as the principal races are concerned, that there are equally marked out differences between them in what may be called their thought structure, as well as what may be called their social structure. The thought structure of a race is found in the structural formation of their language. If anatomy and physiology establish the structural differences existing between different races of men, in regard to their physique, grammar and philology establish the fundamental differences existing between them in their thought. And the structure of their thought indicates the fundamental world-view of the race. There are three elements of thought, (1) subject, (2) object, and (3) predicate. And structural thought-differences are indicated by the difference in the emphasis laid by different languages on one or other of these thought-elements. In some languages, for instance, the emphasis is on the subject, in some on the object, while in a few primitive languages it is neither on the subject, nor on the object, but rather on the predicate. It is

well known that the construction "I am," indicating mere existence, simply being, without any reference to modes of action is only possible in the Indo-European group of languages, in Sanskrit, Latin and Greek and the languages that are derived from these. It means that the consciousness of the subject or the self, has been an original consciousness with the peoples who have from pre-historic times been using these languages. And we find the same supreme consciousness of the self, of Being, of the Absolute as an original and regulative idea in all the philosophies and religions, in the arts and literatures of these peoples. Thirdly, there are similar differences between different races in their original social structures: among some people this social structure is essentially democratic, the king among these has always been a peer among peers, as in all the branches of the Indo-European family, whether Romans or Greeks or Hindus, the system of government has been always constitutional, while among others it has been despotic, the king being the military chief, a law unto himself. There are all these structural differences between the different races of men. In considering the question of race-equality, these fundamental racial differentiations must be fully recognised.

As individual self-realisation, the recognised ethical end for the individual, demands the highest development of his individuality, so racial self-realisation, means the highest development of what may be called raciality: the evolution and not the obliteration of race-characteristics. As the highest social end can be reached only through the highest development of individual life and thought, so the highest ends of Humanity can only be attained through the highest development of racial life. And this development is possible only when the different races have the same unrestricted freedom of self-development which is given to every individual in every civilised community. This freedom is given to individuals not merely in their own interest, but in the interest of society, which requires the highest development of its individual members for the realisation of its own life. The freedom of self-development is similarly claimed for

individual races of men, not only in their own special interest but in the larger interests of universal Humanity, which requires the perfection of the racial types for its own self-realisation.

The individuals are parts, Society is the Whole. The races are similarly parts, Humanity is the whole. The relation is organic. But in all organic relations, the whole is always involved in its parts. Parts do not partially contain the whole, but they have the wholeness of the whole in themselves. The expression of the whole in the parts is no doubt only partial, but the potentiality of the whole is in the parts in all its completeness. The full and complete ideal of Humanity is present in every race of men. The expression may be more or less, but the potentiality is there in all its completeness. This is the necessary implication of every evolutionary process. The oak is in the acorn, not a mere part of it; the man is in the human cell, and not a mere portion of him; so Humanity, as an organic whole, is in every human society, in every racial organisation, and not a mere part of it. Humanity is not a mechanical, but an organic whole. It is therefore involved in every individual human being, and equally, in its collective character, it is potentially present in every race of men. It is the regulative idea in the evolution both of individuals as of races.

If Humanity be in every race of men, as the regulative idea in their evolution, then every race-culture must be something that is essentially complete in itself. Some may be advanced some backward, some more developed some less, but no race culture can, then, be without the potentialities of the full and completed ideal. The difference between them can only be, in that case, either a difference in evolution or a difference in emphasis and expression. These differences can only be similar to what is universally observed in every country and community between children and adults, or between one individual and another. No one ever denies the presence of the full potentiality of manhood or womanhood to a boy or a girl; nor do we refuse to admit grown up men and women into the common fellowship of humanity, because they do not represent any one particular type. There are children and

adults among races of men also; some races less developed and some more, as well as differences of racial characteristics even among the more developed races, but

in all of them there is the Common and Universal Humanity.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

MEN I HAVE SEEN—VI

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF DR. MAHENDRALAL SIRCAR.

IN the year 1868 we, the young men of Bengal, were looking up to Dr. Mahendralal Sircar as one of the rising stars of the Province. Nay, as something more than a rising star. Dr. Berigny, the celebrated Homeopathic practitioner of the town, when bidding farewell to his Calcutta friends, at about that time, closed his speech with the words—"it is time for the *moon* to set, for the *sun* is on the horizon," meaning thereby the rising genius of Dr. Mahendralal Sircar. Dr. Sircar was regarded by his medical friend as the rising sun.

To us young men his example was noble and inspiring. We admired him for two reasons. First, sprung from a comparatively humble origin, he rose by self-exertion to occupy one of the highest places in Indian society. He was an ideal to us of self-help. Secondly, his great love of truth and the courage with which he had given his adherence to the cause of homeopathy, in the face of strong opposition and bitter persecution, was also an ennobling sight to us. The story is this. As the second or third M.D. of the Calcutta Medical College, and as a successful medical practitioner of the town, he belonged to a Medical Association, started by some professors of the College and by some other noted medical men. Dr. Sircar was working with the Association, as one of its distinguished members, and I think, as one of its office-bearers. Then there came a struggle. Under the influence of the late Babu Rajendra Dutt of the Wellington Square Dutt Family, a well-known Homeopath of the time, Dr. Sircar began to study Homeopathy and became a convert to it. He knew that the cause of Homeo-

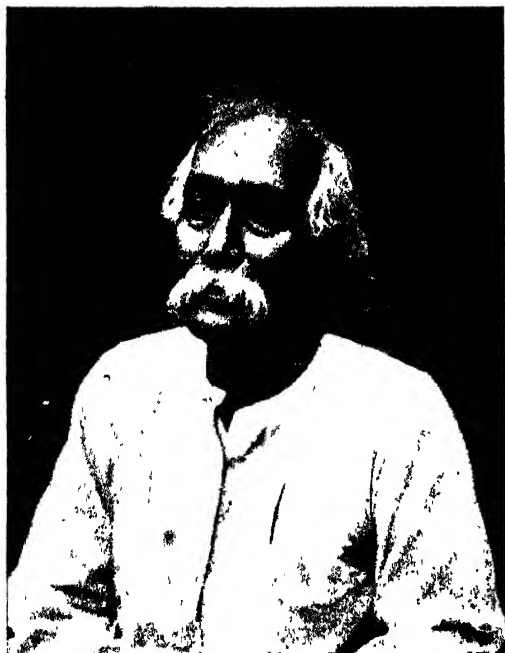
pathy was extremely unpopular amongst his medical friends of the town; yet his love of truth impelled him to place the arguments in its favour before his brother-physicians, at a meeting of the Association. That was a memorable day. As the reading of his paper went on, and the claims of Hanne-man were set forth, in the terms of a loving and admiring disciple, his brother-physicians, assembled at the meeting, were mightily shaken, till one of them sprang to his feet, and exclaimed - "well, doctor, one word more and you shall be turned out of this hall." Then there came the spirit of Martin Luther upon Dr. Sircar, who squared his breast and calmly replied, "even if I be turned out, yet I must tell the truth."

After this he was boycotted by his profession, his practice fell and he was exposed to taunts and ridicule. But nothing daunted, he went on seeking and advocating truth regardless of consequences.

The story of this manly independence raised Dr. Sircar in the eyes of us, young men, immensely. We became his silent admirers. Added to this were his simple habits and his unostentatious ways. That also was a subject of talk amongst us. It was in the midst of that personal regard and admiration, that circumstances arose to draw me into personal intercourse with him; and those circumstances I am going to relate.

I was introduced to Dr. Sircar in the year 1868. I have already referred, in my Vidyasagar article, to the serious illness of a re-married widow, the wife of a friend of mine. When she became seriously ill, Pundit Vidyasagar gave me a note of introduction to Dr. Sircar with a request to give her his medical aid. He at once took up the case, though without any hope of remunera-

tion and began to pay regular visits. By his free and open manners he won our confidence and respect. I began to visit him morning and evening, for reporting the progress of the case to him. At last he lost all hope of her recovery; though for a day or two he kept it a secret from us. The day before her death I went to him at about nine or ten in the evening. But in the hurry and anxiety of the moment, I had forgotten to take a phial with me to bring the medicine in it. When Dr. Sircar asked for the phial to drop in the medicine, I was put in a very awkward position. A search



DR. MAHENDRALAL SIRCAR.

was then made in his own house for a clean phial like the one needed. Sadly enough it was not forthcoming. At last I went out in search of some shop or dispensary where I could purchase one. In this way much valuable time was lost. When I returned after a long while, then took place the following conversation between us.

Dr. Sircar—Ah! that shows that the case is fatal; she cannot live; otherwise why should you forget to bring a phial which you usually do; and why should so much time be wasted, for procuring one, when every moment was so precious!

Myself—Sir, if you say that, what are we to say to the common people who believe in fate? Such words from a physician are very discouraging.

Dr. Sircar—I find it from my pretty long experience as a medical practitioner, that some other Power rules over life and our efforts are only throwing stones in the dark. Who can save one for whom death is *certain*?

Myself—Why then, Sir! keep up your medical practice? I'll people to resign themselves to fate and keep quiet.

Dr. Sircar—Don't you see, we are always in the dark as to the final result of the disease before us; but being in the dark it is all the more our duty to strive our best to ward off the danger, all the time fully conscious, however, that life and death rest in some other Hand. Our efforts are of no avail in those cases where death is certain. We struggle, we think, we take care, but, don't you see, the ultimate result is in other hands than our own.

The conversation closed here that evening, for the mournful news of the fatal character of the malady of my friend's wife filled my heart with sadness and I longed to run home to see how she was. She died the next morning and I carried the sad news to Dr. Sircar, who sincerely sympathised with us in our sorrow.

After this I removed to Bhowanipore in the Southern Suburbs, to spend a few months in the house of Babu Mahesh Chandra Chaudhuri, my guardian and benefactor, during many years of my school days. He was a pleader of the High Court, esteemed by all who knew him, for his high moral character, and the loftiness of his principles. Dr. Sircar's high character and reputation drew Babu Mahesh Chandra to him and the former was appointed the family physician of that house. Whilst residing there I had an occasion of meeting Dr. Sircar for the second time in the beginning of 1869.

It happened in this way. The very hard work I went through in connection with the University Examination of 1868 told very seriously upon my constitution and gave rise to a peculiar malady which obliged me to take rest for some time. Accordingly, after the death of my friend's wife, and the breaking up of our joint family at Calcutta,

I went to Bhowanipore to spend a few months with my friends the Chaudhuries. While there, one day Dr. Sircar called to see a patient. My fellow-lodgers pressed me to go to him and submit my case to his treatment. I did not tell them that I was personally known to him through Pandit Vidyasagar's introduction, but only said that I did not like to trouble him with my case, when his mind was engaged in another duty. But my friends dragged me by force before him, with the introduction—"Here Sir, here is a poor Brahmin boy living in our house whom we all love. He is suffering from a strange malady. Will you kindly see him?" Dr. Sircar looked at my face, smiled and said—"I know that Brahmin boy; what is the matter with him?" Then he asked me to write out my whole case, clearly stating its probable causes, and its leading symptoms and present it to him the next day, when he would call again. But that very day something very painful happened. When he was examining the patient for whom he had come, amongst others Babu Girish Chandra, the younger brother of Babu Mahesh Chandra, who had come to Calcutta from his village home, was also present. Now Babu Girish Chandra was a man of an inquisitive temperament. Whenever anything happened, or some statement was made before him, to rouse his curiosity, it was his nature not to rest, until by question after question, he could know the whole thing about it. In accordance with this well-known temperament of his, Babu Girish Chandra committed the great mistake of asking Dr. Sircar, when the latter was writing his prescription, about the medicines he was prescribing. This naturally irritated Dr. Sircar, who was by nature a little irritable. Then followed the undermentioned conversation:—

Dr. Sircar—Who are you, Sir? Why do you ask such an impertinent question?

Then he went on repeating big Latin names of the medicines he had prescribed. After which he turned to Babu Girish Chandra and asked, have you understood any thing?

Babu Girish Chandra—How could I? I do not know Latin.

Dr. Sircar—Are you a medical student? Do you know any thing of medicine?

Babu Girish Chandra—No, Sir,

Dr. Sircar—(with great impatience) What a fool you must be then to bother a doctor with such questions.

Then he left. But his outburst of temper produced a shock in the minds of us, the youngsters; for next after Babu Mahesh Chandra we all loved and revered his brother, for the excellence of his moral character. We talked over the rough manners of the great doctor, and our fellow-lodgers in their comic way ascribed them to the mean origin from which he had sprung.

To me all that frivolous talk was unbearable; but mentally I could not hide from myself the great doctor's defective manners.

The next day when Dr. Sircar called again, I presented to him the promised statement of my case written in English, with a Bengali letter, in which I had strongly censured him for his ill manners towards Babu Mahesh Chandra's beloved brother. In that letter I freely expressed my admiration of what Dr. Sircar had done and suffered for truth, and also of the qualities of his character, but made no secret of my contempt for the roughness of his manners, and preached quite a sermon to him about the responsibilities of great leaders. My sermon was couched in very plain and rough language. The letter was written and delivered in a moment of unguarded impulse. The impropriety of a youthlike myself reading a lesson to a great man like the doctor, did not occur to me during that moment; but, as soon as it was delivered and the doctor left, I began to reflect and a sense of shame came upon me. Then I began to realize my critical position. A poor Brahmin youth, dependent on others, and seeking the unpaid attention of that very doctor, yet daring to censure him! Indeed I began to chastize myself for having taken such a course, and began hourly to expect a message from Dr. Sircar to Babu Mahesh Chandra about the improper conduct of the Brahmin youth, leading to my final expulsion from that house.

How great must have been my surprise, therefore, to find Dr. Sircar turning up unasked after two days and wanting to see the boy Sivanath Bhattacharya. I was engaged in my studies in another part of the house at the time. Dr. Sircar came to the draw-

ing room and wanted to see me. The people of the house were surprised to find him coming for me alone, and eagerly wanting to see me. Some one said to him—"so, after all we see that that *pagal* (madcap) has interested you and has made you take the trouble of coming again."

Dr. Sircar—Would to God there were many more *pagals* in Bengal; please call him, I want to speak to him.

When the news was brought to me that the great doctor wanted to see me, I felt as if my last hour under that roof had come; and a torrent of abuse by all was waiting for me. With such dark forebodings I went to the door of the drawing-room. When lo! Dr. Sircar rose from his seat on the other side of the table and extended his right hand to shake hands with me; saying—"Very glad to receive your English statement and very thankful for your Bengali letter." At this point I made a faltering attempt to offer an apology, but he would not listen to an apology, saying, "No use of apology, my friend! I have come to take you in my carriage to my house. Are you free to accompany me? I want to have a conversation with you on the subject of your letter, which we shall have in the carriage."

Within a few minutes I was dressed and ready and we started together in his carriage, to the wonder of all. In the carriage I plainly told him that I too considered Babu Girish Chandra's question as impertinent, but the doctor's manner was certainly rough, and in as much as I loved Girish Babu and truly respected him, I was deeply pained to hear the adverse criticisms of my fellow-lodgers. The doctor told me that he hated the meanness of his fellow-countrymen, who would freely give large fees to European physicians of lower standing, but would grudge to pay to him and to other native Indian physicians even their legitimate fees. At times he purposely treated such men with undisguised contempt. That habit might have soured his temper. That was perhaps the cause of the popular notion that his manners were rough. Besides the question of Babu Girish Chandra, at such a moment, seemed to him unbearable. His manner was certainly rough, which he regretted, and he had let Girish Babu know that he did so.

He took me to his house, which I left a few minutes later, with a sense of wonder at the genuine goodness of the man who could thus behave towards a youth, who certainly went beyond his limits in taking him to task in this way. That showed his love of plain dealing. That incident drew me closer to Dr. Sircar and he too began to treat me with great affection.

After this I joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1869 and in 1870 I came to reside in the neighbourhood of Dr. Sircar, when I met him very often. His company and conversation had so great a charm for us, that not only I but many others, would be daily drawn into that company, and something like an informal club used to sit around him morning and evening. Whenever I went I found him sitting in the midst of heaps of books and talking to assembled friends on topics of general interest. As far as my knowledge goes, two other informal clubs used to assemble at that time in Calcutta; one in the house of Babu Kristodas Pal, the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and the second in the house of Keshub Chunder Sen, where we, members of the Brahmo Samaj, were the daily visitors. Of these clubs, the one sitting in the house of Dr. Sircar was the most useful from an educational point of view. His very talk was an education; his information was so vast, and his love of culture was so great. Indeed, his love of culture was very great. He had an ardent love for knowledge. To build up a library was a passion with him. To have a look at his library, was in itself a great pleasure for me, which took me often there. He would take me round to see his books and admire them.

During the course of my pretty long experience I have found very few men who had that love of culture. It was almost a passion with him. He was inordinately fond of books and has left behind him a splendid library, the like of which, perhaps with the exception of Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjee's library, cannot be seen in Calcutta. In this he resembled the late Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar.

To me Dr. Sircar was specially attached, and helpful. One incident that occurred during this time I specially remember. An infant daughter of mine, who was prematurely

born, became very ill during this period and I placed her under the great doctor's treatment, which he gladly undertook without any hope of remuneration. I often called on him for consultation. One day finding me very anxious about the child, the doctor said:—"You believe so earnestly in prayer, my dear fellow, why don't you pray to God, once for all, that you may not get any more children." Of course that remark made everybody present there laugh heartily. I asked—"Am I causing you too much trouble, Sir?"

Dr. Sircar—It is no trouble to me. I seldom call at your house, I give my directions from home; but the manner in which you seem to be anxious about that child causes me pain.

Myself—All our efforts to save the child from suffering seem to be of no avail; that makes me anxious.

Dr. Sircar—Well, after having done your best you should keep your mind at rest and leave the final issues to Providence. I have told you often and often that the ultimate issues rest in other hands. Of what good is our trust in God if it does not give us rest.

I loved Dr. Sircar, first, for his love of knowledge, for the atmosphere of culture and of high aims in the midst of which he seemed to live; where one breathed, as it were, free and pure air in his company and forgot all mean and little things. His very talk was elevating. He raised his listeners to a high level of intellectuality. What a contrast did that present to the ordinary conversation of the town prevalent at the time. Secondly, I liked him as I have already said, for his simple and unostentatious ways of living. He wore Tal-tolah slippers always; whether visiting his patients or attending public meetings. The Calcutta public do not remember having seen him with boots or shoes, which he disliked as a medical man, owing to the pressure that they inevitably put on the big toes of men's feet, and thereby partly injure their health. It is said he imbibed this prejudice against boots and shoes from another noted physician of the town, the late Dr. Durga Charan Banerjea, the father of my friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea. Not only in the matter of the slippers but also in his modes of diet and clothing Dr.

Sircar was extremely simple. He more resembled an old poor Brahmin in these respects than a successful medical practitioner of the town. In food and drink he was moderate, temperate and even abstemious, spending all the money that he could save thereby in purchasing books. Thirdly, I admired him for his honest and straight-forward dealings with others, his fearless advocacy of truth, his manly independence, his fidelity to his convictions, and his open-hearted disposition not to mince matters. I have seldom met another person in whom these qualities were so prominent. He would at times warmly express his opinions about the conduct of others, but he was above meanness or malice. He would accept the adverse criticisms of others as matters of course, and would be mainly concerned with his conviction and his duty. He would scoff at the threats of others, but would carry no poisoned barbs by way of vengeance. For these traits I highly esteemed him, and often sought his company.

Sometimes I found him alone in his study. Then he would open his mind to me, on subjects of religious and social reform, in which he knew I was deeply interested. The conversation would at times assume the character of a heated discussion. One such discussion I still remember. That day the conversation turned upon the need of a religious organisation like the Brahmo Samaj. Dr. Sircar denied its necessity and I upheld the need of a Church, to feed and keep up the spiritual lives of men. Let me report in brief the contention on both sides.

Dr. Sircar—Look here, the faith in a Supreme Being is natural and instinctive in the mind of man. If men are morally pure, and if their minds are truly enlightened, they will naturally look up to the Great Being who rules over life. I see no need for the organisation of a religious body, with temples for worship, or orders for public or private service. They are rather harmful; for they call forth sectarian conflict, divide man from man and disturb our domestic and social relations.

Myself—Granting that the religious faculty is natural and instinctive in man, is it not necessary to take steps for its due cultivation? What do you generally do with regard to other natural endowments

of human nature? Is not love of music natural? Do not all races compose their babies into sleep by singing lullabies? Yet you appoint musical teachers, open musical schools, get-up concerts to foster and develop that faculty. Is not love of beauty equally natural? The baby in the cradle would stretch forth its little arms to catch at a flower presented to its view? Yet you have your artists and painters, your picture galleries, your art schools for its culture. Coming to close quarters, is not desire for knowledge, instinctive and natural in the mind of man? Yet you have opened educational institutions, your universities, your lecture halls for its due cultivation. And you, Sir, are busily thinking of founding a Science Association. Then am I to understand that you are for the due cultivation of all other natural endowments of human nature excepting this one, the most important of them all. And that this is most important and fundamental needs no words of mine to prove. With regard to it, can we not say, take care of this thing first and all other things of human life shall be taken care of? Then as to the generation of a sectarian conflict, why should you single out religion alone? Do you find less sectarianism even in the practice of your medical profession? Are your old allopathic friends less sectarian towards your homeopathy? Have they subjected you to less persecution than what my orthodox Hindu relations have meted out to me? Narrowness and sectarianism are fruits of human ignorance. Give men more knowledge, teach them to think liberally and they will be more tolerant. Truth we must always abide by regardless of fear or favour.

At this stage Dr. Sircar suddenly stopped, saying—"Oh! I see I must think over these questions more fully before I engage in discussion with others. Well, let us stop to-day, we shall take up the question some other time."

I removed from his neighbourhood soon after and had to leave Calcutta for a few years. Consequently I lost touch with him for sometime and that discussion was never resumed.

I have already referred in my Ananda Mohan Bose article to my serious illness in 1877. Then the aid of the great doctor

was once more sought. He promptly responded to the call and fought hard to restore me to health. He gave his valuable services freely and gratuitously and did for me what he would have done for a member of his family. I stuck to him in the face of much opposition from my revered mother and many of my personal friends, who had not much faith in homeopathy, and I recovered under his treatment.

Again, in subsequent years there came an occasion for showing his great love for and his goodness towards me. In the year 1881 or 1882 one of my daughters fell ill. It proved to be typhoid fever of a very bad type, with attendant fits. Friends advised me to try allopathy; but from the beginning I decided to try homeopathy. A medical friend, who was practising homeopathy at that time, and was a personal friend of our family, was placed in charge of the case. At first the case did not seem to be so very serious, but its serious character was soon revealed, when Dr. Sircar was called in as a consulting physician. He promptly responded to the call and took up the case. He began to call at my house morning and evening every day, and began to spend nearly an hour each time, in watching the patient, in taking notes, in poring over his books. So great was his interest in the case that he would not allow a single morning to pass without calling. One morning he asked my Brahmo medical friend to call at a certain hour in the evening and be ready with notes for him. My friend expressed some doubts as to his being able to accede to that request, because he had other engagements. Whereupon Dr. Sircar said,—"If being a Brahmo you say that, what right have you to expect that I should call at the usual time. No, you must come, the case is serious, and our constant attendance and utmost attention are necessary. Leave all other work and do come." So my friend had to withdraw his objection. My daughter came round under his treatment.

Once more I had to seek his aid. I think it was in 1891, that I went out to the Madras Presidency on a mission tour. I fell ill at Coconada, a sea-port town in the Godavery District. I was unaccompanied by any friend or servant and I fell seriously ill amongst men whose friendship I had

recently made. They tried their best to save me, but there was lack of good doctors in the town. In that extremity, I insisted upon calling in a Eurasian gentleman, who was an amateur homeopath. I caused this doctor to wire my symptoms to Dr. Sircar in Calcutta; and he kindly took up my case, and began to treat me by telegrams. The friend in Calcutta who took the first telegram to Dr. Sircar informed me afterward, that when the latter read the symptoms, as related in the telegram, drops of tear were seen rolling down his cheeks and he exclaimed—"Alas! he is dying amongst strangers, where we cannot see him."

When I recovered and returned to Calcutta, I made it my first duty to go and see him. He embraced me warmly and said that he thanked God that I was once more amongst my friends.

During subsequent years I paid him visits in his library from time to time and had conversation with him on various public questions. Once or twice on behalf of the Brahmo Samaj, we persuaded him to come and preside at the Ram Mohun Roy meetings annually held on the 27th of September. He was a great admirer of the Rajah and had collected some relics of him which he kept with great care. His sympathy and reverence for the great reformer were due to the fact of his having inaugurated religious and social reforms. Dr. Sircar hated from the bottom of his heart all retrogressive movements. He publicly taunted those educated men who advocated progress in science, literature and politics, but propounded retrogressive views in matters of social life.

Whilst speaking of this forward look of Dr. Sircar I remember a little incident which happened at a public meeting in the Albert Hall of Calcutta. On that occasion a Western lady was the speaker. I do not distinctly remember whether Dr. Sircar occupied the chair or not; but he was present. In her lecture the lady said something in defence of idolatry or of her Kali-worship, which took Dr. Sircar by surprise so much that he rose after her speech and said some earnest words which thrilled every one present. The opening words I distinctly remember. 'Have I lived so long, in the world,' said the doctor, "to find an

English woman coming from the West, and defending the idolatry of our land? Certainly we have fallen on strange times." He went on in that strain, and thundered out his vehement declamation of all retrogressive ideas.

One or two instances of Dr. Sircar's humour seem to be worth recording. I have already spoken of the serious illness of one of my daughters, in 1881 or 1882. I was then living in the neighbourhood of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj *Mandir*. The first time he called, and met me, he smiled and observed—"Haven't you heard that English adage,—“nearer to church farther from God”? What have you done? Why have you settled down here? In course of time you will find that the people of the neighbourhood have lost all interest in real religion. They will be another set of Kalighat Haldars. Religion is good from a distance; but too much familiarity with its ways breeds contempt."

Once in his younger days, the late Babu Keshub Chunder Sen was very seriously ill, when Dr. Sircar and the late Dr. Durga Charan Banerjea were called in. Both of them insisted upon taking him upstairs, from a down story room where he was lying. The doctors helped in the act of taking him up, Dr. Sircar taking care of the head, and Dr. Banerjea holding the legs. One day, during the period of the man-worship agitation in the Brahmo Samaj, alluding to that occasion in Mr. Sen's life, Dr. Sircar smiled and said, "I took care of his head then, but could not take care of his heart."

Myself—What do you mean by that?

Dr. Sircar—Don't you see, to crave for or to accept Divine honors at other men's hands, is lack of true piety and, therefore, a corruption of the heart.

Myself—But he did not crave for, nor did he encourage it. People thrust it upon him. He said he could not interfere with other men's liberty.

Towards the end of his life I met Dr. Sircar occasionally. His health gradually went down, and he passed away, leaving behind him a memory that will be long cherished as that of one of the makers of modern Bengal.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

HIMALAYAN FOLK-TALES

I.—THE GREAT WHITE JEWEL.

“WHAT are you searching,” I asked in surprise of the boys who were digging amongst the ruins of the old temple.

“The Great White Jewel,” said the youngest of them, “which he had when Indra buried him alive.”

The crimson rays of the setting sun were still lingering on the pine-clad tops of the mountains. Beneath lay the village of Devdwar--the gate of the Gods—with its ruined spire of the once celebrated shrine of Nanda Devi. In the distance was visible the tempestuous Saryoo, and here and there the white road that runs along its banks for many miles north of Bageshwar, on the way from Almora to the Pindari glaciers.

It was the day of the great annual festival of Nanda Devi. Men, women, and children had come from all the villages in the valley, and were collected in picturesque groups on the hill-side, dancing and singing to religious music. But I was attracted to where an interested group of people was watching some young boys digging in the ruins of the temple, for the great white jewel, as they told me.

At my request they told me the story.

* * *

Long, long ago when as yet there was no village here, there lived a poor woman and her son in yonder village on the other side of the river. The land they had was little and of poor quality, and both mother and son had to work hard to procure a livelihood. She was too proud to ask her fellow-villagers for any assistance, and her son grew up in utter poverty ill-fed and ill-clothed.

Once there was a famine of great severity all over the neighbourhood, and the little seed they had sown did not germinate. By the beginning of the cold weather they had eaten up their little store of grain and then

began a period of starvation, till one day the mother unable to hold out any longer died. But before she died she called young Pirthipal to her side and said, “Listen, my son, I feel the presence of the messengers of Yama. Before they take me away let me tell you what I have guarded secretly from you these twelve years....”

“On the other side of the Ramganga there ruled a mighty chief—a descendant of the moon. He was the beloved of the gods and the idol of his people: and the temples and the *dharamshalas* built in the neighbourhood testify to his generosity. But in the fulness of time he died, and his younger brother claimed, after the custom of the clan, the hand of the widowed *Rani* in marriage. But the *Rani* repulsed him, for she bore in her womb a pledge of her deceased lord. The wicked brother-in-law on discovering this collected the people and poisoned their ears with false tales, and with their aid drove the *Rani* out alone and friendless in the world and usurped the throne.

“For days she wandered amongst the mountains—she for whom the choicest eatables used to be served on vessels of silver and gold had to live on wild pears and nuts:

Jo tin ber khati

So bin ber khati.

“One day she was picked up senseless with a little boy—the rightful heir of a kingdom, by her side. They took her to the nearest village, where she lived ever afterwards cultivating a little patch of waste land, and living a very hard life, mother and son. When she was dying she was sorry for the son who had been deprived of his birthright....”

“What happened then, mother?”

“I don’t know.”

“Where are they now, mother?”

“Come nearer to me, my son,... Thy head has the same baby smell it had then... Thou art that boy.”

Then she died.

Young Pirthipal left the old home that same night, half dead with hunger, and with hardly a strip of cloth on his back.

* * *

It was snowing hard and the cold night wind was howling amongst the pines but Pirthipal insensible to all outward pain, in his bitter anger against the unjust gods went on and on, till at last stricken with hunger and cold and sorrow he fell down... But nothing that the mortals do, or think, or feel on Earth is hidden from the great Goddess. Assuming the form of *Anna Purna*—the bounteous—she hurried to where the youth was lying senseless on the snow. She took him in her warm embrace, and carried him to the abode of the blessed—for had he not suffered his lot of toil and pain? There she gave him to eat from her own hand till he forgot the nights that he had lain restless on account of hunger. And she touched his eyes with her own divine fingers and forthwith the black days of the past were as if they had never been, and he fell into a profound sleep in her warm lap.

When he woke, he thought it must all be a dream and that he would soon wake up and find himself as hungry and cold and poor as ever.

As he was thinking this, he felt something hard against his face as he lay in the goddess's arms. It was the great white opal, the gift of Indra, that was hanging from her neck. "The ransom of a king", thought Pirthipal, and a sudden temptation seized him to steal it, and put an end to his poverty for ever... So he searched with his hand till he found the knot, and untied it... The divine mother felt his cold hungry

fingers against her heart and knew what he was doing but she, the *Karunamayi*—the pitiful—thinking of his poverty and suffering and the injustice of the gods to him took pity on him and let him take her priceless jewel and hang it on his own neck...

But Indra saw from his throne on high that she had given away *his* jewel to a mere mortal.

* * *

Pirthipal was lying on the snow on the cold hill side and the storm was raging fiercer than ever. "Alas for my dream!" thought he. But just then there was a bright flash in the heavens and the gem gleamed on his breast, and he was happy that his dream was no dream. Then there was a terrific crash and Pirthi and the jewel were buried for ever..

Indra had avenged himself.

That night the goddess appeared to the priest of the village in a dream, and informed him of Pirthipal's sad fate, and told him to erect a temple on the spot where he had been buried. It was called after her the shrine of Nanda Devi. A village—this village—grew up near the temple. When the priest died he left no successor and the new generation had not the faith of the old and now nothing is left of the temple except this *vimana* amongst the firs. But before he died, the priest had told the *padhan* that Pirthi would be born again in the village, and that if he would dig for the jewel on the day of this festival of the goddess he would find it and then obtain his kingdom on the other side of the Ramganga.

So from one generation of boys to another, the quest goes on.

J. P.

THE LESSON THE CLAY-LUMP LEARNED

AGES long a lump of clay lay snugly packed in a huge hill. All about it lay other lumps of whitish-yellow earth, its brothers and sisters, near and distant relatives and friends of the family. All of them were wedged so tightly together

that what affected one, affected all, for they were practically one in nature and their interests were common. Most of the time they drowsed, unconscious of the years and centuries and ages that were gliding past, totally oblivious to the pulsing and throb-

bing of the great world that lay so near them, yet of which they were not a part. When they were conscious at all, they felt a warm glow of gladness at the even smoothness of their lives, unruffled by tempests or tears, absolutely harmonious.

Came a day, however, when the world of the clay-lump was turned topsy-turvy in a sudden cataclysm. Without warning, a shining spade was thrust into the hill, sharply separating the members of the erstwhile happy and contented community. The lump of clay felt itself hoisted high by an irresistible force and carelessly thrown, shuddering with terror and excitement, on a pile of earth composed of other lumps that, like itself, had been torn from their comfortable resting place.

At first it was too much dazzled by the glare of light that it now saw for the first time in its existence—for its bed in the hillside had ever been dark—too dizzied by the pain of its sudden transportation from its happy home to this new condition of life, to realize what was happening about it. Then it began to whimper with agony and to revile the Fate that had thus rudely ruffled the smooth surface of its life. While it was crying and fretting over its troubles, it felt itself again lifted from its resting place, this time not rudely, by a laborer's spade, but more gently, by a man's hand. Trembling with terror, the clay-lump quiveringly waited to learn what new trial was about to befall it.

"You see, it is just as I predicted," a man's voice spoke. This is no common clay. This is a solid hill of kaolin, and our fortune is assured. And he squeezed and poked and pinched the poor piece of earth in his hand, then tossed it back on the mound, panting with fright at this new experience.

For days and weeks and months it lay under the sun and stars, momentarily expecting some new painful affliction to overtake it, on the verge of madness from anxiety and fear of impending evil. The summer sun burned it hard and dry. The fall frost chilled it to its very heart. The winter snows drifted over it in little rippling swirls of dazzling whiteness. The spring rain washed it clean and softened it anew. And through all the changes, the lump of clay fretted and cried at unkind Fate.

But as it lay palpitating with pain, suddenly it remembered the voice it had heard just after its life of ease had been disturbed. "The voice said I was kaolin," it mused. "I must be better than ordinary clay. I must be of value. Perhaps life is worth living, after all." And this thought made existence more bearable to the lump of clay. So it ceased to cry out because of its dire fate; but it did not charm away all its distress.

One warm, spring day, when all Nature was aglow with the first flush of new life, athrob with the force of growing things, the lump of clay was once more torn from its environments, to which by that time it had learned to accommodate itself, flung into a cart and wheeled into a great building that stood near by, a-whirl with machinery, ablaze with furnaces.

Followed a time of stress, of terrible tribulation. The lump of clay was taken in hand by a force that was stronger than itself, and hurried along from pillar to post, in one long-drawn-out agony. It was pounded until it fell apart in atoms. Then its powdered form was gathered together, moistened with water and kneaded into a soft lump. This, in turn, was squeezed and moulded into a shape that was quite new to the bewildered clay. It was held to the potter's wheel and turned and twisted about and ground against its hard surface until it was faint with pain. It was placed in a furnace and burned until it was unconscious. It was carried from point to point, packed and unpacked and moved about until it quite lost its bearings. But one day it suddenly realized that for a long time it had remained in the same spot, without distressful change, and it looked about it with curiosity. It found itself standing on an exquisitely carved mantel, facing a crystal mirror. As it gazed at its own reflection, it was stunned by the change that had been wrought in its nature. It was no longer an ugly lump of clay. It was a beautiful, fragile China vase. And standing beside it was another lovely vase, almost its exact counterpart, formed of one of its sisters.

Then the two erstwhile clay-lumps began to talk with each other.

"You see," said the sister vase, "we were not common clay. We were kaolin, of a

very fine grade, the sort of clay that is made into Chinaware. Quite by accident the farmer who owned the hillside in which we slept discovered our value. It was a great day for him when he made the discovery, for he was very poor and was about to lose everything he owned. Because of us he was able to sell the hillside for a large sum of money. But so long as we remained asleep in the hill, we might as well have been ordinary dirt for all the good our value did to us or to the world. It was necessary for us to be torn away from our home, and burnt and ground on the wheel, and put through all kinds of dreadful experiences in order to bring out our good qualities, in order to make the most

of ourselves. As for me, I am glad to have suffered all the pain I have undergone to find myself in this beautiful form today. Better pain if it means progress than pleasure that is nothing less than death. Now that we have been through the crucible, our agony is past and life for us now means simply being our lovely selves—lovely because of the pain through which we have passed—and making everybody who merely looks at us pleased and happy."

And the two vases sighed contentedly and settled down to a new life, a life of usefulness and activity, and forgot all about the pain that had made them what they were.

C. SINGH.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SIKH POWER

(From the *Bengali of Ravindranath Tagore*).

THE chief difference between Sikh history and Maratha history lies in this that Sivaji, the first and foremost leader of the Marathas, introduced the Maratha race on the stage of history after having clearly formed in his mind the ideal of setting up a Hindu Empire; all his conquests, slaughters, annexations were only parts of a great plan which embraced the whole of India.

But the Sikhs originated as a religious sect. The liberation which Baba Nanak realised in his heart was not political liberty: idol-worship is limited by the fancies and practices of individual provinces or races; it does not freely admit but rather shuts out the heart of mankind in general; Nanak's heart had gained emancipation from the bondage of such a narrow Pauranic religion, and he dedicated his life to the task of preaching this spiritual freedom to all.

Those who were drawn by Nanak's teaching to accept his faith were called Sikhs, i.e., *Shishyas* or disciples. All could embrace this religion irrespective of race; hence their beginning did not promise that the followers of Nanak would ever build

up the history of a nation. But Mughal oppression contracted the disciples of Nanak into a particular sect, and their chief aim was changed from the preaching of religion to the public to the defence of their own community from destruction and oppression. Thus did external pressure solidify the Sikhs into a compact nation. The last Guru of the Sikhs set himself especially to this latter task. He checked the work of preaching the religion to mankind and made it his life's mission to form the Sikhs into a strong body. In its essence this is not the work of a religious teacher, but rather that of a general and statesman. Guru Govind had the qualities of the latter. He was a leader qualified by his matchless perseverance to organise a band of men for repressing foes. He it was who turned a sect into a large army, and left the seat of the preaching Guru vacant.

Guru Govind could not keep his gaze steadily fixed on that sense of liberation which Guru Nanak had regarded as the greatest of all things; he only stamped on the hearts of his disciples an intense longing to be liberated from earthly enemies. True, this change of teaching made Sikh valour flare up brightly on the

pages of history for a short period, true it gave them martial qualities; but here they exhausted the spiritual viaticum with which Baba Nanak had started them on a noble path, here their progress ended.

Thereafter we have only a history of fight and conquest. In proportion as the Mughal power grew feeble and the Sikhs became successful in their struggles, their defensive wars ceased and their greed of domination increased. So long as our enemies are strong, the instinct of self-preservation remains intense within us and the sense of a common danger keeps us firmly knit together. When that external pressure is removed, what force is there to keep in check the intoxication of victory? A martial spirit is developed by the struggle for self-defence, but who in the day of success can divert this spirit from the path of foreign conquest to that of building up our own selves?

There was a force which could have done it; but Guru Govind had curbed it in his blind desire to serve a temporary need of the sect. To the Sikhs he bequeathed not another Guru but the sword. At his passing away, the great truth proclaimed by Nanak came to be confined in a book (*the Granth Sahib*); the succession of Gurus had hitherto flowed unchecked like a living stream carrying the precious water of spiritual truth to fertilise the hearts of mankind; that water now ceased to advance, it became impounded in one place. Then the strength of the Sikhs very rapidly became greedy and uncontrollable, the gods disappeared and the demons descended on the stage, spoliation and faction became rampant. In the midst of this suicidal disorder Ranjit Singh appeared. For a time he united the scattered Sikhs, but it was by force alone. He subdued all others because he was the strongest man among them.

He who unites men by force, succeeds in so doing only by weakening others. Nay, worse still, he gains his end only by overpowering and crippling the eternal root-principle of true union, namely love. It was to gain his selfish ends that Ranjit Singh firmly tied the Sikhs together by stratagem, force, and policy. He did not breathe into their hearts any such noble

sentiment as might have held them together in his absence. He merely stands as an example of resistless cunning and sleepless perseverance in self-aggrandisement.

There was no limit to his greed and no restraint on his voluptuous sensuality. His only title to praise is that he got whatever he wished for, and nothing could baffle him. Once and only once did he check his irresistible will,—no intensity of ambition could make him cross the blood-red line of the British frontier, his self-interest held him back here.

However, he achieved success. Nothing brings men into trouble so much as examples of success. Such examples overpower our good sense, and stir our greedy passions,—they point the way to self-destruction.

Nanak, the founder of the Sikhs was an example of *ill*-success. For this he was much persecuted by his tradesman father. We all know what sort of profit Nanak made in the salt-trade. He was poor, but this unpractical penniless devotee accumulated that power which enabled Jat peasants to grow great by defying death and scorning sorrow.

But what did Ranjit Singh leave to the Sikhs,—Ranjit the Maharajah, the model of worldly success,—who crushed the hereditary foes of the Sikhs, whose will no failure could daunt, whose sudden blaze lit up with crimson the evening sky in which the Mughal empire was setting and the English dominion just climbing to the ascendant? He left them—disunion, mutual distrust, lawlessness.

The Sikh leaders had learnt from the success of Ranjit Singh only the lesson that Might is Right; they did not learn sacrifice or self-surrender, they forgot the truth that Righteousness exalteth Power. In other words, the force by means of which the poor and homely Nanak had knit them together was now burnt to ashes by this powerful king; so that the Sikhs flashed through the sky of history with meteoric splendour for a moment and then sank down for ever.

Today, there is no force of progress among the Sikhs. They have crystallised into a small sect, they are not growing larger, centuries have failed to produce a

new spiritual teacher from among them; they have not added any new wealth to the world's stock of knowledge, faith or action.

No doubt today Nanak's followers can fight well. But we cannot admit that it is at all a glorious end for the inheritors of Nanak's spiritual ardour that they would only enter the army, and fight now in Kabul, now in China, now in Africa. Nanak did not consecrate his life for this end that in the wide world of humanity his disciples should pass their lives in drill in cantonments.

Nanak had called upon his disciples to free themselves from selfishness, from narrow bigotry, from spiritual lethargy,—he wished to realise their humanity in all its fulness. Guru Govind organised the Sikhs to suit a special purpose, and in order that they might not forget that purpose he deeply stamped it on their hearts by giving them a new name, new dress, new equipment, new ceremonies. Thus he called in the human energy of the Sikhs from all other sides and made it flow in a particular direction only. By this means the Sikh nation was poured into the mould of a special purpose and acquired solidity.

When the Sikhs ceased to be full, free men and became merely the instruments of a special purpose, a strong king used them for his needs, and they have been so employed to the present day as the special instruments of the strong. So in Greece Sparta contracted its humanity to serve a special purpose; it could fight, but it dwarfed itself, because ability to fight is not the final end of man. In this way men sacrifice their highest good for the sake of a temporary need, of which history records many examples; and even now this short-sighted greed makes all societies offer human sacrifice, *i.e.*, destroy true and full *manhood*. The blood-thirsty demon to whom we offer such sacrifice assumes different names—such as Society, State, Religion, or some fascinating catch-word of the time,—when it plies its task of destruction.

The end of Sikh history appears very sad to me. When a river, which left the pure snow-white cloud-kissing hill-top to reach the ocean, disappears in a sandy plain, losing its motion, losing its song, its failure is a sad sight. Even so, when the pure white

stream of force, which had issued from a *bhakta's* heart to cleanse and fertilise the earth, ends in the red mire of a military cantonment, men can find no glory, no pleasure in it.

One day this Sikh history had lost its aim at the attraction of revenge or some other petty object, and had slipped down from the plane of human perfection, but it also failed to achieve any glory even in the lower stage of national success. The empire founded by Ranjit Singh was only Ranjit Singh's empire;—the wars waged by Guru Govind were merely wars of the Sikh sect. He did not extend his aim beyond his own followers.

Herein Maratha history differs from Sikh history. Shivaji's endeavour was not confined to a petty sect, chiefly because the Hindu race and Hindu creed, which he was resolved to emancipate from Muslim rule, were much wider in extent than the Sikh race and the Sikh religion. Hence it is beyond a doubt that Shivaji's aim was to reconstruct the history of *all India*.

Guru Govind was almost contemporary of Shivaji. In their age the liberal policy of Akbar had been abandoned, and hence Mughal rule had roused the instinct of self-preservation in every non-Musalman creed and society of India. Indeed, in many places all over India a new religious life seems to have been awakened by pressure from within and without. This stir of life in Hinduism showed itself especially in the form of new religious upheavals under different holy men in the Deccan. It was only natural that amidst this spiritual consciousness of Hindu Society a heroic soul like Shivaji would, as the result of Aurangzib's persecution, take the vow of making his religion triumphant in India.

Again, at the same time, at the western end of India, the force of a new spirit pervading the Sikh creed had filled the hearts of the Sikhs with animation. Therefore it was that the oppression of Mughal rule could not subdue them, but made them fiercer like a flame which has been stirred. But though there was the same kind of internal force and external pressure on Guru Govind and Shivaji, its operation differed in the two cases. Guru Govind's many fights with the Mughals appear desultory, as he was chiefly inspired by revenge and self-defence. But

Shivaji's wars were the well-connected steps of a ladder; they were not mere outbursts of passion, not mere wrangles. There was a grand sequence, a linking together of the parts, in his wars; they only carried out one comprehensive design which steadily kept in view all India and a remote future. They were not a manifestation of any sectarian upheaval; they were only the preliminary steps of a vast pain.

But for all that we see that the history of the Sikh and Maratha races alike ended in the same kind of failure at the same epoch.

Why was it so? My answer is,—*An idea which wishes to comprehend the whole country cannot achieve success if it is taken up by one great man or a few great men only.* If you wish to convert a spark of fire into a flame of light, you must have a proper wick, proper materials, to catch the spark; it will not be enough to strike the flint with the iron with all your might. Shivaji's heart had not succeeded in linking itself with that of all his countrymen. Hence it was that whatever his own aim might have been, his effort could not transform itself into a whole country's endeavour; for which reason this energy of Maharashtra finally took the cruel form of plundering raids on the other races of India.

If an ideal of universal good be not enthroned in the hearts of *all*, if it be confined to *one* leader or to a few of his partisans, it ceases to be beneficent and gradually becomes a source of trouble to others. The pure ideal of Shivaji gradually corrupted into individual selfishness among the Peshwas. But this corruption would have been averted if a road had been opened for spreading the idea among the general public of the land. Then the great idea would have got its proper place and nourishment in that vast receptacle. Then the death of one champion of it would have been spontaneously followed by the rise of another, like fire leaping from an expiring log to a fresh one.

India's history has repeatedly shown that forces originate here but are not carried on continuously. Great men come and great men pass away, but we have no natural opportunity of accepting their advent, cherishing it, fully maturing it. *The cause is our mutual separation.* A loose sandy soil

may have a seed carried to it by the wind or by a bird, but the seed does not germinate or at best withers away after sending forth a few leaves, because the loose earth cannot retain moisture for nourishing plant life. So, too, in our society there are endless differences,—in religion, work, food, pleasure, social intercourse, everywhere we have diversity. Hence it comes that the flood of a new thought descends from on high, but soon disappears in the sand,—the spark of a new life touches us but soon expires in smoke; hence it is that a great idea does not become a universal idea, and our geniuses sink down after only demonstrating clearly the receptive incapacity of the general public of India.

A comparison of the causes of the rise and fall of the Sikhs and the Marathas, leads to the conclusion that the Sikhs were one day gathered together at the call of a very great idea,—they had heard the good news of a truth which was not restricted to the old custom of a particular place, which was not generated by the agitation of a particular time, which comprehended all men and all time, which expanded the rights and liberated the souls of great and small alike, and the acceptance of which enabled every man to realise the fullest glory of humanity. At the call of this liberal faith of Nanak, the Sikhs grew for centuries in spite of many sufferings. This religious consciousness and the chastening influence of this suffering established unseen the bond of a noble union among the Sikhs.

Guru Govind converted this spiritual unity of the Sikhs into a means of worldly success. Keeping in view a particular temporary need, he dwarfed the unity of a religious sect into an instrument of political advancement. But he took the occasion of narrowing the community to intensify its union,—he totally rooted up the caste system which was a strong obstacle to its union.

Guru Govind could at a word banish caste differences from Sikh society, chiefly because the liberalising faith of Nanak had already secretly sapped the foundations of artificial distinctions among them. At a blow from Guru Govind the already weakened caste system tumbled down to the earth. If the ground had not been

thoroughly prepared before, even the most pressing necessity could not have crowned Guru Govind's attempt with success. Nay, he could not even have conceived the plan of abolishing the suicidal caste system.

But what did he actually do? While he strengthened the union of the Sikhs, he also dethroned the great spiritual force which had made his success possible. (He made the Sikhs aim at material profit, and he stopped the succession of Gurus.)

Union is the only channel of ideas. Therefore every great idea devotes its strength to carve this channel out for itself. The greatness of the channel merely reflects the greatness of the idea it conveys. An ephemeral outburst of passion, a temporary sense of need, made Guru Govind exalt the *channel* but hereby he only lowered the *idea*.

The result was that for the time being he gained some success, but a force that was making for liberty became fettered; the Sikhs now got a contrivance for closer union among themselves, but lost their progressive power. Hence the Sikhs, who had been advancing gloriously for several centuries to be true MEN, now suddenly stopped short and became mere SOLDIERS; and here their history ended.

The ideal to which Shivaji devoted his life was not based on any narrow temporary need, and the ground had been somewhat prepared for it beforehand by the teaching of the religious reformers of the South. Therefore his enthusiasm for a time seemed to infect the whole Maratha race.

A cracked cup may be filled brimful, but it cannot retain the water. A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over the country, and we imagine that it has been united, but the cracks and holes in our body social do their work secretly; we cannot retain any noble idea long; hence every life-giving *thought* gives place to the tyranny of dry *lifeless ceremonies* in Hindu Society.

To such a large extent did Shivaji impart a powerful idea to the Maratha Hindu Society of his time that even after his death its force continued to work for a period.

But he could not make the receptacle of this idea sound, he did not even attempt the task; he only pushed forth into the raging sea without at all heeding the wide rents in the hull of his ship: It was no inexorable necessity, no utter lack of resource, that compelled him to embark in such a ship; he aimed at preserving the rents: Shivaji wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu Society of which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. This heterogeneous society he wanted to make triumphant over *all* India,—he wove ropes of sand, he attempted the impossible!

Shivaji did not embrace and preach any such idea as can fill up the rents in Hindu society. It is natural, no doubt, to resent the oppression and insult by outsiders on our own religion and to wish to make it triumph all over the country. But such a wish is not destined to succeed, because where a religion is being oppressed by its own members, where it contains internal restrictions which are constantly separating and degrading men,—there it is impossible for any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the *Swaraj* of such a caste-ridden isolated internally torn religious community over a vast continent like India. No nation can become great or predominant merely from the anger and pride roused by external oppression. So long as the perception of Oneness does not find scope of work in the religious consciousness of the community, so long as a unifying force, vivified, for ever by some noble idea, does not drive the society from all sides, within and without, to the goal of union, even so long can no pressure from outside, no heroism of any individual genius, make such a society firmly knit and instinct with life and sensibility.*

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* The original article was published as a preface to *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh People*, a Bengali work by Babu Sarat Kumar Ray of the Shanti Niketan School, Bolpur.

THE CATHOLIC MISSION IN CHOTANAGPUR

I

OF the several Christian Missions at present working in the Ranchi District, the Roman Catholic Mission, though latest in point of time, now counts by far the largest number of adherents. In the present article we shall attempt to give a rough account of the establishment and work of this Mission amongst the Mundas, Uraons and other aboriginal populations of Chotanagpur.

As early as the year 1859, the Catholic Mission of Western Bengal was constituted by His Holiness Pope Pius IX, and entrusted to the Belgian Section of the Society of Jesus. It was not, however, till ten years later that the Mission started work in Chotanagpur. In fact, Chotanagpur was the last province to which the Society turned their attention. Almost the first work of the Mission after its arrival in India was the establishment of the well-known St. Xavier's College in Calcutta which celebrated its golden jubilee last year with befitting grandeur. The Mission next extended its sphere of work from the metropolis to the Sunderbans on the one hand and to Orissa on the other. It was in the year 1869,—the same year in which the Church of England (S. P. G.) Mission of Chotanagpur was established at Ranchi,—that the Rev. Father A. Stockman, S. J., arrived at Chaibassa and there opened the first Catholic Mission station in the Chotanagpur Division. The work of the Catholic Mission, in the beginning, lay almost entirely amongst the Hos and the Mundas. The progress was necessarily very slow at the commencement. And, indeed, organised missionary work in Chotanagpur was not undertaken by the Society until another fifteen years had elapsed.

In the meanwhile, the colony of Catholic Munda converts established at Chaibassa was, in the year 1874, removed to Burudi, a village in the Khunti thana of the Ranchi (then called Lohardagga) District, and here

the first Catholic chapel in the Ranchi district was built. In the same year, a Catholic clergyman of the name of the Rev. Father De Cock, who had come a few years earlier as Military Chaplain to the Madras soldiers stationed at Dorunda, finally settled at that cantonment station, and began missionary work. In the year 1882, a new mission station was opened at village Sarwada, about twelve miles south of Khunti. The same year, the Rev. Father Stockman removed to Jamgain, about twelve miles south of Ranchi and there opened a Mission station. It was in the year 1883, that a central Mission station was established at Dorunda, and regular mission work commenced.

By the year 1885, the number of baptized Mundas of the Chotanagpur Catholic Mission amounted to 2,092. On the 14th of March of that year, a young and energetic Missionary of the name of Father Lievens* arrived at Dorunda, and, in the following November, opened a mission station at village Torpa. Two years later, in the year 1887, the Rev. Father Motet, removed the central Mission station from Dorunda to the town of Ranchi. By August, 1888, the Roman Catholic Mission had established 77 schools and employed 189 Catechists in the Ranchi District, and counted as its converts, 11,291 baptized persons and 39,060 catechumens. This remarkably rapid success of the Catholic Mission was mainly due to the exertions of the Rev. Father Lievens, who was now appointed the Director of the Mission

* The Rev. Father Const. Lievens, was born in Belgium in 1856. He reached India in 1880. After three years spent as a *Seminare* at Asansol, and one year as a Master at the St. Xavier's College in Calcutta, Father Lievens was transferred to the Chotanagpur Mission. Here he worked so hard that his health broke down, and, in 1892, he had to sail for Europe for the benefit of his health. But the strain on his constitution had been too heavy, and, shortly after his arrival in Europe, he died at the early age of 37.



THE CATHOLIC FATHERS AND BROTHERS AT THE MANRESSA HOUSE, RANCHI.

[By the courtesy of the Rev. Fr. Van Hoičke, Rector of the Chotanagpur Mission, who stands fourth in the second row, and his predecessor the Rev. Father Grosjean is the fourth in the front row reading from the left.]

and whose zeal for mission work was unbounded. He was assisted in his work by a band of devoted Missionaries* some of whom are still working in Chotanagpur. Before long Father Lievens began to preach the religion of the Cross to the ruder Mundas, Uraons and Kharias in the remote southern and south-western parts of the Ranchi district. Father Lievens mixed with the people as friends, instructed them in the elements of religion, and helped them in their temporal difficulties. The aborigines of the Ranchi District had

* Amongst these may be mentioned the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann, whose Mundari Grammar is the standard work on the subject, the Rev. Father P. Dehon (who died in 1905) whose excellent paper on the "Religion and Customs of the Uraons" published in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is the only elaborate contribution on the subject in English, and the Rev. Father Grosjean who was then Superior General of the Bengal Mission and subsequently came to Ranchi as Superior of the Chotanagpur Mission and, a third time as Rector of the Manressa House.

suffered cruelly and long. They had hitherto been looked down upon by their neighbours as untouchable Pariahs; now they came to know that they too were men and fit to be treated as such. When the missionary appeared on the scene, they were groaning under many wrongs and indignities. With their conversion to Christianity came a better appreciation of their rights as men and as tenants. They saw a happier era dawning before them. Besides having all the attraction of novelty, Christianity seemed to these aborigines the only means to drag them out of the miserable pit into which they had fallen. They felt that while their landlords oppressed them, they would no longer have to sit still with folded hands and curse their lot in silence. Hope was in the air. There was a frantic rush to the fold of Christianity. One sees in imagination the Munda and Uraon converts of those days joyfully exclaiming,—



FATHER HOFFMAN AND HIS CONSTITUENTS.

'Tis coming on the steps of time,
And this wide world is growing brighter!
Though we may not see its dawn sublime,
High hopes make the heart throb lighter!

The numerous conversions to Christianity naturally made the Zemindars anxious and angry. Father Lievens, in a printed letter to the Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, dated the 19th February, 1890, cites the instance of a rich landlord of the district offering him on several occasions a sum of one thousand rupees on condition of his refusing to admit as Christians the tenants of five of his villages. In the year 1889, a number of landlords sent up a petition to the authorities alleging that the Roman Catholic 'Padri Sahebs' were unsettling the minds of their ryots and converting them to Christianity by the hundreds in the parganas of Panari, Kasir, Nawaghar, Borway, Ardhe, and Korambe, in the west and south-west of the district. Hitherto many landlords of these parganas had had their own way with the tenants whose backs had been bowed under long years of submission to their demands, just

or unjust. No wonder therefore that such landlords should have viewed with alarm and indignation the conversion of their tenants and a consequent growth of manly independence in them. We can picture to ourselves the wailing and gnashing of teeth in these landlords' camp. It cannot however be denied that drunk with hope, these excitable aborigines occasionally exceeded the bounds of moderation. Tingling with the pulsations of a new life, some of the new converts appear to have attempted to coerce their unconverted brethren into accepting their new faith and sharing in the larger life that seemed to open out to them. Like the young hill-streams of the district, after heavy showers of rain, heaving and swelling till they overflow their banks, the upheaval amongst these enthusiastic neophytes of an excitable race, appears occasionally to have led them into reprehensible excesses. But the reports that reached the authorities through the police and the Zemindars, of the disturbances that took place in these parts appear to have been exaggerated. And in the beginning

these exaggerated alarmist accounts appear to have been too credulously accepted. The "Indian Daily News" of that day appears to have first drawn the attention of Government to certain insinuations against the Catholic Mission. And soon afterwards we find the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Stewart Bayley visiting the district to see things with his own eyes. The result of the Lieutenant-Governor's inquiry exposed the baselessness of the suggestions against the missionaries.*

Already the *Englishman* newspaper of Calcutta in its issue of the 23rd Dec., 1889, wrote,—"It now seems that the story of a rising of the Kols, is pure moon-shine." And it was afterwards authoritatively declared, that the actual disturbances which occurred were not really serious. There was only one case of resistance to the authorities, and the rest were mostly cases of disputed rights to lands or crops.† Mr. Renny, the Assistant Commissioner, who was deputed to try the cases locally, inflicted

* *Vide* Government of Bengal Resolution, Judicial Department, Dated Ranchi, the 15th March, 1890.

† We have examined the copies of the records of most of these cases, and they do not appear to have been generally more serious than the generality of cases between landlords and tenants in the District both before and after that period. Here are samples of some of those cases. The case of Jaisri Sing *versus* Ghumrua, Jhirga Uraon and others under s. 447, I. P. C. for ploughing up complainant's Bahera Sokra land; the case of Mahendra Sing *vs.* Jhirgu and others under s. 447 I. P. C.; the case of Mahendra Sing *vs.* Pandea and others under s. 379 I. P. C. for cutting wood in the village-jungle; the cases of Babu Ramdin Rai *versus* Lenda Master, and Babu Ramdin *vs.* Timra, both withdrawn under s. 248, C. P. C., the case of Gokhul Sing *versus* Punai under s. 145, Cr. Pr. Code, the case of the Rev. Fr. Dehon *versus* Mahadeo Sing and others under s. 506, I. P. C.; the case of Babu Nobo Kristo Ray *versus* Abraham Arlandu; the case of Sohor Sahi *versus* Bisram Christian under s. 324, I. P. C.; the case of Empress *versus* Bhuka and others (the Urmi pony case), the case of Nakul Sing *vs.* Dukhia Uraon under ss. 147 and 379, I. P. C.; the case of the Rev. E. Huyghi *versus* Mathura and others, the case of Lodro *versus* Ramdhan Gour and others, the case of Emp. *vs.* Chutia Uraon and others under ss. 147 and 225, I. P. C.; the case of Abhiram Sing *vs.* Gandura and others under s. 337, I. P. C., the case of Gajadhar Ram *versus* Jhirga and others under s. 379 for cutting paddy of a field claimed by him. The cases of Emp. *versus* Mahadeo Ram Tewary and others, and the cross-case against Fr. Cus, in June 1890, do not come within the category of cases between landlords and tenants.

excessively heavy punishments on the accused Christians. The *Indian Daily News* of the day wrote,

"From the action taken by the Lieutenant-Governor it is clear that there had been great want of consideration in the hearing of the charges and some perfunctory confirmation of the sentences even by the Deputy Commissioner."

The accused in some cases appear to have been dragged about from camp to camp and obtained no legal assistance at the trial. A number of the convictions were found to be unsustainable, and were set aside in appeal by the Judicial Commissioner, and of some of the rest, the Lieutenant-Governor during his visit to Ranchi, by his Resolution, dated the 15th March 1890, remitted the larger part of the sentences. In that Resolution, in connection with the case of Gandura Uraon and others, Sir Stewart Bayley observed:—

"Although the prisoners had no legal advice, the Magistrate made no endeavour to ascertain by examination of the witnesses whether the claims put forward by the prisoners to the ownership of the *dhan* had any foundation, and if so what it was."

In the same case, Sir Stewart Bayley observed "with much dissatisfaction that all the accused in this case was in the first instance sent to Ranchi for trial, a distance of 95 miles and then sent back to the camp of the Deputy Commissioner at Bhusru, where the case was disposed of. This procedure seems to have been unnecessary and harassing." Again, in the portion of the Resolution dealing with the witch-craft case, we read,

"An attempt was made at the trial to throw the blames of the ill-treatment of these women (suspected witches) exclusively on the Christian Kols of the villages and to convict two of the servants of the Rev. Mr. Lievens with the occurrence. The Lieutenant-Governor considers this to have been perfectly gratuitous, and he is constrained to express his dissatisfaction with the manner by which the case was tried by the Commissioner."

In another part of this Resolution which deals with the petition of Dasso Bhuini and others, the Lieutenant-Governor says,

That officer (the Judicial Commissioner) has remarked that certain comments made by the Magistrate on the conduct of some Roman Catholic Missionaries ought not to have appeared in his judgment, as they were in no degree justified by the evidence on the record. The Lieutenant-Governor fully concurs in this condemnation, and the expression of his disapproval will be conveyed to Mr. Renny.*

* The cases dealt with in this Resolution were the Tangartoli case, the Pony case, the Rescue case and

As His Honour Sir Steuart Bayley observed,

"The spirit of antagonism between landlord and ryot was so strong and generally diffused throughout the district, that it might at any time cause a breach of the peace on a large scale."

The opinion one some times hears, that it does not concern the clergymen how his congregation fare in the world, appears to us to betray a poor idea of the priest's duty to his flock. In fact, the Missionaries would have been unworthy stewards of the spiritual well-being of their Christians, if they merely stood by and wrung their hands in silent despair while their converts were sinking deeper and deeper in the miry depths of abject helplessness and impoverishment—a condition which could not but re-act on their moral and spiritual lives. The hearts of the Missionaries naturally went forth to their down-trodden converts in their earthly sufferings. The head and front of their offending seems to have been that they occasionally opened their purse-strings in response to piteous appeals for help in their law-suits with the landlords. And it was indeed the natural discontent of the ryots which sometimes took the form of law-suits. But more often it was they who were harassed by frivolous litigation used as a weapon of persecution.* True, a vague

the Witch case. The Resolution was published in the *Calcutta Statesman* and quoted in the *Indo-European Correspondence* of the 26th March, 1890.

* By way of illustration we here give extracts from a few judgments of Courts. Thus, in his judgment in rent suits Nos. 132 to 135 of 1887, Mr. G. W., Place, Asst. Commissioner of Lohardugga, said,—“The suits seem in these cases of a vindictive nature, as the plaintiff sues also for ejectment. The defendants have not done anything to deserve such vindictive proceedings, as they have all paid something as the plaintiff himself admits.” The same officer in his judgment in rent suits Nos. 142 to 147 of 1887, wrote, “The evidence has considerably reduced the plaintiff's preposterous claims. Indeed, I am only beginning to learn the... of the Chotanagpore Zemindars, who invariably claim in rent suits a higher rent than was ever paid and virtually turn a suit for rent into one for enhancement. However, the plaintiff has been exposed in this case.” This general remark in the above quotation was perhaps too sweeping, for there must have been some exceptions amongst the Zemindars. But of the prevalence of the practice noticed by him, most officers of the time speak in more or less marked language. Thus, Mr. F. W. R. Cowley, Judicial Commissioner of Chotanagpore in Rent Appeal No. 94 of 1888 wrote:—“When a ryot becomes liable to pay an enhanced rent, the law provides a procedure

idea seems to have prevailed amongst the aborigines that by conversion to Christianity, “they will better themselves somehow or other.” The origin of this idea was correctly explained by Colonel Dalton when he observed—

“When matters came to a issue between the simple Kol and the Zemindar or the foreign farmer, the Kol had no chance, and indeed he appeared to think so himself, for he seldom sought redress. But the Kols who embraced Christianity imbibed more independent notions and in several instances successfully asserted

to be followed, and a Zemindar should take steps, if he wants more rent, under section 21, &c., Act I (B.C.) of 1879. Doubtless it is simpler to come into Court and to demand a certain rate as one for excess lands, but if a Zemindar does so, the onus is strongly upon him of proving that the ryot has consented to pay him the rent claimed. In the present instance it is admitted that it is only within the last four years that any attempt has been made to assess the excess tenure lands of the village.” Similarly Mr. A.W.B. Power, Deputy Commissioner of Lohardugga, in his judgment in rent suit No. 4 of 1879—80 referred to a case of the same nature as follows,—“I fully believe that defendants were put to all the expenses of previous litigation on a false issue, i.e., plaintiffs sued them for arrears at an enhanced rate, to which enhancement defendants had never consented, and represented that enhanced rent as the normal and established one.”

Among other classes of harassing litigation were suits for possession of lands formerly waste and brought under cultivation by ryots and Bhumhars (under local custom) but claimed as nij-jote by the landlords, and claims to raivati lands of refractory tenants as Zemindar's *nij-jote* or as raiyati of some creatures of the landlords. But it must at the same time be admitted that cases are rare in which the tenants by way of retaliation for aggressive acts and harassing suits, have actually claimed what was not their own or what had ceased to be their own for a long time past, and denied liabilities sanctioned by law.—Their apologists attribute this “to despair or dogged obstinacy, the natural outcome of prolonged ill-treatment endured by them.” That such ill-treatment was a matter of frequent occurrence is testified to by the resolutions passed at a meeting held at Ranchi on the 14th January, 1890, when an Association was formed with a local barrister as Secretary and a Senior Pleader (Mr. Aikath) as a prominent member. In the printed proceedings this Association, styled “The Chotanagpore Reform Association” (now defunct), we read, “Extortion, ill-treatment, torture, and forced labour to which ignorant people are subjected, to which we can bear testimony, are shocking to our eyes.” In the *Calcutta Statesman* of 24th May, 1891, we find a long letter from Rev. F. Hahn, Secretary, German Mission, about “Affairs in Chotanagpore,” in which after an account of the grievances of the tenants the correspondent said. “The wonder is only how the Kols are bearing up with their present position. They do it in this way; they like a good drink; and whenever the Zemindar requires them to be in good humour, or to forget an injustice done to them, he has recourse to giving them pice for drink.”

their rights. From this the belief unfortunately spread through the District that when Kols go to court as Christians, they are more uniformly successful than those who have not changed their religion. The next step was to profess Christianity, and going up to Ranchi to the Mission they returned with their hair puritanically cropped, and were ready to assert their rights and defy their landlords."

This was said of the converts of the German Mission long before the Jesuit Fathers came to the district. And it was for the very same reasons that a similar idea prevailed amongst the Kols when the Roman Catholic Mission appeared in the country. Such an impression will naturally prevail "whenever a class of men that take a real interest in the welfare of the people come amongst them and show sympathy for their misery and sufferings."

No wonder therefore that there was a large accession to the Catholic Mission when the missionaries began to work amongst this people with a degree of self-sacrificing zeal which attracted the admiration of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Cecil Stevens, who was Commissioner of the Chotanagpur Division from 1885 to 1889. But there does not appear to be any ground for supposing that the missionaries held out any hopes of the nature we have alluded to. Their self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of humanity would preclude such an unjust supposition. In a paper on "Some Reminiscences of Chutia Nagpore," read by Sir Charles Stevens, K. C. S. I. in February, 1901, in the Jehanghir Hall of the Imperial Institute (London), that ex-Commissioner of Chotanagpur and Ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, spoke in high terms of the self-sacrificing zeal of the Catholic Fathers of Chotanagpur, and by way of illustration, he gave long extracts from the diary of his wife during their tours in the interior of the Ranchi District. In that paper, Sir Charles thus describes the origin of the agrarian disturbances:—

"I have found them (the Kols) most tenacious of what they believe to be their rights. Their comparative ignorance and stupidity have attracted oppression at times. Rajas and landlords have called in the help of cleverer and stronger people from outside, and this process is still going on. But oppression is not tolerated beyond a certain point, and in the past has led to rebellion and much bloodshed. At present day, too, most troubles and difficulties in the administration arise from the encroachments of the outsiders and the dogged resistance of the people."

Mr. Grimley who succeeded Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Stevens as Commissioner of Chotanagpur traced the origin of the agrarian disturbances of the period to the same causes. In 1896, Mr. Grimley said:—

"The result of the enquiries begun by Mr. Renny and continued by Colonel Lillington is to establish the fact that the unsettled relations of landlords and tenants have been brought about in a great measure by the greed and rapacity of the former. The investigating officers travelled over a large tract of country and wherever they went had to listen to the same story of oppression, in the form of illegal exactions, excessive enhancement of rent, unlimited demands of *beth-begari*, and the withholding of receipts for rent."

Again in his Administration Report for the year 1895-96, Mr. Grimley writes:—

"Primitive people are by nature singularly tenacious of purpose and cling to old traditions, and this feeling among the Kols led up to the Agrarian agitation of 1889, when they made an effort to free themselves from the yoke of middlemen, the thralldom of *beth-begari*, and other unpleasant incidents connected with the cultivation of land."

With a view to remedy the evils, Mr. W. Maude, I.C.S. was, in the year 1890, specially deputed to the district to report on the working of the law then in force regulating the relations between landlords and tenants in Chotanagpur. The Lieutenant-Governor during his visit in Ranchi in March, 1890, himself held more than one conference with representatives of the tenants and landlords. On the 14th of April, 1890, the following Proclamation was issued in the District by the Commissioner, Mr. W. H. Grimley:—

"For some years past there have been agrarian disputes between the ryots of the Lohardugga district and their landlords on the subject of *bethbegari*, which has seriously interfered with the good government of the country. The Commissioner has lately been making enquiries into the causes of these disputes, and is most anxious to secure their final settlement. Until this can be effected, it is necessary for the sake of peace to draw attention to the limits within which, according to the custom of the country, Zemindars may demand labour from certain ryots. The following scale, founded on the ancient custom of Lohardugga, as ascertained by Government, is therefore published for general information. The Commissioner warns all Zemindars that, if they forcibly exact labour in excess of the amount prescribed by custom, they may be liable on complaint to a prosecution for wrongful restraint under section 341 of the Penal Code. He also calls upon those ryots who have hitherto rendered *beth begari* to grant the labour willingly and ungrudgingly according to the prescribed scale, or the decision of the *Bhuinhari* Special Commissioners, as the case may be.

"Prescribed scale for each holding :—Three days' ploughing ; Three days' digging ; Three days' sowing or planting rice ; Three days' cutting rice ; One day's threshing corn ; One day's assisting in

the making of a granary ; Carrying loads for the landlord on journeys within Chota Nagpore ; the labourer to be supplied with food."

• SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

FOUR DAYS IN ORISSA*

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

FOUR days is not a long time to spend in Orissa : but it is time enough to see much. Puri itself is not especially impressive. Great cities of the South, like Madura, much more completely realise one's idea of an Indian Cathedral town, though their architecture may be less simple and impressive. Puri consists of an old town

with one broad procession road and many smaller streets surrounding the great temple : and a new and very English suburb on the shore. There is a rather amusing contrast between this seaside watering place with its nursemaids and babies on the sands, and the old religious City of the Lord of the World (Jagannatha—the 'Juggernaut'



Fig. 1—BLACK PAGODA AT KONARAK.

of Anglo-Indian literature). Old Puri by all accounts seems to have been a very pestilential and insanitary place, and pilgrims died in thousands, even if they survived the robbers and other dangers of a journey through Orissa. The old story of the self-immolation of pilgrims beneath the car on which the God is annually dragged

along the procession path are now sufficiently refuted† ; but it will be long before the fable disappears from the pages of missionary literature. Not the least interesting things in Puri are the people themselves,

* Photographs by the author except Figs. 1 and 2.

† Vide Puri Gazetteer for information on this and many other more important matters.

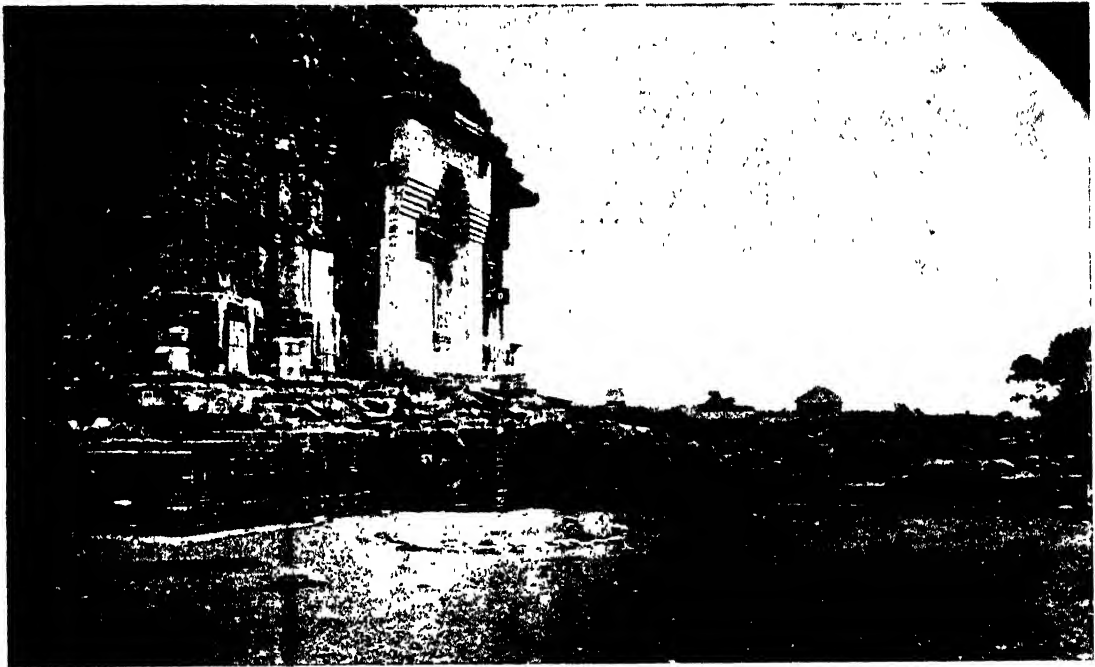


Fig. 2--BLACK PAGODA SHOWING WHEELS AND HORSES.

the Uriyas. The men are often very beautiful, sometimes decidedly effeminate: the priests and pandas not very learned or intelligent. Few of the people speak any language other than Uriya. Bengali is better known than Hindi.

Reaching Puri in the morning by night train from Calcutta, one may leave the same evening by palki for Konarak, 20 miles away along the seashore. Starting at 7 it is possible to reach Konarak by 1 or 2 A.M. and sleep well before the morning. Weeks could be spent in studying detail at Konarak: but unless serious work is proposed, a day will suffice, and a return to Puri can be made the same evening. There is a comfortable bungalow at Konarak, but provisions are not obtainable. Since Rajendra Lal Mitra's great book on the antiquities of Orissa, the partially ruined 'Black Pagoda', which stands alone in a great sandy waste, has been excavated and sufficiently restored to prevent further destruction. The temple is not only unique as a Sun-temple, but is in itself both architecturally and in the details of its sculpture, one of the noblest monuments of Indian mediæval art (Figure 1). The date of its erection is said to be about 1250 A.D.—contemporary with the finest

period of European architecture. The main building is represented as resting on enormous wheels and drawn by spirited horses (figure 2). The whole building is covered with a profusion of remarkable and beautiful carvings symbolising the fertilising and creative power of the Sun. It is a Hymn to Life, a frank and exquisite glorification of creative forces in the Universe.*

The four main entrances of the temple are guarded by pairs of rampant animals. Those on the south side are horses trampling down armed men. One of these great

* The unusual predominance of this kind of sculpture at Konarak is to be explained, as I have pointed out, as symbolising the power of the Sun: but similar carvings occur in smaller proportionate quantity in many other places. Love and desire are part of life. Life is a veil behind or within which is God. The outside of the temple is an image of this life, sansara, and the carvings on it represent everything that belongs to sansara and perpetuates illusion, every bond and each desire of loveliness that binds men to the wheel of life and death. Within, in an empty chamber, the image of God is alone, lit up by tiny lamps seen from very far away by the approaching worshipper. This symbolism of phenomenal life as an embroidered veil beyond which the devotee must pass to find his God has perhaps always and everywhere been present, whether consciously or not, in the mind of Indian cathedral-builders.

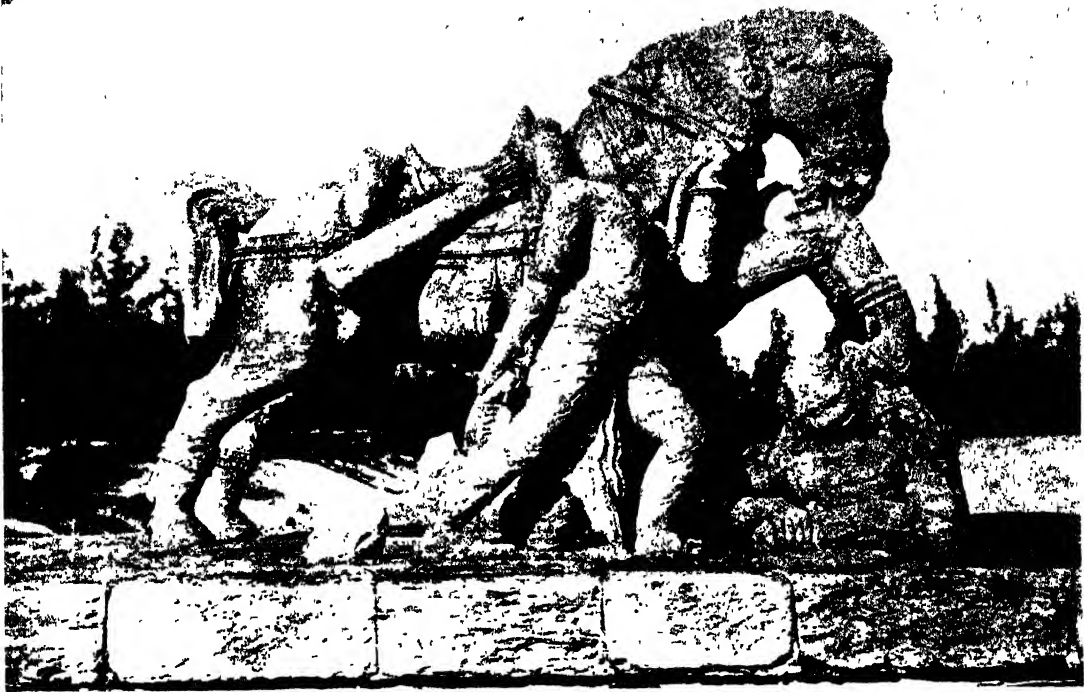


Fig. 3— GREAT HORSE IN THE KONARAK TEMPLE.



Fig. 4—CHIMÆRA AT KONARAK.

horses, with a warrior striding beside it (Figure 3) has a majestic and monumental grandeur which give it rank amongst the finest heroic sculpture in the world. Of smaller sculptures on the main building, besides those already referred to, there are many of different sorts of chimæras, gryphons and monsters (Figures 4 and 5) and others of beautiful women (Figure 6). Some of the monsters vividly recall the finest Gothic treatment of grotesque forms: the creature illustrated in Figure 4 would be quite at home with all the splendid gargoyles on Notre-Dame.

Not the least surprising thing at Konarak is the evidence of engineering skill afforded. How did the builders raise the great stones that crown such buildings as this? How did they transport the great mass of chlorite on which the forms of the planets are carved, 80 miles from the nearest hills where this stone is found, across swamps and rivers, to Konarak? When an attempt was made to transport this block to Calcutta, it had to be abandoned after moving 200 yards. The stone is now worshipped and there is an annual *mela* attended by about half a lakh of people.

Besides the rough shed which serves as a temple in this connection there is also a small *matt* at Konarak near to the great temple. An English visitor sometime ago presented the incumbent with the price of a pukka roof to cover the adytum to the shrine, and this has since been completed.

From Puri one may proceed by the evening train to Bhuvaneshwar, and sleep either

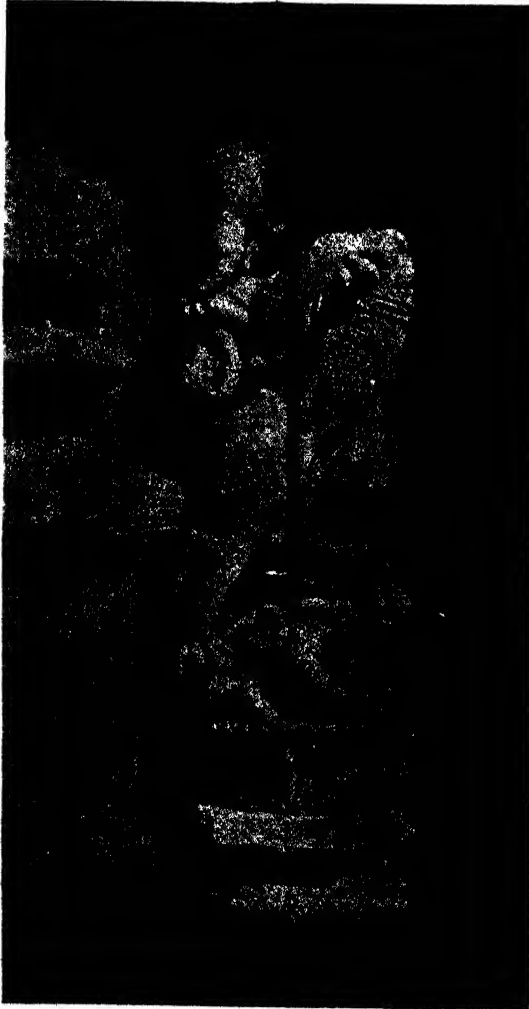


Fig. 5—GRYPHON AT KONARAK.

at the station or at the Udayagiri rest house, four miles away. If one day is spent on a hasty visit to the principal temples in Bhuvaneshwar, the following evening train to Calcutta may be taken. But if Bhuvaneshwar is to be properly seen, and the



Fig. 6—FIGURE OF A WOMAN AT KONARAK.

Buddhist monuments at Udayagiri and Khandagiri are also to be visited, a stay of at least three days is necessary.

The first temple passed on the road from the station to Bhuvaneshwar is small and unimportant, but particularly simple and dignified. The great tower—on which one may often observe parties of monkeys rerambling—is very impressive and contrasts with the simple horizontal lines of the smaller temple near the road. The two

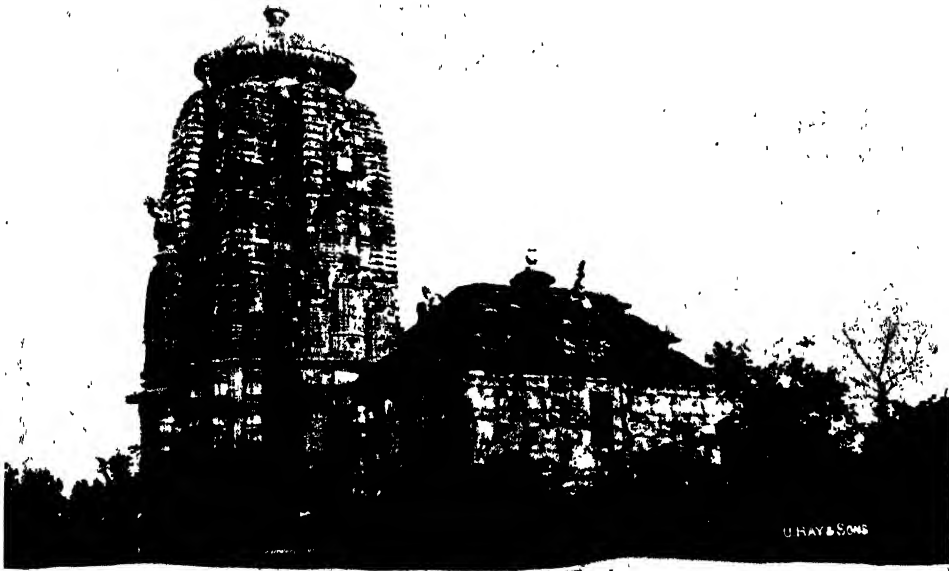


Fig. 7 TEMPLES AT BHUVANESWAR.

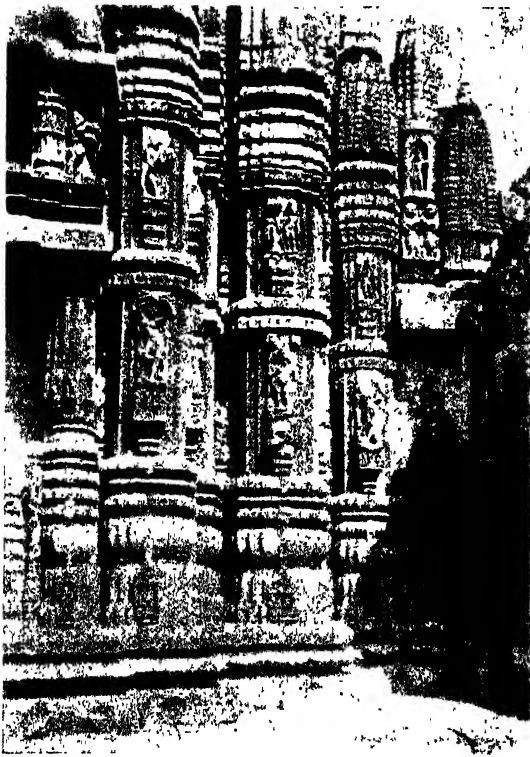


Fig. 8—RAJ RANI TEMPLE AT BHUVANESWAR.
(Figure 7.) are typical examples of the best
Orissan architecture. Bhuvaneshwar itself

once consisted of some 7000 shrines surrounding a sacred lake. There remain now some 500 of these, more or less ruined. One is strongly reminded of the much older city of Anuradhapura in Ceylon where also many ruined shrines remain in a parklike and partly jungle-covered country. Many of the shrines at Bhuvaneshwar however are not to be described as ruined: in particular the great temple built in the seventh century, "perhaps the finest example of a purely Hindu temple in India," is well-preserved. It stands within an enclosure of high walls seven feet thick, together with many more modern temples. The most important and beautiful of these are the Nat and Bhog mandirs, additions to the original temple, made at the beginning of the twelfth century. This temple is visited by pilgrims and served by many priests. There are in other parts of Bhuvaneshwar many deserted temples well-preserved, nearly all of which have special interest or beauty of their own. That known as Mukteswar is most elaborately carved and is one of many standing beside a beautiful stone-walled tank in a grassy grove called Siddharanya. Beyond this is the temple known Raj Rani (Figure 8) surrounded by a low palisade of laterite pillars. There is much beautiful sculpture

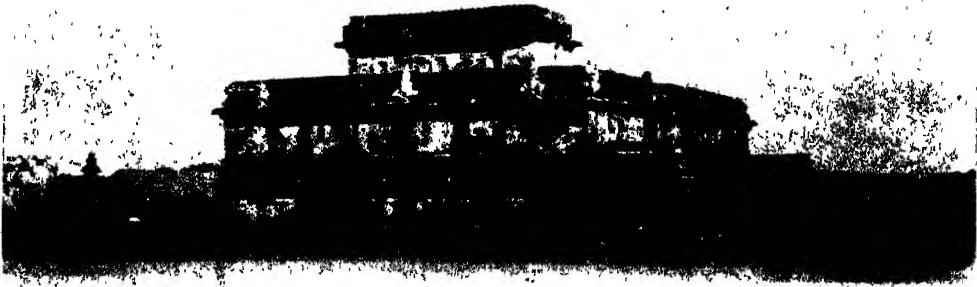


Fig. 10--A MATT AT BHUVANESWAR.

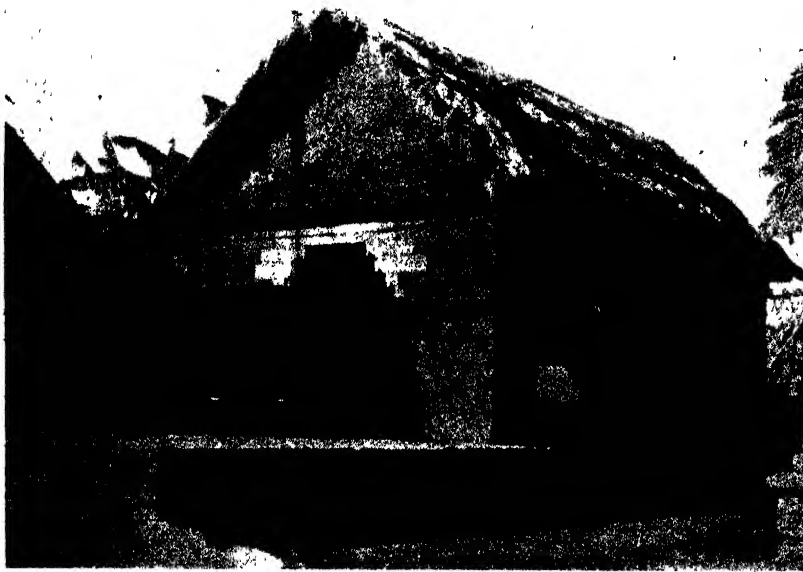


Fig. 9--A TEMPLE AT BHUVANESWAR.

well-preserved here, (again recalling vividly the general character of Gothic) as well as some excellent modern work where judicious restorations have been made. This modern work is almost as good as the old and fully justifies Mr. Havell's remarks on this subject, that architecture and sculpture are living arts in India suffering only from wanton and deliberate neglect on the part of Government and private

builders. It is not likely however that public taste in Bengal at the present day would find good Indian architecture endurable: bad European is very much preferred.

There are, besides these restorations in some of the temples at Orissa, some small and unpretentious modern houses in Bhuvaneshwar of most marked architectural merit. One of these is illustrated in Figure 9. Of old buildings other than temples, the most remarkable is the

very stately matt near a corner of the main road to the great Temple (Figure 10).

Such is a very brief account of a short architectural pilgrimage in Orissa. Its purpose will be served if it should serve to persuade any one else to visit or revisit these beautiful and little known places, and to take an interest both in their ancient architecture and in their living modern architects and sculptures.

MUNSHI ZAKA ULLAH: A GREAT EDUCATIONIST

ANY retrospect of the nineteenth century in India, would be incomplete, which did not include one fact of far-reaching importance, namely, the inertia which retarded the Musalman community in the matter of higher education. More than any other section of the Indian peoples they became disheartened after the Mutiny, and the suspicion under which they so unjustly laboured seemed to crush the spirit of their leaders. The voices of conservatism and reaction for a time alone prevailed. Then, after precious years had been lost, the Aligarh movement began; but even this, great as it was, only affected at first a fraction of the population. For a long period higher Western education remained anathema to the majority. It would probably be right to say that there was no *general* movement forward till a year ago. •

In what has recently happened there has been a striking falsification of the doctrine, (which forms the substance of so many of Mr. Chirol's articles) that political agitation in India throws back advance in other directions. For here the very reverse has proved to be the case. The recent Musalman revival came from the political side. But, as so often happens, the political has rapidly developed into an intellectual activity. On the tide of the political wave the educational inertia, which had for so long been almost immovable, has been swept away, and a notable advance seems now likely to be effected on that supremely important side of modern life.

In the long run, if only a wise and liberal course is adopted, and modern education is sought in all its fullness, the whole of India will be the gainer by the new progressive movement in Islam. There has been one thing above all others which has endangered mutual understanding between the two great Indian communities, namely, ignorance. For ignorance is the mother of intolerance, wherever it exists. While the

educational inactivity on the side of Indian Musalmans remained, there was, therefore, a continual probability that misunderstanding would lead on to mutual bitterness and want of trust, and that out of these elements mob violence might become common. But now that Musalman energies have been directed by wise leadership into the educational channel, this danger will rapidly decrease, for every step forward in the direction of a liberal Western education must inevitably bring the Muhammadans nearer to the Hindus, at least within that all important area of society which may be called 'modern.' More and more, both in India and in every other country of the East, leadership is passing from the aristocracy of birth to the aristocracy of talent, and as primary education reaches the masses this leadership is certain to increase. A peaceful revolution in India depends upon the spread of education more than on any other factor, and it is of vital importance that the community which is most backward should make good its arrears.

The same point may be reached by considering the principles and causes underlying the growth of Islamic civilisation.*

One of these principles which finds its place in the Quran itself is that knowledge is to be sought by Musalmans. In accordance with this principle it has become an established fact of history that progress and enlightenment have resulted, when Muhammadan culture has come into close contact with an intellectual environment other than its own.

To take two examples from the history of the West,—the contact of the Arabs

* This is a subject which has not received sufficient attention from Western writers and thinkers. Very few books of scientific value have appeared in English. Germany and France have not been so backward in recognising its importance. Books written in English by able Mahommedan writers have also recently appeared, but much yet remains to be worked out on modern critical lines before the facts of history are made popular.

with Byzantine culture, through their conquests in Syria and Asia Minor, brought with it a memorable advance in Arab civilisation itself. Many of the treasures of Greek philosophy and science were preserved for future ages to mankind by the zeal and energy and cosmopolitan spirit of the scholars of Damascus and Baghdad under the rule of the Khalifas. An area of tolerance and freedom was made open for intellectual advance in western Asia so long as their power lasted.

A second example may be taken from the reigns of the great Ottoman Sultans which followed the capture of Constantinople in 1453. The contact which took place during that period with the powers of Europe, produced a mutual understanding between East and West, and an expansion of civil freedom, which were hardly less remarkable than the military conquests by which that contact was achieved. 'Perhaps no ruler of that age in Christendom', says Professor Bury, 'was so unfeignedly desirous or so sincerely resolute to administer justice as Sulaiman the Magnificent.'

The intermingling of Muhammadan with Hindu culture tells the same historic lesson. The splendid achievements of the rule of Akbar and his immediate successors were due no less to the impact with ancient Indian civilisation than to the young energy and vitality of the Moghul invaders. In that age again large areas of freedom were set open and tolerance prevailed.

To put this important point more clearly in another form, it may be taken as historically proved, that where Islam has gone forth freely upon the pathway of new learning and knowledge (and that pathway is pointed out as a duty in Islamic writings) it has shown powers of assimilation and adaptation to environment, which are the index of liberal progress. It is true that there is another side to the picture, and that there have been periods of exclusiveness following, or preceding, periods of expansion. But when these are examined they are found to be just those in which the assimilative powers of Islam have been checked and a wide and liberal education has been discarded. The wisdom of the command of Muhammad to his followers to 'get knowledge wherever it is to be found' has been verified by experience. When that

command has been widely obeyed Islam has flourished. Contact with new intellectual environments has been the continual safeguard of progressive Muhammadanism.

It may be argued that the expansive periods in Islam have only come after times of brilliant military conquest. This may have been the case in earlier ages, but it is not true for modern times. The 'Young Turk' movement, for instance, which has opened up such wide areas of constitutional liberty, was not the outcome of any great military epoch, but an educational movement pure and simple.

I had the privilege many years ago at Cambridge of an intimate acquaintance with one of the leaders of the recent Turkish Revolution. He told me then that the underlying principle of the whole movement was a frank acceptance and assimilation of the knowledge and science and politics of the West. He was one of the most patriotic Musalmans I have ever met. I knew him in the days when he was a refugee, when nothing could seem more hopeless than a revolution in Turkey, or a reform of Islam in that country. But he was a student of Islamic history and held fast to this one main principle, and by his writings inspired those who followed his teaching with the same central idea. Events have proved conclusively that his diagnosis was correct, and that the remedy which he preached, in season and out of season was not inadequate.

This long historical preface has been necessary in order to show the standpoint of Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, whom I regard as one of the great Indian educationists of last century. He was an historian as well as an Oriental scholar, and much of what I have written above, and my interest in the subject, I owe to him. In order to make his position clear, it will be necessary to sketch his life. This I shall try to do as briefly as possible. Later on I hope to publish a memoir, which I have nearly completed, where a fuller account may be obtained.

Munshi Zaka Ullah was born in the imperial city of Delhi itself in the year 1832. His family had been for many generations teachers of the royal princes of the House of Timur. They had kept up their high traditions of culture and refinement, inherited

from early Moghal days, even in the times of decadence and luxury which ushered in the fall of the Moghal dynasty itself. Young Zaka Ullah could remember Delhi as a purely Oriental City almost untouched by Western civilisation. This fact must be taken into consideration when judging the course which his life afterwards took and the convictions of his old age.

The mother of the young boy was one of the most remarkable ladies in Delhi, wise in judgment, strong in character, and the gentle but firm guide and controller of her children. Zaka Ullah owed to her a debt of gratitude which he felt he could never repay. I have myself seen the tears come into his eyes, in his extreme old age, when he spoke of her. All through his life he never used to take any important decision without first consulting her. He is one of the many examples of great Indians, who were moulded from their earliest days by a mother's love. His father was a cultured scholar of the old type of learning, famous for his Persian Scholarship. All that he had to impart was given freely to his son.

But great changes were taking place in the court and city of Delhi while young Zaka Ullah was growing to manhood. The British power had already advanced from the South-East. The House of Timur, which had been for a long time only a shadow of its former greatness, was crumbling in the dust. The establishment of a British Residency at Delhi brought with it the attempt to foster the new learning of the West in the city of the Moghals. The old Delhi College was founded, and young Zaka Ullah, when only twelve years old, was sent there by his father, and became one of its students. The change from the old court-learning to the new Western sciences must have been bewildering. Zaka Ullah from the first displayed remarkable powers of intellect. These placed him at the head of a brilliant group of fellow-students in mathematics and science. He won prize after prize in these subjects.

Senior to him in age was one of India's most famous mathematicians. Professor Ram Chandra, who afterwards gained a European reputation by his original work in the higher branches of mathematics. The young, clever lad became Ram

Chandra's pupil and to his professor he owed much of his own brilliant success. The respect and friendship which grew up between them, continued unbroken when Ram Chandra in later years became a Christian; indeed it is noticeable throughout the whole of Zaka Ullah's life what friendships he was able to make and maintain with those whose religion differed from his own.

The young student advanced in learning with extraordinary rapidity. At one time he would seem like Bacon to be taking 'all knowledge as his province.' His Arabic and Persian studies were kept up; he laid the foundations of his subsequent knowledge of English and Indian history; he worked at almost every branch of natural science, and he specialised in mathematics. When it is remembered that he was among the first students in North India to break ground in the various forms of Western learning, it will be understood what a remarkable achievement such a course of studies was.

We turn from the brilliant intellectual side of his career to his domestic life and find it altogether loveable. His extreme devotion to his mother has been already mentioned. From her he learnt those qualities of tenderness and consideration for others, which grew more and more as he advanced in years. Added to these was the strictest probity, and an amazing industry. Few Indians have led such a strenuous daily life as he did. Simple in all his habits, he was methodical and regular, and his body, though delicate in outward appearance, was in reality remarkable for its vigour. This was chiefly on account of his abstemious ways. Up to the last year of his life, when he was nearly eighty, he had never had, so he told me, a single illness. It was this alone which enabled him to get through all the work he did. In his old age his face was very beautiful to look upon. There was kindness and simplicity written in every line, and a light in his eyes which kindled as he spoke of his relations and friends. It was always an object lesson in courtesy to go and visit him. The pains he took to provide every comfort for his guests were unsparing. There was an old-world refinement about him which he appeared to have inherited from

his family's long residence in the Moghul Court. It gave an interesting picture of what the life of a gentleman of Delhi used to be like in the olden times.

At the early age of nineteen young Zaka Ullah began his educational work, and for twenty-five years his labours as a Professor and Inspector were incessant. The Mutiny brought for a time its terrible interruption, and Zaka Ullah's family was reduced to the direst straits of poverty. His life was more than once in danger as his name was associated with the new English learning. He rarely referred to these days, and when he did so it was always with a sense of horror; for both as a student of history and also as one who had experienced the decay of the old regime, he knew to what utter confusion the success of the mutineers would have led. The salvation of India could never have come from that quarter.

Soon after the Mutiny, Munshi Zaka Ullah took up his residence at Allahabad, where he had been appointed the first Professor of 'Oriental languages and Science' at the new Government College. Here he endeared himself from the first both with his pupils and his fellow professors. One of the most charming letters I have received in the course of writing his biography, is from his fellow Professor of Sanskrit who is still living in retirement at Allahabad after a laborious life of public service. This is only one among a very large number of examples of the sympathy which existed between Munshi Zaka Ullah and Hindu gentlemen of culture.

My own recollections of my old friend date from the time when I used to see him at the Reading Room in Delhi. On the library roof a kind of literary club used to meet each summer evening to discuss together subjects of common interest. It would have been difficult to find in North India a more distinguished group. Dr. Nazir Ahmad was the recognised leader, and round him would be gathered Musalmans and Hindus, with every now and then some sympathetic English official who came to join in their conversation. Munshi Zaka Ullah's wonderful store of knowledge on all subjects stood him in good stead in such discussions, and I have rarely met any one who was so thoroughly well informed. The group is now broken up.

Munshi Zaka Ullah has passed away. Dr. Nazir Ahmad and Rai Piyare Lal, Sahib, are both unable through ill health to put in an appearance. Among the men of the younger generation there are none who can compare with the 'giants' of bygone days.

What most struck the imagination of us, Englishmen, who used to be present, was the exceeding kindness of toleration, unsullied by a touch of religious bitterness—an atmosphere in which political wisdom could mature and social friendships ripen. In all the many years during which I knew Munshi Zaka Ullah (and during the last years of his life I used to see him almost every day) I cannot once remember hearing a bitter or uncharitable word spoken by him concerning any Hindu or any Hindu religious custom. On the other hand I have continually heard him speak with a deep respect for those who differed from him fundamentally in matters of belief. Wherever he went his influence always made for peace and goodwill.

But to return to the story of his career,—he was intimately associated during his time at Allahabad with the great Aligarh movement under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad. The latter was his close personal friend and rarely took any important step without consulting either him or Dr. Nazir Ahmad. The success of Aligarh was for a long time hanging in the balance. The party of re-action in the North was very strong, and Sir Syed Ahmad's own life was threatened by fanatical mullahs on account of his advanced views. He was openly called an infidel, and sermons were delivered attacking him in many of the mosques. Munshi Zaka Ullah stood bravely by his side during this time of persecution. He was one of the leading members of the Aligarh Institute, and gave the press connected with it the publication of all his earlier books. He was also a trustee and active worker for the College.

In the year 1887 Zaka Ullah retired from active service and gave himself up entirely to literary work. He published many volumes of English and Indian History in a simple, flowing Urdu style, and regarded these, along with his essays and mathematical books, as the literary work by which his

name would be handed down to posterity. How far that hope will be realised remains yet to be seen. Before his death he lamented to me that already the sale of his books had nearly ceased. But though this may now be the case and their popularity may never be revived, it must not be forgotten that he was among the first to undertake the immense task of making known Western education through the vernacular. While other provinces of India were carried along by the stream of a purely English education and regarded English as the only medium of instruction, Munshi Zaka Ullah proved by his own writings that the most advanced Western studies could be taught through the vernacular. Today we see in Bengal the love for the vernacular reviving, and scientific books being written in Bengali. That which is now happening in Bengali was Munshi Zaka Ullah's ideal for Urdu, and he laboured with almost superhuman efforts to bring about its accomplishment. As a stylist he is inferior to his two friends, Dr. Nazir Ahmad and 'Hali,' but his Urdu is singularly free from those artificial mannerisms which had pervaded the written language earlier in the century. He was one of the makers of modern Urdu Literature.

Though himself never using any medium of writing, teaching and conversation except his own mother-tongue, Munshi Zaka Ullah was an omnivorous reader of English books, and had the greatest possible respect for Western science. He was thus a singular and beautiful example of the combination of the past and present, of the East and West. He revered the past with its glorious traditions of Arabic learning and Persian culture; yet he was among the first to recognise the supreme necessity of Western education. He clung tenaciously to his own vernacular and resisted to the last the temptation to abandon it for English, yet he was no obscurantist, wishing to set back the clock of time. Indeed he helped forward with all his energy, as we have seen, the Aligarh movement whose methods on the side of English teaching differed widely from his own.

To the end of his life Zaka Ullah remained true to his beautiful old-world ideal of Indian courtesy and refinement. His

life as he lived it had a dignity and nobility of its own which now seems passing away. New India will hardly produce the counterpart of one who had witnessed with his own eyes in childhood the shadow of the greatness of the past and felt its power over his inner spirit. Modern industrial and commercial Delhi, with its factories and its railways, may have a more vigorous and expanding life in store. Other sides of Indian character will find their emphasis under changed conditions. Yet as we look back upon that past, which is vanishing, we cannot refrain from echoing the words which Wordsworth used in one of his greatest sonnets of another imperial city:—

And what if she had seen those glories fade
Those titles vanish and that strength decay.
Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid
When her long life hath reached its final day.
Men are we and must grieve, when even the shade
Of that which once was great, is passed away.

It is not however merely, or chiefly, as a beautiful example of old-world refinement and courtesy and culture that Munshi Zaka Ullah deserves a place among the great Indians of the nineteenth century. That is, in reality, one of the least of his claims. His real claim to such distinction rests on his single-hearted devotion to the cause of liberal education, and his unswerving fidelity to its principles. This he displayed in times of great perplexity and change, when men's minds around him were wavering and uncertain.

He saw with remarkable clearness of vision, first of all, that his own community must regard India as the true country of its adoption, and in no sense as a foreign land. He disbelieved utterly and entirely in any policy of Muhammadan isolation. Such aloofness he believed to be contrary to the true spirit of his religion. He could not bear the thought that Islam should be regarded, even by its adversaries, as intolerant. He wished to take from it any such rebuke, and to show to the whole world its catholicity. For this reason, he mixed freely himself with those who belonged to other religions both in Allahabad and in Delhi. For this reason again, he remained Indian in every particular, in dress, manner, speech and habits. He held that the vernacular, studied, spoken, loved, as a mother-tongue, was a bond between the two communities

of supreme value, and his whole life was spent in strengthening that bond, though it would have been the easiest thing in the world for one of his ability to have spoken and written in English. Again and again I have heard him discussing this subject with the emphasis and conviction of one who could look back on nearly eighty years of experience. He had an intense patriotism for his own community and worked hard for all institutions which



MUNSHI ZAKA ULLAH.

could raise it educationally. But above all he believed in the education of life itself, of neighbourly relations, of kindly sympathies, of social friendships, of mutual intercourse. His own knowledge of history showed him clearly, that it was in such times of intermingling of thoughts and ideas, when freedom and tolerance of opinion are frankly accepted, that progress, enlightenment and higher culture gain

ground. To put Zaka Ullah's conception in the form of an historical comparison, it was to the reign of Akbar in Indian history, when the Moghul Court was open to all men of ability of whatever race or religion, that he turned for his ideal. If he had been in England he would have been a Liberal of the school of Gladstone and Bright. He would have supported whole heartedly such measures as the Catholic Emancipation Act or the Irish Church Disestablishment.

In the second place, he knew both from his own experience of the decaying Moghul Court of Delhi and from his laborious historical researches, that only by contact with a fresh and younger civilisation could life and vigour flow back into his own community and into India as a whole. He saw from the first that Western education gave that contact in its best and noblest form, and he became its enthusiastic advocate. Indeed his whole life was given up to proving this principle to his fellow countrymen and working it out in practice.

Here again he drew historical comparisons and looked to those periods in Islamic annals, when intercourse between East and West was freest, for the verification of his own ardent hopes. He would turn for instance to the wonderful records of the Saracens in Spain, when Cordova was a centre of light and learning to Western Europe, and say to me with a kindly smile,— 'We are asking back from Europe to-day some payment for the debt you owe to us on account of what we did for you in the Middle Ages. Students from Oxford and Cambridge used to go to Spain to learn from us science and mathematics; now we come to you instead !'

There was more than a kindly humour in such a phrase; there was the recognition of the truth, that knowledge is a universal possession, now held by one race, now held by another for the good of all.

In a noble and generous article, fervent with the passion of conviction, Rabindra Nath Tagore has given us the ideal of India's future,* the ideal of building up GREAT INDIA in which Hindus, Muslims, Englishmen, shall each have their part. In doing so he speaks of the great heroes of last century, men like Ram Mohan Ray, Ranade, Vivekananda,

* See Modern Review, February number 1911.

Bankim Chandra, who lived their lives in the cause of unity. — 'With a wonderfully liberal heart and head', he writes of the first of them, 'he could accept the West without discarding the East; he gave us the eternal heritage of man, the free heritage of truth... Ram Mohan Ray did not keep the soul of India contracted or hedged round; he has made it spread in space and time; he has built a bridge between India and Europe; therefore it is that he still continues as a force in India's reconstruction. No blind habit, no petty pride, could lead him to wage a foolish conflict with the purpose of great Time. Of that purpose which did not expire in the past, but is advancing towards the future, he has borne the banner, like a hero, in scorn of obstacles.'

Such words, in a less conspicuous sphere of life, might almost be applied to the work of Munshi Zaka Ullah. He too has borne the banner of liberal thought in scorn of obstacles. He too has helped to build a

bridge between India and Europe. He too has shown how the West could be accepted without discarding the East. To work for India's greater unity, while remaining at the same time absolutely true and loyal to his own people, was no easy task for one who was brought up in the traditions of the Delhi Court and had to face in early days reaction, bitterness and even hatred in the promulgation of his views. Yet never during all the years of a long life did Zaka Ullah desert his fixed liberal principles, or lose his charitable spirit. 'Blessed are the peacemakers', said Christ, 'for they shall be called the children of God'. — It is with that blessing that I chiefly associate his memory.

And as I recall his pure and beautiful character, so simple, so transparent, so gentle, another beatitude comes before me, the most sacred of all, —

'Blessed are the pure in heart,
For they shall see God.'

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

STATISTICAL THEORY AND INDIAN ANTHROPOMETRY

A new census is approaching, and we shall have new census reports with elaborate statistics. For this reason a short account of statistical theory may perhaps be interesting to some of the readers of the "Modern Review." We must however warn them, at the beginning, that the subject cannot be altogether popular, although we shall endeavour to divest it of technicalities. We wish to be useful to those whose studies, whether in economics or anthropometry or any other subject, compel them to occupy themselves with figures. But it is with the application of statistics to anthropometry in India that I am especially concerned. Very important conclusions as to the dependence of caste on race, have been based on the statistics of a former census. Theory will help us to test how far these conclusions are valid. In explaining the theory some calculations will be necessary, but we shall endeavour to reduce them to a minimum, and to

include nothing but what is indispensable for those who wish either to engage in statistical work themselves or to judge, intelligently the work of others. Two technical terms will often occur, cephalic index and nasal index. For a full definition the reader must consult some book on anthropology such as Haddon's "Study of Man", but briefly we may say that the cephalic index is one hundred times the ratio of the breadth of the head to its length, and the nasal index one hundred times the ratio of the breadth of the nose to its height. To obtain the latter index correctly great care is required in taking the measurement. The head is said to be brachy-cephalic when the cephalic index exceeds 80, and dolicho-cephalic when it is less than 75. If we take the ratio of the breadth to the length of the skull we have the cranial index. It is said to be two units less than the cephalic index which is measured on the living head. The first thing we must

examine is the use of the average, but it is to the average that all statements about indices refer. When it is said, for instance, that the Scandinavians are dolicho-cephalic, this does not mean, as the unwary reader might suppose, that every Scandinavian is long-headed. As a matter of fact many of them are broad-headed. It merely means that if we add the cephalic indices of several Scandinavian heads and divide the sum by the total number measured, the result will be a low index. In every country, in every district, and often in the very same family, will be found broad and long heads. But the anthropologist takes the average of these heads, he may even base his average on two indices, and consider the question whether in this case the "true" average is the mean of the indices or the index of the means.* It is a very interesting question and might well be submitted to a congress of metaphysicians. The standpoint of the anthropologist seeking for his "true" average is not far removed from that of the mediæval scholastic realist. Indeed one of the founders of anthropology, M. Quetelet, considered the unequal heights of men as "the result of measures badly made by nature on an unchanging model."†

Even if M. Quetelet's model man existed, we have no means of knowing his height and seeing how far it agrees with the heights of individual men or their average. It may be said that in the same way we know nothing about any quantity in astronomy except what we can infer from the observations made. This is of course, true at any particular epoch in the history of science. But theory and methods of observation improve, and it may happen that at a later date, we can determine the right ascension of a star with so much greater accuracy that its new value may be considered true in comparison with those formerly assigned. Then looking back on any old set of observations we can notice how far the "true" value agrees with the observed values. This is what Bessel did with the observations made by Bradley a century earlier upon the right ascensions of Sirius and Altair. The difference between the true value and the observed value is called the error of the observation. We find that

(1) the errors are all very small in comparison with the quantity to be measured; (2) positive and negative errors of the same magnitude are nearly equal in numbers; (3) the smaller errors are much more frequent than the larger; (4) the frequency of the errors corresponds to a certain law known as Gauss' law after Gauss who determined it from theoretical considerations. This last result includes the two previous. It is, as Gauss shewed, the consequence of supposing the average to be the most probable value of the quantity sought. We will examine these results one by one, and compare them with the corresponding results in anthropometry.

(1). *The errors are small.* The following typical example is taken from Chauvenet's Astronomy. Out of twenty values of the mean right ascension of *Arietis* on Jan. 1st, 1852, obtained from observations taken at Greenwich Observatory, the greatest is 1hr. 58ms. 50'45s. and the least 1hr. 58ms. 50'24s. That is to say, the extreme values differ by less than a quarter of a second. On the other hand we find that in the same French department cephalic indices vary between 70 and 90, so that the difference of the extreme values is as much as a quarter of the mean. Now it is easy to see that the use of the average leads to theoretical contradictions which however are of no practical importance when the errors are small in amount. For example we have two spheres of the same material. We might find the average sphere by taking the mean of the diameters, or we might weigh the spheres and take the mean of the weights. The two average spheres so obtained can never be identical, but a simple mathematical calculation shews that the difference between them will be very small if the difference between the original spheres was small. Considered as an absolute theoretical rule, the use of the average is self-contradictory, but in practice the discrepancies do not affect the results of the astronomer, since these results are only given to a certain number of decimal places. It is not quite the same in anthropometry. We will quote from Haddon's "Study of Man" an instance to which we have already referred.

* Haddon "The Study of Man" p. 127.

† Bertrand Calcul des Probabilités, Preface, p. xlii.

"For the Mammoth Period, Broca had only two skulls from Eyries, whose indices (nasal) were 40'98

and 55.09. The mean index of these would be 47, but as Broca points out the true average index is the *index of the means* and not the *mean of the indices*; as the nasal height in these cases were 24 and 22 (mean 23), and the breadth 51 and 49 (mean 50), the index of the means is 46."

Thus we have two averages differing by as much as a unit. It is absurd to discuss which of these is the "true" average or to make any use at all of an average derived from only two results. Mere common sense, without mathematical reasoning, shews that it would be foolish for a traveller to attempt to determine the average height of the English from the heights of the first two men he met on landing at Dover. However even in anthropometry the difference of a unit will seldom arise from different methods of finding the average. In fact the difference will usually be much less than a quantity of which we shall shortly speak, the probable error.

(2). Errors of a given magnitude occur equally often in excess and in defect. In other words, the distribution of errors is symmetrical. Perhaps a rough illustration will make this clearer. The true value of a certain quantity is 6, and nine observations give the result to the nearest whole number; 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 8. We see that the average coincides with the true value; there are two errors of a unit in excess and two in defect; there is one error of two units in excess and one in defect. If we supposed there was a constant error affecting all the observations alike, the average would no longer coincide with the true value, but the distribution of errors would still be symmetrical. For instance let all the above numbers be increased by a unit. They become 5, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7, 8, 8, 9. The average is now 7 whereas the true value is 6, so that the average has the error of a unit like the individual observations. But the deviations of these individual observations from the average are the same as before and so the symmetrical distribution is unaffected. It is quite different if we suppose the observations to be 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10. The average is 6 as before, but now there are three negative errors of a unity and only one positive, two negative errors of two units and only one positive. On the other hand there is a large positive

error of four units with no corresponding negative error. Now as a matter of fact it is found that in psychological experiments, the distribution of errors is not symmetrical and Dr. Scripture remarks that since astronomical errors depend in part on psychological factors they too will most likely shew some want of symmetry.* The question has been very carefully investigated by Professor Pearson and after an elaborate series of experiments he has come to the conclusion that there cannot be in all cases a symmetrical distribution of errors†

In anthropometrical statistics, the measurements are very often symmetrical but Professor Pearson has shewn that there is in some cases a distinct departure from symmetry.‡

(3) Smaller errors are more frequent than larger. This is found to be the case in anthropometry. In fact, it is a matter of common knowledge that men of middle height are more numerous than either very tall or very short men.

Before going any further we will illustrate the above points by an example given by M. Queelet, who was, we believe, the first to apply the theory of errors to the statistics of anthropometry. The chest measurements of 5,732 Scotch soldiers are taken. It is found that 3 measure 33 inches round the chest; 19 measure 34; 81 measure 35 and so on. For clearness we arrange the results in the following form:—

	40		
	1082.		
39	1062	935	41
38	753	646	42
37	409	313	43
36	189	168	44
35	81	50	45
34	19	18	46
33	3	3	47

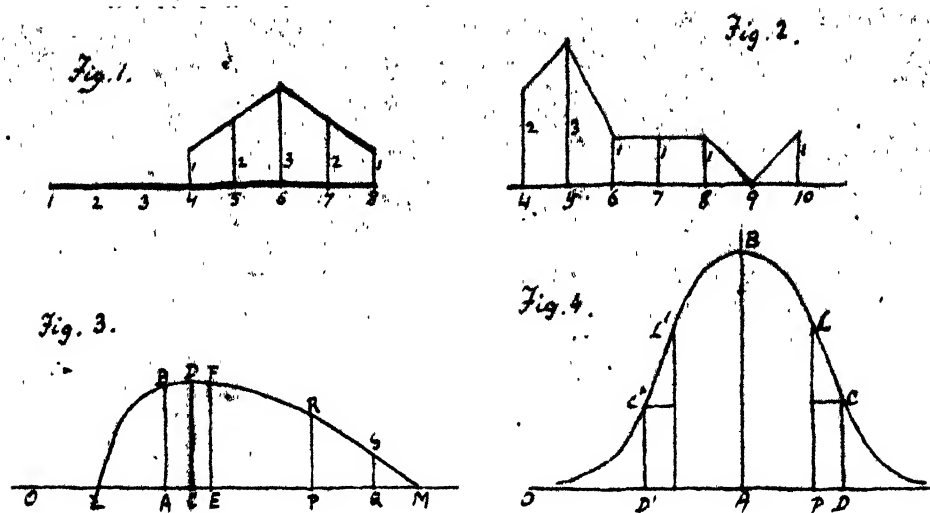
The inches are shewn in the columns on the left and right, the corresponding number of men in the middle columns. At the top corresponding to 40 inches

* Scripture "On mean values for direct measurements" in "Studies from the Sale Psychological Laboratory." Vol. 5.

† Pearson "On the mathematical theory of errors of judgment and on the personal equation", Philosophical Transactions, Vol. 198.

‡ Pearson "Skew Variation in homogeneous material" Philosophical Transactions, Vol. 186.

§ Shephard Philosophical Transactions, Vol. 192.



Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

we find 1082 the greatest number of men. That is to say, there are more men measuring forty inches than either a greater or less whole number of inches round the chest. If we begin at the bottom of the left-hand column and read upwards we find the number of men continually increasing till we read the greatest number at forty inches. But now reading the right-hand column downwards we see that when the number of inches increases beyond forty, the number of men continually diminishes, so that there are only three men measuring 47 inches round the chest just as there were only three measuring 33 inches. The average measurement is 39.8, not an exact whole number, hence we cannot expect to find a close agreement between the numbers of men on the left and right hand sides. There are more men measuring 39 inches than 41 inches and this ought to be the case, since 39.8 is nearer to 39 than to 41. The figures seem to be consistent with symmetry, but whether there really is symmetry, cannot be known without further investigation. As a matter of fact they conform closely to Gauss' law, and this we must now consider.

We will first try to explain what is meant by the curve of frequency. In the imaginary example given above we had nine observations 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 8. The

number 4 and 8 occur once, 5 and 7 twice, and 6 occurs three times. Now choosing any convenient scale let us lay off along a horizontal line the numbers observed, and along lines at right angles the number of times each number is observed, thus at 4 we draw an ordinate of length 1, at 5 an ordinate of 2, at 6 of length 3, at 7 again of length 2 and at 8 again of length 1.—Fig. 1. Now we join the tops of the vertical lines. The joining lines form what is known as the polygon of frequencies. In this case the polygon becomes two straight lines. They are symmetrically situated with reference to the line of length 3 erected at the point 6.

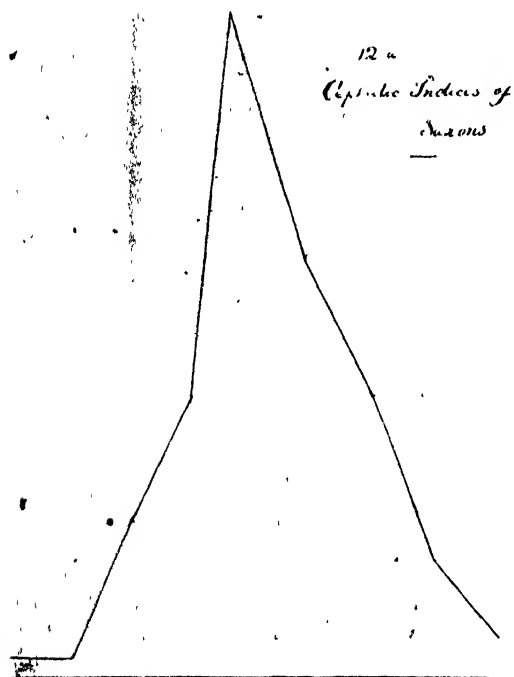
Take now the second imaginary case, where the numbers observed were 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10.—Fig. 2. There is no symmetry about the broken line which indicates the frequencies. At 9 it will be noticed, it sinks to the horizontal line, because 9 has no frequency, that is to say, was not observed at all. The average 6 is the same in both cases, but the distribution of frequencies is very different.

These examples are imaginary and only given on account of their simplicity. The distribution of the cephalic index among the Saxon invaders of England will furnish us with an example drawn from actual facts. We take the figures from Haddon's

"Study of Man." The cephalic indices are shewn in the upper row, and their frequencies in the lower row.

66	68	70	72	74	76	78	80	82
1	1	8	14	33	21	14	6	2

When 14 is said to be the frequency of 72, it means that there are 14 indices lying between 71 and 73. So too, there are 8 indices between 69 and 71. The indices



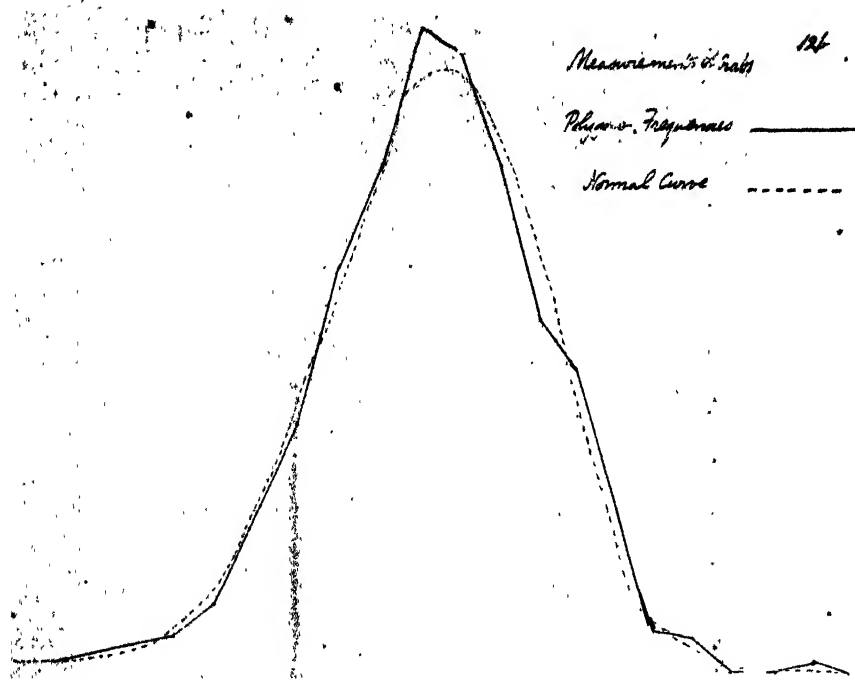
CEPHALIC INDICES OF SAXONS.

which are exactly 71 ought to be entered half under 70 and half under 72, but whether this has been done in the present case, or not, we cannot say. We now choose a convenient length to represent the interval 2 between the successive cephalic indices, and for each index we erect an ordinate proportionate to its frequency. The resulting polygon of frequencies is shewn in the accompanying illustration. Now it is the custom of the mathematician in all kinds of scientific investigation, to replace the polygon which is the immediate result of his observations by a curve. The curve is the limit to which we may suppose the polygon would tend if the number and accuracy of the observations could be increased indefinitely. So in the present

case the polygon of frequency is replaced by a curve of frequency. An illustration taken from a memoir by Professor Pearson will make this clearer.* In the figure the unbroken black line is the polygon of frequencies for certain measurements of crabs. The interrupted line is the curve of frequency. It will be noticed that it never passes very far from the polygon. In this particular case the curve corresponds to Gauss' law of error and is called the normal curve.

Suppose now we have any curve of frequencies.—Fig. 3. Let O in the figure, be the origin from which we mark off lengths proportional to the quantities observed and let PR, QS be any two ordinates of the curve. Then the area PRSQ will be proportional to the number of observations falling between OP and OQ. Thus if we are measuring heights PRQS will be proportional to the number of men whose heights, in terms of the unit of height chosen, is greater than the number of units in OP and less than the number of units in OQ. The total area LBDFRSM will be proportional to the whole number of men measured. If we assume an equation to the curve, we can calculate by mathematics the area PRSQ and see how far the result agrees with actual observation. Thus in the case of Bradley's observations the number of actual errors less than one-tenth of a second was 94 and the number calculated on the assumption of a normal curve 95. The number of errors greater than one-tenth and less than two-tenths of a second was 89 and the number calculated 88. When the curve of frequency is unsymmetrical, as in the figure, there are three ordinates connected with it, which deserve special attention. The first is EF which passes through the centre of gravity of area bounded by the curve and its base; the second is CD the ordinate which divides the area into equal parts and the third AB the greatest ordinate. For each of the corresponding abscissæ there is a special name. OE is called the mean or the average; OC the median, and OA the mode. We may illustrate this by a numerical example. Suppose we have the observations 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13. The average or mean is

* Pearson. Contributions to the Mathematical Theory of Evolution. Philosophical Transactions, Vol. 185.



MEASUREMENTS OF CRABS.

7, since this is equal to the sum 63 divided by 9 the number of the observations. The median is 6, since there are four observations greater than 6 and four less. The mode is 5, since 5, has been observed more frequently than any other number. This however is only a rough illustration, and the correct definitions are those which have just been given with reference to the curve of frequency. Thus the mode is not in general the number which happens to occur most frequently in a particular set of observations, for the frequency of this number may be partly due to accident. We must take the curve which agrees most closely with the whole of the observations and the mode will be the abscissa of its highest point. In other words, it is the highest point of the curve of frequency not of the polygon of frequency which determines the mode. The difference will be clear on looking at the figure for the measurements of crabs.

It is found in anthropometry that if the material is homogeneous, the measurements can generally be represented with great accuracy by a normal curve. This is, as has already been mentioned, the case with the chest-measurements of 5,732 Scotch

soldiers.* In the statistics of height of 25,878 recruits in the United States Army, Professor Pearson finds that "on any reasonable scale there is no sensible difference between the normal and the generalised curves". For the height of 2,192 St. Louis school-girls and for the cranial index of 900 Bavarian skulls, Professor Pearson's unsymmetrical curves agree somewhat more closely than the normal curve with the observations, but the difference is very

slight. It seems then, that a normal curve answers very well in anthropometry. In such a curve, the mode, the median and the mean coincide. When any quantity, such as the declination of a star, has been observed if the errors conform to Gauss' law the true value of the quantity will also coincide with any one of these three values. This does not mean, it is perhaps as well to repeat, that the true value will be the average of any particular set of observations. It means, that if we could take an indefinitely great number of observations, the true value would be their average. Fig. 4. If OA be this true value, then the distances measured along the base-line from A on either side are the positive and negative errors. The reader who has some knowledge of mathematics will notice that the curve is asymptotic to the base line and that there is a point of inflexion at C. If we draw the ordinate CD, then AD is called the standard deviation. Another important ordinate is PL which divides the area on the right-hand side of AB into two equal

* Shephard "On the application of the theory of error to cases of normal distribution and correlation." Philosophical Transactions Vol. 192.

parts. The distance AP is called the probable error, because it is an even chance whether the error of any observation taken at random will be greater or less than AP. Mathematical theory shews that the ratio of AP to AD is $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$ or very nearly two-thirds. Either of the quantities AP or AD will serve as a measure of accuracy of the observations. The errors of a less accurate observer would follow the same law but AP and AD would be greater, so that the curve while retaining the same general form would descend less steeply to its base. In shooting these quantities will indicate the precision of the fire. One half of the markman's bullets will hit the target at a less distance from the bulls'-eye than the probable error and one-half at a greater distance. Or, to speak more accurately, the ratio of the number of bullets hitting at a less distance to the number hitting at a greater distance will tend to equality when the total number of shots is indefinitely increased.*

It is essential in any set of observations to determine the probable error or else we have no indications of their degree of accuracy. This probable error is, as has already been stated, very nearly two-thirds of the standard deviation. To find the standard deviation we add the squares of all the errors, divide by the total number of observations and then take the square root. But there is a less troublesome method of finding the probable error. We add all the errors without regard to sign and divide by the total number. The quantity so obtained is called the mean variation. If now we multiply the mean variation by $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$ we shall have the probable error. Obtained in this way it is not so likely to be correct as when obtained by means of the standard deviation, but the labour of calculation is less. In all scientific work it is usual to publish along with the average either the probable error or the standard deviation or the mean variation. As we have seen, any one of these quantities can be obtained from either of the other two by a simple multiplication. Unless one of them is published it is impossible to tell what reliance should be placed on the observations. The mean of several obser-

vations is more likely to be near the true value than any single observation. According to theory the probable error of the mean can be found by dividing the probable error of a single observation by the square root of the number of observations. Thus the probable error of the mean of nine observations is a third of the probable error of one observation.

In actual practice, the results will not always agree perfectly with the theory of errors. The theory supposes that we have an indefinite number of errors conforming exactly with Gauss' law. In practice we have only a finite number, and the agreement with the law is imperfect. Instead of the whole material we have only samples taken at random. The discrepancies between theory and practice which arise on this account are called the errors of random sampling. According to theory the square of the ratio of the standard deviation to the mean variation should be equal to half the ratio of a circle to its diameter. As might be expected this relation is only approximately true in practice. The average, the standard deviation, the mean variation will all depend on the special set of observations and differ somewhat for another set.

All this will be true even when by some other means we know the real value of the quantity observed. But in most cases we can only determine the value from the observation. We must then find the average and reckon as errors the differences between the average and the separate observations. These will not be the true errors, but the errors from the average, or apparent errors as they may be called. To find the standard deviation these apparent errors should be squared and added and the sum divided by the total number diminished by one. Then the square root must be taken. The rule for finding the mean variation must also be slightly modified when we have to deal with apparent errors, but if the number of observations is large we can in either case without great inaccuracy treat the apparent errors as if they were the true errors and use the rule previously given. An illustration taken from Czuber's "Calculus of Probability" will perhaps make these rules clear. A quantity is known to be 50; ten observations give the values 56, 47, 49,

* This assumes that deviations are equally likely to occur in all directions, which is not strictly correct.

46, 52, 53, 58, 46, 50, 42. The mean of these values is 49.9. To find the true error of 56 the first value observed, we must subtract 50 and we get 6; to find the error from the average we must subtract 49.9 and we get 6.1. The true errors are found to be:

6 -3 -1 -4 2 3 8 -4 0 -8

and the apparent errors:

6.1 -2.9 -.9 -3.9 2.1 3.1 8.1 -3.9 .1 -7.9.

The sum of the true errors is 39 and in this particular case it happens that the sum of the apparent errors is exactly the same number. To find the mean variation from the sum of the true errors we must divide by 10 the number of observations. The result is 3.9. Theoretically the sum of the apparent errors ought to be divided not by 10 but by the square root of 90 the product of 10 and 9. This is nearly 9½. We get 4.1 for our result. To obtain the probable error we must multiply by .845. Calculated from the true errors the value of the probable error is 3.3 and calculated from the apparent errors it is 3.46. If we add the square of the true error we get 219; dividing by 10 and taking the square root we have 4.7 the standard deviation. It is as it ought to be about 1¼ times 3.9 the mean variation. The probable error is two-thirds or 4.7 or nearly 3.1. By using the mean variation we obtained 3.3 and the results nearly agree. Czuber gives 37 observations altogether. Taking thirty of them in sets of ten I get the following results:

Averages.	Mean Variations.	Standard Deviations.
49.9	3.9	4.7
51.4	3.4	4.2
50.5	3.3	4.2

It will be noticed that there is a very fair agreement between the three sets of observations.*

These details are, I am afraid, somewhat dull, but they are indispensable for the right use of statistics. In publishing the results of a series of measurements three things ought to be given: (1) the average, (2) the

* The mathematical reader may note that in the first row of figures the error of the average is much less than it should be theoretically. Hence the rule to divide not by 10 the whole number of observations but by the square root of 90 does not improve the result in their case. This rule is founded on the doubtful assumption that certain products will cancel.

number of measurements, (3) either the mean variation or the standard deviation or the probable error. The average, by itself, is of very little value. Thus Canon Taylor tells us that the inhabitants of Jena have a mean cephalic index of 76.9 and those of Hesse a mean index of 79.2. On this account he thinks that the people of Jena are dolicho-cephalic Germans and the people of Hesse brachy-cephalic Celts. But Canon Taylor gives neither the number of heads measured nor the standard deviation. Without these facts, it is impossible to say whether the difference 2.3 is significant or merely an accident included under what are called "the errors of random sampling." So too, in Sir Herbert Risley's "The People of India" there are many pages of statistics giving averages for the cephalic indices, nasal indices, heights, etc., of the different castes in different parts of India, but in not a single instance is the standard deviation given. The maxima and minima are, no doubt, given but it is a mistake to suppose that this removes the need for giving the standard deviation. We must remember that just as there are differences between individuals of the same class, so there are differences between averages although less in amount. The average height of one group of ten men of a regiment will almost always differ from the average height of another ten men. In the example given above, three sets of ten observations of the same quantities gave three different averages. Now we will suppose that we had no independent knowledge of the value of the quantity observed, that we only knew the averages and wanted to find out whether the true values of the quantities observed were the same or different in the three cases. Of course, this cannot be known with certainty, but by means of the probable errors we can ascertain that there is no good reason to believe them different. The probable error in the first set of observations is 2/3 of 4.7 or 3.1. That is the probable error of a single observation; to find the probable error of the average of ten observations, we must divide by the square root of 10. The result is 1 nearly. In the second set of observations we find the probable error of a single observation 2.8 and the probable error of the average of ten, .9. To find the probable error of the difference between the

two averages the rule given by mathematical theory is to take the square root of the sum of the squares of the probable errors. The square of 1 is 1, the square of '9 is '81 and the square root of 1'81 is nearly 1'4. Now the averages were 49'9 and 51'4, so that 1'5 the difference between only just exceeds 1'4 the probable error. The difference will be less than the probable error if we compare the first and third or the second and third averages. Now on the whole differences less than and differences greater than the probable error ought to occur equally often and no difference much greater than the probable error ought to occur at all. In the present case we conclude that there is no reason to suppose that the true values of the quantities observed are different. It would however be twenty to one that they were different if we found a difference between the averages of 4'2 or three times the probable error.

Now in the statistics of the "People of India" the probable errors, as has already been said, are not given. In the case of some castes, however, there are the means for making a rough calculation. Under the heading "Seriations" an indication of the distribution of frequency is given for these selected castes. We will take as an example the Brahman of the United Provinces and examine the nasal index, since this is an index to which Sir Herbert Risley attaches special importance. The distribution of nasal indices is as follows:—

60—65	10	75—80	24	90—95	4
65—70	17	80—85	13	95—100	1
70—75	25	85—90	5	100	1

To save time we calculate the mean variation rather than the standard deviation. We place the ten indices lying between 60 and 65 at the mid-way number 62'5. On subtracting this number from 74'6 the average we get 12'1 and on multiplying by 10 the number of indices, 121. Proceeding in this way we obtain 648 for the sum of the errors and dividing by 100 the whole number of observations we find 6'5 for the mean variation. The probable error is therefore 5'5 and the probable error of the average of a hundred observations '55. To find the probable error of the difference of two such averages we must multiply by 1'4 the square root of 2. We obtain '77.

Now the next average on the list is that of the Kayasths, which is also for a hundred observation, and may be assumed to have the same probable error. The difference between the average of the Brahmans and that of the Kayasths is '2. On looking at the tables, given in the text-books, we find that there is only one chance in seven that if we had measured another hundred Brahmans, there would have been a less difference. Sir Herbert Risley is then under a mistake when he speaks of the Brahmans being "followed at a slight but yet appreciable interval by the clerkly Kayasths." So far from shewing an "appreciable interval" the results shew the closest agreement between the two castes. The odds are six to one that a greater difference would have been obtained if the average of the Brahmans had been taken twice over. If the reader cares to examine in the same way the figures given in Sir Herbert Risley's table he will find that most of the differences are without significance.

We said above that *if the material be homogeneous* the measurements in anthropometry can generally be represented by a normal curve. As an example of homogeneous material we may take the observation of a single star at a particular date. If, however, the star had a distinct proper motion and the observations at two dates were mixed up together, we should have an example of heterogeneous material. Or again, if we could suppose bullets aimed at two different points of the same target we should have another example.* In anthropometry let us suppose we have two races and that in one the heights vary from 5ft. 8in. to 6ft. 2in. with an average of 5ft. 11in., while in the other the heights vary from 5ft. 3in. to 5ft. 9in. with an average of 5ft. 6in. The material furnished by the measurements would be heterogeneous, but as they would overlap the heterogeneity might not be at first sight obvious. In such a case of course the results will not conform to Gauss' law. Further it is clear the average will be useless as it will indicate nothing about either race. We might try, however, to separate the groups and to determine the average of each. This is a problem of great mathema-

* See Pearson "Philosophical Transactions," vol. 185, p. 91 note.

tical difficulty but it has been solved by Professor Pearson. His solution has, as he himself points out, two defects: first, the decomposition into two groups is not unique as theoretically it ought to be; secondly, the practical work of calculation is very laborious. Indeed to form and solve, as the method requires, an equation of the ninth degree with numerical co-efficients sometimes twelve figures long, requires an amount of energy which may well be called heroic. On this account, Professor Pearson's methods can, it seems to me, only be applied to cases of special interest, not to statistics in general. One of the most interesting cases for us is that of the Row-grave skulls. The skulls which date from the fourth to the sixth centuries are found in the south-west of Germany. They are for the most part dolicho-cephalic and while by some writers they are assigned to the primitive Germanic Aryans, Sergi thinks that they belong to the pre-Aryan population, that is to say, to his Mediterranean Race. Professor Pearson says:

"The frequency-curve for Row-grave skulls is *asymmetrical*. I have succeeded in breaking it up into two components one of which practically coincides in mean and standard-deviation with the frequency-curve for the skulls of modern South Germans. In other words the Row-graves contain a mixed population one element of which corresponds closely to the modern South-German population."

These methods cannot, however, be applied to the statistics of the "People of India," for the number of measurements for each caste hardly even exceeds one hundred and this is too small a number to obtain a satisfactory frequency curve. Under the heading "Seriations" data are given for some castes by means of which rough frequency polygons may be constructed. These sometimes resemble the normal curve and sometimes differ widely from it, but in neither case is it safe to draw any conclusion. Professor Pearson has found that —

"For skull measurements 900 give an excellent curve, 50 a doubly or even trebly peaked polygon."

This may happen when the material is homogeneous. But on the other hand, he remarks that heterogeneous material may apparently give a normal curve:—

"It seems to me that without very strong grounds for belief in the homogeneity of any statistical material, we ought not to be satisfied by its representations by the ordinary normal curve simply because the

results are symmetrical and fit the normal curve fairly well. We ought to ascertain whether or not they would fit still better the sum or difference of two normal curves."

There is, however, a very simple and obvious test of the average. Take at random some ten or twenty measurements and see whether they give nearly the same average as the whole series. Dr. Collignon, who has determined the cephalic indices for all the departments of France, found that in each department the average of the first ten measurements never differed by more than a unit from the average of all the measurements. When, as often happens in the "People of India," one hundred measurements have been taken, it would give little or no additional labour to add them in sets of ten, and then the average of each ten would be obvious on inspection. However, so far as appears, neither this nor any other step has been taken to test the value of the average.

Although the statistics of the "People of India" do not help us, there is every reason on other grounds to believe that the groups whose averages are there given are not homogeneous. Indian readers know, what possibly many English anthropologists do not know, that a caste is not the same thing as an endogamous group. According to Crooke there are twenty-one sub-castes among the Brahmans, but the number of endogamous groups must be much larger. How large it is, I do not know, and I have never met any one who does. The Kayasthas are much more nearly homogeneous, but even among them there are twelve sub-castes, and since some of these are further divided the number of endogamous groups amounts, I believe, to twelve. In Bengal, the Kayasths, though their marriage rules are rather complicated, may be considered from the point of view of heredity as a single endogamous group. This shews how the same caste-name may imply different things. Among the Chamars too there are several distinct branches which do not intermarry. A Chamar in Allahabad will tell you there are seven divisions in his caste, for, as Mr. Nesfield remarks, the number seven is a favourite, but there are more than seven if we count all the divisions in the United Provinces. These branches differ from one another in occupation and

customs. They do not all tan hides nor do they all eat beef and vermin, as a reader of the "People of India" might suppose. On the contrary, in two of the branches at Allahabad the eating of impure food is as strictly forbidden as among the higher castes. This confusion of different groups under one heading is all the more surprising as Sir Herbert Risley rightly considers one of the conditions favourable to an anthropometry in India to be that the population "is broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside of the group to which they themselves belong." Obviously this advantage is entirely lost, if the statistics of the "mutually exclusive aggregates" are mixed together. The reader acquainted with India when he sees an average, given under the heading "Brahman", naturally inquires: "What Brahmans?" A Brahman may be in occupation either a High Court judge or a pankha coolie, a field labourer or a professor. In caste, he may be a Kanaujia or Maithila, or a despised Mahabrahman who is compelled to live outside the village. There are very few headings in the "People of India" to which similar remarks do not apply. "Bania" for instance is an absurd heading; there are many trading castes such as Khattris, Dhusars and Agarwalas, and they may all be called Banias, but there is no such thing as a "Bania" caste.

The practical conclusions to which we have so far come are: (1) with every average the mean variation or standard deviation should also be given, (2) the average should be tested by comparing it with the average of the first ten or twenty measurements. If the raw materials on which the statistics of the "People of India" are based still exist, this might be done. Some improvements might also be made in the "Seriations."

We have been applying to statistics the theory of errors used in astronomy. Now this theory is only true for accidental errors, not for the errors which are called "constant" or "systematic." A chronometer which moves too fast is an example of a constant error. It will affect all the observations and will not be reduced by taking the average. The astronomer can correct

constant errors if he knows them. But there may be unknown constant errors, and these will completely vitiate any results drawn from the theory as the following example given by M. Bertrand will shew:—

"After calculations of immense length Encke found from the observations of the transit of Venus in 1761 a parallax of the Sun amounting to $8''.49$ with a probable error of $.06$. Consequently the odds were 300,000 to 1 that the error would not be as much as $.42$ or seven times the probable error. Nevertheless astronomers now accept $8''.91$ as the value of the parallax, which corresponds exactly to the error $.42$."

So too in statistics the results will not correspond to the theory of errors, unless the distribution is really a random one, not influenced by any constant factors. An illustration, again taken from M. Bertrand, will make this clearer. We will suppose that in a certain country the conservative voters are to the liberal voters in the population of 9 to 11 and that each constituency consists of 20,000 voters. The probable distribution of these votes will be 9,000 for the conservative and 11,000 for the liberal candidate, and the deviation from these numbers, either in excess or defect, is likely to be less than 50. Now it would require a deviation of 1,000 in excess to give the conservative a majority. The chances against this are enormous, so that it may be said to be a practical impossibility. Still we know that at elections the majority of voters, although its representatives are not in proportion to its numbers, always elects some of its candidates. The reason is that a constituency is not a "random distribution" of voters. "The calculation assumes that we have all the electors inscribed on a single list, and take 20,000 names at random to form a constituency. But this is not what really happens. The elections of the same district or the same town having common interests and undergoing the same influence do not in the least resemble voters taken from all parts of the country without any relation to one another."

Now when we wish to determine the average cephalic index of any caste, such as the Brahman, we want to have a really random distribution. We do not want the group measured to be peculiarly brachy-cephalic or dolicho-cephalic as constituencies are conservative or liberal, but we want it to consist of brachy-cephals

and dolicho cephals in the same proportion as in the caste generally. Now the following systematic errors may affect the determination of the average cephalic or nasal index of a caste: (1) *Locality*. Dr. Collignon formed different cephalic indices for the different departments of France, so that it is extremely probable that in the United Provinces the average indices must vary from district to district. Unfortunately in the "People of India" the entries under the heading "locality" are in general very vague, as for example "United Provinces," "Behar", "Eastern Bengal", "Western Bengal", and sometimes merely "Bengal". If we compare the average cephalic and nasal indices of the Brahmans, Goalas, and Chamars of the United Provinces with those of the same castes in Behar, we find that in all three cases the Beharis have broader heads and finer noses. It seems likely that if the indices change on crossing from the United Provinces into Behar, they will also change in passing from one end of the United Provinces to the other. The indices of two castes will therefore only be comparable if the subjects measured have been taken from the same locality. (2) *Social position and occupation*. There seems reason to believe that in England the professional classes are more brachy-cephalic than the working classes. In Japan it has been noticed that the higher classes have finer noses than the lower. Now in India members of the same castes may occupy very different social positions, as has already been pointed out for the Brahmans. (3) *Age and sex*. These factors ought not to be ignored. How far they would affect cephalic or nasal index has not, I believe, yet been ascertained.

Another systematic error of a different kind is that which arises from the individual observer. Two observers do not get quite the same results. In measurements of nasal indices there seem to be very great

differences, for I find from the tables in the "People of India" that one observer gives for the Kukis of Rangamati the value 85 and another 91.1. For the Chakmas the values given are 84.5 and 90.9; and for the Tibetans 73.9 and 82.2. It is true the number of subjects measured was small, but still the differences must far exceed the probable errors. On referring to the tables, it will be seen that the differences of the corresponding cephalic indices are only .2, .3, .8, .3, while those of the nasal indices are 6.1, 6.4, 8.3. The existence of such large differences between independent observers excites doubts as to the accuracy of the values of the nasal index.

A few references may be of use to readers interested in the theory of statistics. Those who have a moderate knowledge of mathematics will find M. Bertrand's "Calculus of Probabilities" very clear. It is in French, but I do not know of any English book so good. Two excellent articles, meant especially for experimental psychologists on the use of the average, have been published by Dr. Scripture in Vols. II and VII of "Studies from the Sale Psychological Laboratory." These articles will be all the more useful to non-mathematicians as the writer himself says "he is not a mathematician, but is obliged to solve practical problems." The recent developments of statistical theory by Professor Pearson are given in his articles in the "Philosophical Transactions." Even those who cannot follow the difficult mathematical theory may study his curves with profit. He has given an account of his results, without mathematics in "The Chances of Death." The classical theory of errors is explained in the text-books of Airy and Merriman and in Chauvenet's "Astronomy." Czuber's Works in German are clear and good.

HOMERSHAM COX

February, 24th, 1911.



RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

From a photograph by Babu Hiralal Sen, Santiniketan.

"BIDAY"

(FAREWELL.)

Mother darling ! let me go, Oh ! let me go !
In the dim and early dawn,
When you stretch your empty arms
And cry 'O Baby mine',
I shall whisper 'Baby is not here.'
Mother darling, let me go!

I shall be as a breath of the blowing wind
And pass by your breast in a sigh.
You never can hold me fast in your arms :
I shall be a wave of the water
And none can ever know what I am.
When you bathe I shall play all around you.

When at night the rain falls down in showers
You will lie in our bed alone and think of me :
The patter of rain on the leaves will be my voice.
I shall flash in lightning through your windows—
Do you think you will know my wild laughter then ?

When the night is late and dark
And you are wakeful and sad
I'll be a star and softly whisper 'Sleep, mother dear !'
When at last you are sleeping worn and tired
I'll be the moonbeam that rests on your bed
And kiss your sweet closed eyes.

If your eyelids are open ever so little
I shall come peeping in as a dream,
And love you while you're asleep.
Then you will wake with a start
And feel for me in the bed,
But I shall have vanished, where nobody knows.

In the Puja holiday time
Children will come to play in our garden
Saying 'Baby is not in this home.'
Even then in the sound of the flute
I shall pass through the sunlit sky
And follow you in all your work in the house.

When aunty comes and questions you
—With holiday presents in her hands—
'Sister, where has your baby gone ?'
Say to her, 'Baby is everywhere,
He is in the pupils of my eyes,
He is on my breast and rests in my lap.'

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Translated by the author and A. K. Coomaraswamy.

THE CRISIS OF 1873 IN AUSTRIA AND GERMANY

DURING the period 1869-1872 the economic environment in the Western world underwent a radical change. The invention of new processes and the introduction of new economics in the iron and steel industry, the extension of the railroad area, the greatly increased facilities of marine transportation, the improved organization in financial and commercial business—all these factors gave rise to an industrial activity the like of which was never before experienced in the economic history of the world. It was a period of extraordinary, almost universal, inflation of prices, credit and business. A general illusion of enormous profits in every description of business overtook the community. Syndicates and companies cropped out every hour to bring out new loans and fresh undertakings. Vast operations were carried on in the great stock exchanges, often by fictitious dealings in securities. "Finance and Industry alike," says a British historian, "rose to a high pitch of excitement."^{*}

The general economic changes alluded to affected Austria and Germany as well as other countries of the Western world. But Germany could not participate in the new industrial activity arising out of those changes as early as the other countries could do. The Franco-Prussian war, for a while, diverted the attention of the German people from the arts of peace to the arts of war. But the loss thus suffered by Germany was more than compensated by the victory at Sedan and the exaction of an enormous indemnity. The payment by France of an indemnity of £220,000,000, created a powerful fund of financial energy in Germany, which profoundly affected the motion of the wheel of industry in that empire. "The French indemnity," says an American economist, "was so much capital

in the form of goods, money, industrial power, and financial obligations transferred from France to Germany."^{*} A large part of the indemnity was used by the German Government in paying off the public debts, and ready capital became so abundant in Germany that banking institutions of note almost begged for the opportunity to place loans with business men at rates as low as one per cent.[†] These cheap loans coupled with the new national enthusiasm gave an extraordinary impetus to industrial activity which culminated in speculative promotion and over-investment. Old establishments were enlarged; and all sorts of new enterprises sprang up throughout the country.

The abundant supply of capital in Germany influenced the course of economic development not only in the Fatherland but also in the contiguous kingdom of Austria. Her securities found a wide market in Germany, and drew a considerable amount of German capital into her territory. Thus since 1872 the development of speculation in Austria and Germany went hand in hand. It should, however, be noted that the inauguration of the new industrial activity in Austria was not simultaneous with that in Germany. Austria had already been in the midst of a "boom" as early as 1869 owing to activities displayed in the development of agriculture and transport industries. In Austria, between 1867 and 1873, 1005 stock companies were chartered with a capital of 4 billion gulden. The banking capital rose from 190 in 1866 to 508 million gulden in 1873, and in the four months before the crisis 15 new banks were started with a paid up capital of 72 million gulden. About 750 million rupees of foreign capital flowed into Austria-Hungary between 1871 and 1873. From these facts it is not unreasonable to

^{*} Leone Levi—*History of British Commerce*—P. 498.

^{*} Taylor in *The Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago University)—Vol. 12, P. 383.

[†] Wells' *Recent Economic Changes*, P. 5.

conclude that capitalisation took a decidedly speculative character. The capitalistic extension was most conspicuous in transportation. Thus between 1860 and 1870, while the mileage of the United Kingdom increased to the extent of 50 per cent., and that of France and Germany to the extent of 65 per cent., that of Austria increased over 100 per cent. Between 1866 and 1873 the paid up railroad capital increased from 506 to 937 million gulden, and railroad bonds increased from 545 to 1434 million gulden.

Further light on speculative promotion and over expansion of capitalisation in Austria will be thrown by a study of the stock exchange operations in that country. Thus the dealings on the Vienna bourse rose before the crisis to two million shares or a sum of fifty million gulden. The listings rose from 152 in 1857 to 605 in 1873, and the number of frequenters of the bourse rose from 900 in 1857 to 3,300 in 1873. The sale of stocks was furthered by the declaration of fabulous dividends and by "wash sales" on the Exchange.

In Germany, in 1871, 265 companies were registered with a capital of over a billion marks, of which much more than half was invested in banks and railroads. In the next year companies with a total capital of a billion and a half marks were started. Half the amount of this capital sum was invested in banks, railroads, and building and real estate businesses. In Prussia alone 687 new joint-stock companies were founded during the year 1872 and the first six months of 1873 with an aggregate capital of rupees 1,443,135,000. The nature of business activity in Prussia at that time is well indicated by the fact that while between 1790 and 1867 only two or three stock companies were founded each year and from 1867 to 1870 the yearly average increased only to 18, in the year 1871 as many as 259 companies were started and in 1872 the number of companies registered was 504.

The facts stated above clearly indicate that in the period in question there was an extraordinary expansion of credit and business in Austria and Germany incident to a "good" time in industrial activity inaugurated by a general change in the economic environment of the Western world and

stimulated by the payment of a large indemnity by France to Germany at the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war.

This extraordinary expansion of credit and business was followed by a crisis. The explanation is that the promotion of businesses was largely speculative and that investment over-stepped its legitimate limits; and the result was over-production and crisis. We have no statistical facts at our disposal to show that over-production did occur in this case, but the following quotation from Levi unmistakably points to the conclusion that demand, potential or actual, fell short of supply, potential or actual. Referring to the high business-activity preceding the crisis of 1873 in Europe and America Levi says:

"Was there any solid reason for expecting so sudden a revival of trade? Was the population of Europe, Asia, Africa or America richer and better than they previously had been, to warrant the expectation that their requirements would be so much greater?"

Alas, there was no real reason for entertaining any such hopes."*

The crisis first broke out in Austria with a crash in the Vienna Exchange. The following account of the Exchange, in the time of the crisis from the pen of a distinguished Austrian economist, will give a clear idea of the situation:

"On the days of May 8 and 9, 1873, the Vienna bourse was under a reign of terror. The tumultuous scenes of a revolution were enacted. The raging passion of the unfortunates beggared description. The keynote of these days was the rapid head-long depreciation of an overwhelming majority of the securities listed. The business of the Exchange stopped completely. Chaos reigned. Despair took possession of the speculators. On the day of the great crash many of the curbstone brokers seized the highly respectable 'closet' bankers by the throat and shrieked with dying despair for the return of their all of which promoters had robbed them. Others were bereft of reason by the sense of their horrible ruin and sought an end of misery in suicide."†

The crisis at Vienna brought about a fall of securities in Breslaw, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Berlin. It has been calculated that the fall in the value of the principal securities at the Berlin Exchange amounted to 131,138,000 thalers. And the actual paid up capital of companies which failed or liquidated was 360 million gulden.

* *History of British Commerce*, P. 498.

† "Promotion before the Trusts" in the *Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago University) Vol. 12, P. 383.

The disaster that overtook Germany has been described by Wells in the following words:

"Great fortunes melted away, industry became paralysed, and the whole of Germany passed at once from a condition of apparently great prosperity to a depth of financial, industrial, and commercial depression that had never been equalled."*

The crisis was followed by a period of depression, at the end of which business was restored to its normal condition. If now we take an historical perspective we are forced to admit that the speculative business promotion of 1869-72, in Austria and Germany, while it caused great loss to these countries, has done greater good to them. For is not the industrial position of

centemporary Germany due mainly to the industrial activity of 1871-73? It will also be agreed that whatever progress Austria has made in the field of manufactures and transportation may almost entirely be attributed to the industrial activity of the same period. The explanation is that the great investments, although they were in advance of the demands of the time,—and hence the crisis—were not in advance of the demands of the near future. During the period of depression these investments did not yield any adequate return, but after the period of depression was over the invested capital was useful in the development of resources and in making increased production available.

Recent Economic Changes, P. 5.

SATISH CHANDRA BASU.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHTS AND EVENTS

(February and March)

THE PROBLEM OF IRISH AUTONOMY.

THE most important event in the month's Parliamentary story is the full-dress debate in the House of Commons upon the Irish Home Rule question, in the second week of February. This question has been in the air, so to say, for some time past. The set-back that it received during Mr. Gladstone's last Administration, has gradually worked itself out. The old opposition has lost a good deal of its venomous edge. That opposition had received a good deal of its moral strength from the Fenian outrages that culminated in the Phoenix Park murders. These outrages, though they undoubtedly brought home to the English people the extreme gravity of the Irish situation, yet naturally failed to cow them down into anything like a willingness to submit to the Irish demands. The numerical and financial strength of the English over the Irish was too palpable and assured for these outrages to demoralise the English public and lead them to give in to Irish agitation. On the contrary, these outrages called out all the natural obstinacy of the Anglo-Saxon, and set it up

against the Irish leaders, who, under other circumstances, might have found their proposals for a peaceful settlement, furthered by them. This was, really, the psychology of the situation in 1890-91, in regard to the Irish Home Rule question. For nearly twenty years, therefore, the Irish cause seemed to be without any strength or hope, in the British Parliament. The hopelessness was, of course, only apparent; and while the enemies of their cause publicly voted it dead and buried, its faithful friends and adherents were only biding their time. They had fully recognised the futility of exciting physical strife with their dominant partner. The old campaign of political violence, practically ceased. On the other hand, a new thought possessed the national mind,—a new socio-political philosophy which recognised on the one side, the futility of physical contest, and, on the other, equally, saw the hopelessness of seeking redress for Irish wrongs from a generous British Ministry or a sympathetic British Parliament; and which, therefore, proclaimed a new gospel, the gospel of self-help and self-reliance to the Irish people. This new

thought recognised that the root of Ireland's weakness and misfortune was moral and economic, instead of political. The chief evil from which Ireland suffers is her slow but sure denationalisation. The old Fenian spirit denuded of its excessive political emphasis and its faith in muscle more than in mind and conscience, at once found a new outlet in this new thought. The sensitive patriotism and impatient idealism which had at one time sought expression through lawless and revolutionary activities, now found legitimate outlet in the revival and re-organisation of the intellectual, moral, and economic elements of the Irish national life.

The Irish language was revived; Irish customs were revived; Irish industries were revived; Ireland now commenced to seek to be purely Irish in mind and body before merely seeking to be autonomous in politics and administration, which was recognised to be now not only impossible, but useless or even worse than useless, unless those more substantial elements of national life were previously built up. It seemed like trying to save the body of the nation, while its soul was completely lost. And the removal of the old excessive political emphasis from the ideals and activities of Irish patriotism, which had found expression through political outrages, cleared the way, to a very large extent, before Mr. Redmond and other Irish Parliamentarians, for a peaceful and constitutional settlement of the political problem in Ireland. There is not much love lost between the Nationalists, represented by Mr. Redmond, and the Young Ireland Party,—non-political and national—who have been organising themselves under the name of Sinn Féin, a term that corresponds to your own Svadeshi. But though each denounces the other, it is impossible to deny that practically they are lending a moral strength to each other indirectly and unconsciously, without which the work of the other would have been infinitely more difficult, if not absolutely hopeless. This fact should be borne in mind by those who desire to get a real insight into the psychology of the Irish question as it stands to-day.

THE CHANGE AT WESTMINSTER.

At Westminster itself, also, the circumstances have wonderfully changed since the

defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, which practically sent the Liberal Party into the wilderness for so many years. When the Liberals came to power in 1906, they had at their back a phenomenal majority, which made the Ministry absolutely independent of every other Party in the House of Commons. But the General Election of January, 1910, reduced that independent majority to the zero point. The numerical strength of the Parties in the last Parliament stood thus:—

Liberals.....	275
Unionists.....	273
Labourites ...	40
Nationalists...	82

The balance of power in the conflicts of British Party politics was thus once more transferred to the Irish Nationalists. Once more they secured the position they had occupied in 1892, when through their help alone, Mr. Gladstone was able to command a small majority of 42 in the House of Commons. But the position of the Irish was even better in 1910 than what it had been in 1892. For while in 1892 the Liberals were a consolidated body, they were not so in 1910. A new Party, the Labourites, had, in the meantime, sprung into independent and organised existence. The Radicals, though still clinging to their old Liberal friends, and not officially organised into a separate Party, yet had formed a small group among themselves with the late Sir Charles Dilke at their head. And all these circumstances combined to place the Liberal Government in 1910 more completely at the mercy of the Irish Nationalists than any Liberal Government had ever been before. The only possibility of their freeing themselves from the domination of the Irish Nationalists lay in a coalition, that would, however, at once break up the already divided Liberal Party, and lead to a formidable opposition composed of the Radicals, the Labour-Socialist Party, and the Irish Nationalists; and in the present temper of the country, it is exceedingly doubtful if even a Liberal Unionist Coalition could be safely worked out, and could help to keep the Radical and Socialist groups, aided by the Irish Nationalists, out of office and power for long. Neither Liberals nor Unionists are,

therefore, likely to favour such a foolish coalition equally suicidal to the interests of both the Parties. Such a coalition may,—indeed, as I have repeatedly said, will be sure to,—come some time in the future. But it is unthinkable today. Consequently, the only course left to the Liberal Government was to unite with the Nationalists and the Labourites, and thus form, not a Coalition Ministry, but a coalition majority in the House. And such a union or coalition meant the acceptance by the Liberal Government of the most fundamental planks in the programme of the Nationalist Party, if not of those of the Labour Party also, as part of their own Party platform. Mr. Asquith saw, upon the dissolution of his first Parliament in December, 1909, the impossibility of his securing an independent majority in the House like the one he had after the Election of 1906. It was clear that the Liberal Majority would be seriously reduced. And this prospect led him to make that significant declaration in regard to Irish Home Rule in his Albert Hall Speech in December, 1909. It was a cleverly worded declaration. It said everything that the Nationalists wanted, yet was capable of being so construed as to mean really nothing. The uncertainties of the situation, the impossibility of definitely forecasting the results of the impending General Election, necessitated this clever combination of pledges and reservations in the Premier's Albert Hall statement—pledges that, when more definitely expressed in statutory forms and phrases, might, if needed, practically brush away the reservations, and reservations which, if the necessity arose to do so,—being properly explained and emphasised, might practically nullify the pledges. That all these diplomatic possibilities were fully covered by Mr. Asquith's pronouncement, was soon proved by the attempt made within a few weeks by the Chief Liberal Whip to explain away and whittle down the Premier's pledges regarding Home Rule, immediately the North Country Elections—where the Irish vote counted a good deal—were over. The results of the General Election of January, 1910, however, created other necessities. The Liberal Government was placed by this Election, completely at the mercy of the Irish Nationalists, Mr. Redmond be-

came the master of the parliamentary situation at Westminster. The next Election worked no change in the position of the Liberal Government. And consequently that Government, in the interest of its own life, has now to openly avow its adherence to its old pledge and proclaim that as soon as the Lords' Veto question is settled, it will bring in an Irish Home Rule Bill.

THE MEANING OF HOME RULE.

The promise has been easy to make. All promises, indeed are so, especially in politics. But it is very far from clear as yet as to what the real meaning of this Home Rule, which Mr. Asquith promises to grant to Ireland, really is. In his Albert Hall Speech,—and he quoted it again in the present Debate,—Mr. Asquith said :—

"Speaking on behalf of my colleagues, and I believe, of my Party, the solution of the problem, (of Ireland) can be found only in one way,—by a policy which while explicitly safeguarding the supreme and indefeasible authority of the Imperial Parliament, will set up in Ireland a system of full self-government in regard to purely Irish affairs. There is not, and there cannot be any question of separation. There is not, and cannot be any question of rivalry or competing supremacy; but subject to these conditions, that is the Liberal policy."

Speaking in course of the recent debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith was in some way more explicit and definite than he was in his Albert Hall Speech of December, 1909. He said :

I have said before, and I repeat, that I think the case of Ireland is a case of paramount urgency and importance, and I believe that by the policy that I have presented to the country on behalf of my friends and supporters at both General Elections, we can only arrive at a satisfactory solution of this standing problem *by creating in Ireland an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive responsible to that Parliament dealing with purely Irish affairs, and subject always to the condition that Mr. Gladstone laid down, and, which every supporter of Home Rule has adopted up to this time—that the indefeasible supremacy of this Imperial Parliament must be maintained.*

The italics of course are mine. They are meant to emphasise the actual character of Mr. Asquith's Irish policy. Part at least of this statement had already appeared in the press here, supplied by Mr. John Redmond himself, as the definite demand of his party and his people. Mr. Redmond had repeatedly said, during the last few weeks, that what the Nationalists in Ireland wanted was an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive responsible to that Parlia-

ment. In course of an article in the February number of "T. P.'s Magazine" Mr. Redmond proved that this has been the ideal of every nationalist leader from the time of Isaac Butt. The Nationalists in Ireland are not separatists: they have no desire to cut themselves away from the larger life of the Empire. They want to be in the Empire, but not as a dependent and subject people, but as a self-governing unit. In answer to the question "What we mean by Home Rule"—Mr. Redmond says:—

"We mean an Irish Parliament with an Executive responsible to it, created by act of the Imperial Parliament and charged with the management of purely Irish affairs, such as land, education, local Government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law, justice, police, etc. etc. etc., leaving to the Imperial Parliament in which Ireland would continue to be represented, but probably in smaller numbers, the management as at present of all Imperial affairs, such as army, navy, foreign relations, customs, Imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, and all those other questions which are Imperial and not local, in their nature; Imperial Parliament also, of course retaining an over-riding supreme authority over the new Irish Legislature such as it possesses today over all the various Parliaments in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other portions of the Empire."

It is not at all difficult to understand the meaning of Mr. Redmond's statement. On the face of it, it seems also to be almost identical with what Mr. Asquith declares must be done, if the Irish question is to be satisfactorily and clearly solved. Yet when one reads the speech of the Premier in the last debate, one hesitates to come to a very clear and convincing conclusion regarding what he actually means. He says definitely that there must be an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive responsible to that Parliament for purely Irish affairs. So far his meaning is clear, but the moment one seeks for any definite enunciation as to what these "purely Irish affairs" are, that are to be handed over absolutely to the management of the Irish people themselves,—one finds oneself in a confusing labyrinth of words and phrases that might mean almost anything or nothing. Mr. Asquith quoted in his last Speech, not only from his Albert Hall speech of 1909, but also from an earlier pronouncement of his in 1901. In 1901, Mr. Asquith proposed a scheme of devolution, similar to what is known in India as local self-government, as the right solution of the Irish question.

Lord Macdonnell (then Sir Anthony Macdonnell) then almost fresh from his place at the head of the Government of the United Provinces, was appointed Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1902, mainly for working out this scheme of devolution. The devolution scheme was, thus, not a specially Liberal policy. The Unionist Government in 1902 were not unwilling to try and see if that would satisfy "the reasonable" aspirations of the Irish Home-Rulers. We all know the failure of that attempt. Mr. Asquith says even in his present speech, that this policy, as embodied in his Irish Council Bill, "did not commend itself to the general opinion in Ireland and it commended itself less to the Unionist Party here,"—and therefore, "it had to fall to the ground."

DEVOLUTION AND HOME RULE.

And the most perplexing question that rises in the mind of the impartial observer, after reading Mr. Asquith's last pronouncement in regard to Irish Home Rule is,—what is the real difference between the old devolution scheme and the Home Rule now proposed by the Prime Minister. He quoted his Lady-bank Speech of 1901, as an evidence of the continuity of his own policy in regard to Irish Home Rule. In making this quotation the Prime Minister declared—"I said then and I say it now:—

The problem of Irish Government is as serious and as intractable as it ever was. Indeed, in some ways the problem grows more complicated and more perplexing as it is more clearly seen to be closely bound up with the efficiency of our Parliamentary machinery, and the relations of the different parts of the empire to the centre and to one another. I believe as clearly as ever I did that the two governing principles which I have preached among you, my constituents, ever since I represented you, are the necessity of maintaining the universal, absolute, and unimpaired supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and, subject to that condition, the policy of giving as large and as liberal a devolution of local powers and local responsibility as statesmanship can from time to time devise. (Cheers.)

It is evident, thus, that even by proposing to set up an Irish Parliament and an Irish executive responsible to that Parliament, for dealing with purely Irish affairs, Mr. Asquith really does not mean anything substantially different from Lord Macdonnell's Devolution Scheme. On the other hand, it is equally clear that Mr. Redmond, in accepting the Prime Minister's pledges

on the subject, interprets these pledges in his own way. Mr. Redmond denies that he is a separatist. I think the denial is absolutely sincere and honest. Ireland can gain absolutely nothing by a separate and independent political existence, that she may not and will not gain by being a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. On the contrary she will risk much. It is surely far better to be an equal partner in a large empire like that of the British, than to be a small and insignificant Republic, like Switzerland, for instance, whose autonomy will practically be dependent upon the interested forbearance of her larger and stronger neighbours. Mr. Redmond and his party fully understand this. It is only those whose sentiment is permitted to weaken their far-sight and broad statesmanship, who would be opposed to Mr. Redmond's policy. There are, I think, a section of the Irish people whose bitterness against the British is too strong and deep-rooted to allow them to think calmly and dispassionately of Mr. Redmond's statesmanly policy. But even they would not oppose Mr. Redmond's policy if it leads to the institution of true Home Rule in Ireland and there is no doubt that whatever Mr. Asquith may or may not mean, Mr. Redmond's ideas on the subject are clear and sound. Mr. Redmond means by Home Rule, Colonial Self-Government. "Ireland's demand," said Mr. Redmond in the course of the present debate—"is for full legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament." What are "purely Irish affairs" would, of course, be defined by statute constituting the new Irish Parliament. Mr. Redmond did not care to enter into any detailed and definite consideration of this. "That question," he said, "rests in the hands of the present Imperial Parliament." And the Irish leader, knowing that, for a pretty long time to come, he and his Party would be the real masters of this Parliament, need have no fear that these "purely Irish affairs" would be determined, more or less, just as he wants them to be determined. As regards what Ireland's position, under the scheme proposed by Mr. Asquith, will be, Mr. Redmond has no manner of doubt. It will be similar to the position

of the self-governing colonies. Mr. Redmond clearly indicated this in the peroration of his speech in this debate :—

"A golden opportunity has arisen for settling this question. Ireland is hopeful; Ireland is crimeless.... We are at the commencement of a new reign. The first Act of the new sovereign was to send a distinguished member of his House to open the Parliament of South Africa. That ceremony was only the culminating point in the pacification of South Africa, which I believe, for all time will stand on the page of history as the greatest glory of the reign of Edward the Seventh. Is it too much for us to hope that the present reign, which we hope may be a long and glorious one, may be made still more glorious by a still greater event—by the opening, by the Sovereign in person of the Parliament of a friendly and reconciled Irish Nation?"

A CORROBORATIVE MANIFESTO.

A very valuable manifesto has since been issued by the Irish Nationalist Party which strongly supports the view of Irish policy as depicted here. The Irish Party in the House of Commons met on February 21st to consider their duty in regard to the coming Coronation of King George the Fifth. This manifesto says :—

"Ever since the foundation of the united Irish party under Mr. Parnell's leadership in 1880 it has been the settled practice and rule of the party to stand apart from all Royal and Imperial festivities or ceremonies, participation in which might be taken as a proof that Ireland was satisfied with or acquiesced willingly in the system of government under which since the Union she has been compelled to live. In accordance with this policy members of the Irish party took no part in the Jubilee of Queen Victoria or in the Coronation of Edward VII. Since the date of these ceremonies circumstances have vastly changed, and the cause of Irish liberty, to fight for which the Irish party was created, is now on the eve of victory. A great majority of the people of Great Britain and the Parliaments and peoples of the self-governing colonies are friendly to the cause for which the Irish party stands. In view of these facts it will be a great source of satisfaction to us if we could as representatives of the Irish nation take our place side by side with representatives of other great component parts of the Empire at the Coronation of King George. But with deep regret we are compelled to say that the time has not yet come when we feel free to join with the other representatives of the King's subjects on this great occasion. We are the representatives of a country still deprived of its constitutional rights and liberties and in a condition of protest against the system of government under which it is compelled to live, and as such we feel we have no proper place at the Coronation of King George, and would lay ourselves open to the gravest misunderstanding by departing on this occasion from the settled policy of our party. Entertaining as we do the heartiest good wishes for the King, and joining with the rest of his subjects in the hope that he may have a long and a glorious

reign, and ardently desiring to dwell in amity and unity with the people of Great Britain and the Empire, who, living under happier conditions than exist in our country, will stand round him at the ceremony of his Coronation, we feel bound as the representatives of a people who are still denied the blessings of self-government and freedom to stand apart and await with confident hope the happier day of Irish self-government now close at hand.

"We are sure our people will receive the King on his coming visit to Ireland with the generosity and hospitality which are traditional with the Irish race, and when the day comes that the King will enter the Irish capital to re-open the ancient Parliament of Ireland we believe he will obtain from the Irish people a reception as enthusiastic as ever welcomed a British monarch in any part of his Dominions."

It will be clear from all these documents that there can be no manner of doubt as to what Mr. Redmond and his people mean by Home Rule. Their demand is to be placed absolutely on the same political footing as Canada or South Africa. Even Mr. Asquith, while reciting in an earlier part of his recent speech in the House, his old Lady-bank declaration of 1901, wherein he advocated a scheme of Devolution as the only satisfactory solution of the Irish problem, himself referred to Canada and South Africa towards its close. Replying to the remark that his speech was "obscure", Mr. Asquith said :—

It is a policy which has been tried over and over again in every part of our Empire. Seventy years ago it was applied in Canada. Upper and Lower Canada were just as much at issue then as Ulster ever has been with the rest of Ireland at any time. It has been applied in our own time, within the last few years, in South Africa. What has been the result there? Why should not the same remedy which has been applied with so much success—complete local autonomy—subject to Imperial supremacy—be applied at home at our own doors?

NEITHER CLEAR NOR CONVINCING.

But despite the rhetorical flourish and noble enthusiasm of the Prime Minister's peroration, his statement would not, I am afraid, appeal to many people as either clear or convincing. The two most important terms in his declaration of Irish policy are—local autonomy and Imperial supremacy. They are however terms that admit of an almost endless variety of meanings. Local autonomy may, for instance, mean nothing more than Lord Macdonnell's Scheme of Devolution that has already failed. Or it may mean that practically complete independence which is enjoyed by Canada or Australia or South Africa. And

correspondingly the meaning and extent of Imperial supremacy would change with the change of meaning and extent of this local autonomy. Every Conservative paper has pointed out this conspicuous ambiguity in the Premier's declaration of Irish Home Rule policy. The Pall Mall Gazette candidly admits that the Imperial supremacy in the case of self-governing colonies is purely of a sentimental and by no means of a substantial character. The Government at Westminster has, for all practical purposes, no control of the public policy or the administrative activities of the Dominions. This is proved by the fact, to which however, the Pall Mall did not pointedly refer,—that even a profoundly Liberal and Humanitarian Government like that of Mr. Asquith's could not alter or amend one line or punctuation of the South African Constitution, though the sections of it that referred to the non-white populations of South Africa were in direct contravention of every Liberal principle and tradition. Imperial supremacy in regard to the dominions is undoubtedly of the most impalpable and imaginary character. And until it is clearly defined, it is not possible to understand the varieties of Irish policy of the present Government. The *Times* also raised the same objections.

Mr. Asquith will not admit that there is any obscurity at all. He quoted his own definitions of Home Rule made at different times and places, and then asked triumphantly what obscurity they will be charged with. He is a master of lucid language, as we all know, and he can state formula as clearly as any one could desire. There is nothing the matter with the formulas of which he is so proud except that they contain several unknown quantities, and until we know what these quantities are, the formulas are just as enlightening as :—

$$2 \\ px+qy+c=0.$$

DIAMOND CUT DIAMOND.

Indeed, I do not think that Mr. Asquith has any desire to be more definite or explicit than he was in this debate. The time for it has not yet come. It will when the Bill is actually drafted. Judging from the Premier's antecedents, his declared Liberal Imperialism of the Roseberry tint of 1898-99, the short but illuminating episode of the Liberal League—it is not easy to accept his present pronouncement as final. People placed, by circumstances beyond their control, in any peculiarly difficult and

unpleasant position, do not make final pronouncements regarding their future line of conduct, in any walk of life, much less in politics, as politics is understood in our civilisation. Mr. Asquith will not hesitate to put his own values, therefore, upon his p's and x's and q's and y's, if future circumstances permit it. They are not, surely, the values that Mr. Redmond would accept. But both are only biding their time. Mr. Asquith may be hoping to get his release from Mr. Redmond's grip at the next General Election. Mr. Redmond, on the other hand, is conscious that the Liberal Government will, for some time to come, be completely at his mercy. The settlement of the Veto question, unless it be a settlement by mutual consent of the two dominant parties, will place the Liberal Government more completely in the hands of the Irish Nationalists than they are even now. So both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond are hoping for the future to settle their respective problems: Mr. Asquith's regarding the extent to which Irish Home Rule may be converted into a scheme of Devolution or Local Self-Government, and Mr. Redmond's regarding the extent to which it may be worked up to the full Colonial ideal. The game of both is the same—"Wait and See". It is a case, clearly, of diamond cut diamond.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE.

Next to the question of Irish Home Rule, or rather before it, comes the constitutional struggle that has been going on for some time past between the Commons and the Lords in Great Britain. In this matter my last month's prognosis is being clearly verified by the course of events. Politics under the party system whether in England or in America or even in France or elsewhere,—wherever they have set up the prevailing system of so-called representative Government has developed only talk and tactics. They talk loudly, no doubt, of principles but they really fight for position and office. This is admittedly so in corrupt America. But it is not altogether absent even from British politics proud of its purer principles. The whole story of Irish Home Rule has been a story of tactics. It came to the front twenty years ago not because justice demanded it, but because the Irish

members in the House of Commons held in their hands the fate of the Government of the day. It seems to have come nearer to a solution today for the same reason. Not considerations of justice, nor even of any larger statesmanship have forced this problem to the front but simply the impossibility of the present Liberal Government to continue in office without Irish support. The same tactical motives are distinctly guiding the fight over the Lord's Veto.

PEERS AND THE PEOPLE.

The conflict between the peers and the people is an inevitable conflict in the evolution of British Democracy. Real popular freedom and hereditary political privileges can never go together. The expansion of the one must inevitably spell the contraction of the other. This is the real political issue behind the present struggle here. But there is practically no desire in either of the two principal combatants to squarely and bravely face this issue. The only party which is alive to it is the Labour Party. The Labour Party is, therefore, honestly interested in the curtailment, if not the absolute destruction, of the existing privileges of the Hereditary Chamber. There are a few Radicals who also seem to be at one in this matter with the Labour leaders. As for the general bulk of the Liberal Party they are fighting clearly not for any fundamental democratic principle but for the privileges and position of their own Party. Their avowed object in this struggle is to secure the passage of Liberal legislation when there is a Liberal Government in power with a Liberal majority in the Lower House. If this is secured, the general body of the Liberals would be perfectly satisfied. It would be difficult indeed to credit them with any honest and earnest desire to seriously curtail the hereditary rights of the peers. The Liberal commoner to-day, specially the class which lends financial stability and strength to the party funds, oftentimes looks forward to an elevation to the peerage as a reward of his services to his party tomorrow. Even while the present Liberal Government have been ostensibly fighting against the hereditary privileges of the peers they have not hesitated to make peers from among the ranks of their

supporters. A political party sincerely wedded to democratic principle would have stoutly refused to strengthen the oligarchic party in the land by this continuous creation of new peers. The Liberal leaders as a body are clearly as anxious as the Conservative leaders themselves to save as much of the privileges of the House of Lords as may be saved consistently with the interests of their own party. This is the real meaning of the curious Preamble of the present Parliament Bill. It is difficult to say who is responsible for this Preamble. Some say the suggestion came from high quarters. Others aver that Sir Edward Grey is mainly responsible for it. This rumour, whether true or false, furnishes a curious commentary on the principle of the present struggle. Sir Edward Grey is the Toriest of the members of the present Liberal Cabinet. Both Lord Crew and Mr. Haldane are also credited with a good deal of sympathy with the principles and the tactics of this curious Preamble. And it is this Preamble that is responsible for all the troublesome confusion and uncertainty of the situation in regard to this Parliament Bill. The Preamble is the weakest point in the policy and position of the present Government in regard to this matter. And the Opposition has not been slow to take advantage of it. While the Parliament Bill embodies only one half of its Preamble, leaving the other half to be worked out on a future occasion, the Opposition is concentrating all its attacks against it, upon the deficiency of the present Bill to fulfil the constructive promise of the Preamble along with its destructive threats. And since the Government is not willing to bring in their scheme of the reform and reconstruction of the Upper House, the Opposition is prepared to present their own. Lord Lansdowne has already given notice to bring in a Bill for this purpose in the Upper House. The Liberals may ridicule the attempt and characterise it, in the title of a popular farce, as "Dolly Reforming Herself", but such ridicule does not remove the seriousness of the situation that will be created by Lord Lansdowne's move. It means that by the time the Government pass their own Parliament Bill through the Lower House and send it up to the Upper Chamber, Lord Lansdowne's Reform Bill having been passed by the

House of Lords will come down to the Commons. If the Commons reject Lord Lansdowne's Bill or mutilate it beyond recognition, the Lords will do the same by the Government Bill. And there will then be an absolute impasse, which will be difficult to decently remove by the creation of even five hundred "emergency peers." It is almost inconceivable that under circumstances like these, the King will consent to take the extreme step at present suggested for the passage of the Parliament Bill. Mr. Haldane said in the House of Commons that the Government may be willing to consider questions of compromise when they have the Parliament Bill in their pocket. The Ministers clearly recognise, therefore, the strength of the tactical move of Mr. Lansdowne. It is this move that has forced the declaration from the War Minister that—

"If this Bill is passed we have pledged ourselves not to treat it as a final step. On the contrary we have pledged ourselves to look upon it as a stepping stone to such reform of the Constitution as I have been speaking about, and notably that great one which the Prime Minister said in March last would brook no delay, the establishment of a Second Chamber of a character and composition which, at any rate, should be very much more in accordance with ideas I have put forward than anything that exists at the present time."

The fact of the matter seems to be that both parties are shewing all this fight, not really from any strong conviction of their own but simply with a view to play to their respective galleries. The Liberal Front Bench, with the exception possibly of one or two younger members, are evidently as anxious for a settlement by consent as are the members of the Front Bench opposite. And it is these, as Mr. Hellaire Belloc and Mr. Cecil Chesterton try to prove in their remarkable book on the British Party System, that really control and direct public policy and the course of public business, practically by silent if not secret, mutual understanding. This is proved by the unwillingness of both the parties to publish what happened at the last Conference of the Leaders. The question was referred to very pointedly in the course of this week's debate and a member demanded that the points upon which the Party leaders had already come to a mutual understanding should be placed before the

House. But the request was refused. The *Times* Parliamentary Correspondent has all along held that the secrecy observed over the proceedings of the Conference was wanted by the Liberal leaders. The Conservative leaders were quite willing to communicate them to the public. And the *Times* says that the "plea of the Government was that by this means, the method of conference would be kept alive for future use."

THE QUESTION OF COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE.

The Reciprocity Agreement which Canada is preparing to enter into with the United States throws quite a flood of light upon the political status of the Self-Governing Colonies of Great Britain and their relations with the Mother Country. It is needless to say that Canada has been negotiating this Agreement without the knowledge and consent of Great Britain. In doing so she is absolutely within her own rights. All the Self-Governing Colonies enjoy absolute fiscal freedom. This Reciprocity Agreement is being negotiated by Canada in the legitimate exercise of her right of fiscal freedom. Yet at the same time it is well known that an arrangement like this with a foreign State while there was as yet no such preferential treatment of the Mother Country could not be very pleasing to the latter. The criticism of the British, and specially of the Tory, press of this matter has fully revealed the wounded susceptibilities of England. But yet none dares to raise any serious protest against the policy and action of the Canadian Government. In debating this Reciprocity Agreement a member of the House of Representatives at Washington actually said that it was the first step towards the annexation of Canada to the American Union. The remark created some sensation. It drew forth a vigorous protest from President Taft and some other officials of the Federal Government. But the Government and the public here had to take it all very quietly.

The fact of the matter is that it is being increasingly recognised here by every school of publicists and politicians that the independence of the Colonies is a substantial reality while the over-lordship of the Mother country is a matter of mere sentiment,

something nominal and shadowy. Even a Jingo paper like the *Pall Mall*, openly avowed it the other day. Commenting on the Irish Home Rule debate it said:—

"What the colonies enjoy is an absolute legislative independence such as the Imperial Parliament could not over-ride except by the agency of physical force. There is no tie whatever binding the Dominions to our political system except their own good will and their pride in sharing a common inheritance of kinship and traditions. As regards their internal affairs, 'Imperial Supremacy' is an honoured phrase that is devoid of the slightest effective meaning."

This fact is also amply borne out by the trend of the Resolutions that the different Colonies propose to bring forward for discussion at the forthcoming Colonial Conference. New Zeland, for instance, will propose the following significant Resolution:—

"That the Empire has now reached a stage of Imperial development which renders it expedient that there should be an Imperial Council of State with representatives from all the constituent parts of the Empire, whether self-governing or not, in theory and in fact advisory to the Imperial Government on all questions affecting the interests of His Majesty's Dominions over sea."

New Zeland further proposes that a distinction should be made between the colonies proper, which have not the right of self-government, and the Dominions that enjoy this right to the fullest extent; and there should be a new portfolio in the British Cabinet called the Department of the Dominions, separated from the present Colonial office, under a new Minister to be called the Secretary of State for Imperial Affairs, with an Under-Secretary for each of the Dominions. In the same spirit South Africa proposes that the affairs of the Dominions should be placed directly under the Prime Minister. All these proposals show, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, the conscious pride of nationhood in the Colonies.

Indeed it is generally admitted that the Self-Governing Colonies are in fact independent states. Their relations with Great Britain are absolutely of a sentimental character. "Believe me", said Mr. Angell, the author of a remarkable book recently published, called "The Great Illusion"—

"I do not leave sentiment out; sentiment is a very valuable thing. Nevertheless, we must get behind names, and look at facts. We are often deceived as to what a Colony is by reason of the phraseology we employ.

Seely's book on the expansion of England, written thirty years ago recognised that we could not 'possess' another people. We cannot impose our will even on a Colony five-years old. The South African Union passes anti-Negro legislation, which runs counter to all our traditions and we have to accept it. The British Government is the protector of the British Indians, but it can do nothing—and has to acknowledge it—against the vexatious legislation of Natal and the Transvaal.

Lucas lays it down that, whether the Colonies are right or wrong—and particularly when they are wrong, because they are then likely to be more touchy—the Mother Country has to submit.

Our Colonies are Independent nations—in spite of our phraseology. Their independence is a *fait accompli*."

THE DEPENDENCY AND THE DOMINIONS.

What effect this growing independence of the Dominions and the desire to knit them together with one another and the Mother Country, more closely than they are at present, which is indicated by the Resolutions that will be proposed at the forthcoming Imperial Conference, will have upon the future destinies of India is a question of supreme moment to your readers. It is impossible to deny that the trend of present day Imperial policy is to recognise two distinct parts of the Imperial organism, each necessary for the other and for the completeness of the whole, one part being composed of the Self-Governing Dominions and the other part of the Indian Dependency and the smaller Crown Colonies. The Dominions are not satisfied with their own independence. They desire to be the equal partners with the Mother Country in the Imperial Concern. This

desire is recognised as only natural and perfectly legitimate. And the only question raised is that regarding the "responsibilities" of this co-partnership. In the demand of New Zealand that there should be an Imperial Council consisting of representatives of the different parts of the Empire whether self-governing or not, and controlling the common concerns of the Empire, there is no recognition, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, of the burdens that Imperial power imposes upon the Mother Country. And it asks—

Does not this proposal slur over the great difficulty in all these projects of Imperial Councils—namely, the equitable distribution of the burdens of Empire? Indian affairs, for example, from time to time, may have great interest for the colonies, but how far would it be just that they should have a voice in their direction so long as the whole burden of defending India rests on the United Kingdom alone? To the extent to which the colonies aspire to partnership in the direction of Imperial affairs they should logically take over a corresponding degree of responsibility, military, naval and financial. The Dominions well understand the principle of responsible self-government. The same principle of responsibility applies to Imperial affairs. The old name of "colonies", was a symbol of the fact that the responsibility for Imperial policy rested with England. If they are to cease to be 'colonies' strictly, and become "dominions"—partners in Imperial affairs—they ought logically to be partners in the responsibilities and the liabilities too.

This is the most advanced Liberal view of this question. And it is a significant view; it speaks for itself.

E. WILLIS.

THE FIRST UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS

TOWARDS the end of July this year, at the University of London, there will meet the first Universal Races Congress, an assembly of delegates representing, it is hoped, every considerable branch of the human family. The object of the Congress, according to the prospectus which has been circulated throughout the world, is "to discuss, in the light of modern knowledge and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the

peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation. Political issues of the hour will be subordinated to this comprehensive end, in the firm belief that when once mutual respect is established, difficulties of every type will be sympathetically approached and readily solved." The expect-

ation embodied in the last clause will probably seem, to many readers in India, somewhat too optimistic; but it may be taken for granted that in India, as in other quarters of the world, the Congress will command the sympathy of that continually growing body of people who recognise the immense importance of the racial factor and the urgent need of extending the common ground between the widely divergent groups and civilisations of the world.

The scheme of the Races Congress arose in some degree from the noteworthy Moral Education Congress which, in the autumn of 1908, achieved so noteworthy a success in London. It has the same general Secretary, Mr. Gustav Spiller, who probably has no superior in Europe in the difficult and complex business of organising international gatherings. The president is Lord Weardale, long known for his wide interest in national and racial movements, and the Executive has for chairman the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, formerly Agent General for New Zealand and now principal of the London School of Economics. Support has been received from more than fifty countries—Ministers of State, governors, dignitaries of the Church, members of Parliament, eminent jurists, and the leading sociologists and anthropologists of the world having, with many other representative persons, joined the general committee or otherwise made known their interest in the Congress.

In view of the almost unlimited range of subjects coming within the scope of the Congress, and of the fact that many of those subjects are necessarily of an extremely controversial character, the task of arranging the programme and selecting the writers of papers has been one of great difficulty. The programme has been divided into the following sections:—
1. Fundamental Considerations—Meaning of Race and Nation. 2-3. General Conditions of Progress. 3a. Peaceful Contact between Civilisations. 4. Special Problems in Inter-Racial Economics. 5-6. The Modern Conscience in Relation to Racial Questions. 7-8. Positive Suggestions for Promoting Inter-Racial Friendliness. The papers will all be taken as read, so that the fullest possible time may be available for discussion and brief abstracts will be

provided, and a full set of the papers will be sent to members of the Congress a month before the opening day.

In the first division there are to be four papers, and readers in India will be interested to see that an Indian name stands at the head of the list—Professor Brajendranath Seal, of Cooch Behar College, has been chosen to lead off with a paper on "Definition of Race, Tribe, and Nation." Then come the "Anthropological View of Race," by Professor Felix Von Luschan of Berlin University; the "Sociological View of Race," by Professor Alfred Fouillée of Paris; and "The Problem of Race Equality" by Mr. Spiller, organiser of the Congress.

Under the heading of General Conditions of Progress, Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., will deal with "National Autonomy and Civic Responsibility"; Dr. D. S. Margoliouth with "Language as a Consolidating and Separating Influence"; Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids with Religion in the same connection, and Sister Nivedita with "The Present Position of Women." Other papers in this section are:—

Professor Reinsch (Univ. of Wisconsin)—
"Influence of Geographical, Economic, and Political conditions."

Dr. Giuseppe Sergi (Univ. of Rome)—
"Differences to Customs and Morals and their resistance to Rapid Change."

Dr. C. S. Myers (Cambridge) and Mr. John Gray (London)—
"Intellectual Standing of Different Races and their respective opportunities for Culture."

Dr. Franz Boas (Columbia University)—
"The Instability of Physical Types."

Dr. J. Deniker (Paris) "Inter-racial Marriage."

The second part of this general division will be given up to the politicians and administrators. The opening paper, on "Tendencies towards Parliamentary Rule," will be written by Dr. Christian Lange, of Brussels, and contributions will be made on behalf of various nationalities, mainly Eastern, as follows: China—His Excellency Wu Ting-Fang; Japan—His Excellency Sumitaka Haseba; Turkey—Said Bey; Persia—Hadji Mirza Yahya; India—The Hon. G. K. Gokhale; Egypt—Moh. Sourour Bey; Haiti—General Légitime. Sir Sydney Olivier, Governor of Jamaica, will consider "The Government of Colonies

and Dependencies," and Dr. Alexander Yastchenko (University of Dorpat) "The Rôle of Russia in bringing together the White and Yellow Races."

The influences coming under the head of "Peaceful Contact between Civilisations" are commerce, banking, and means of transport; science, art, and literature; international conferences and exhibitions; international law, treaties and courts of arbitration. To the section devoted to Inter-racial Economics Mr. J. A. Holson will contribute a paper on "The Opening of Markets and Countries." Other questions to be dealt with are "Investments and Loans" and "Wages and Emigration."

The division under which are grouped the papers dealing with the modern conscience in relation to racial questions is perhaps the most important of all. Dr. Felix Adler (New York) will write on "The Fundamental Principle of Inter-racial Ethics"; Mr. Zangwill on the Jewish people; Dr. A. Caldecott on Missions; Sir Charles Bruce on the treatment of tribes and dependent peoples; and Dr. J. H. Abendanon (The Hague) on the traffic in intoxicants and opium.

The African and American races have a section in this division to themselves. Sir Harry Johnston will deal with the world position of the Negro and Negroid; Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu, editor of *Native Opinion*, with the South Africans; Professor Du Bois and Mr. J. E. Milholland with the Negro in America; Dr. E. W. Blyden (Sierra Leone) with "The African Problem"; Dr. C. E. Eastman with the American Indian; Dr. Joao Baptiste de Lacerda (Rio de Janeiro) with the mixed races of Brazil.

The list of "positive suggestions" in the final division is not, perhaps, so comprehensive as might have been expected. Sir John Macdonell will discuss the question of an International Tribunal; M. Leon Bourgeois, late Prime Minister of France, will make suggestions for the extension of the conferences at the Hague; Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, a leading member of the French Colonial party, will write on "The Respect due by the White Races

to other Races." Finally, Herr Alfred H. Fried, a Vienna Editor, will deal with the power of the Press in promoting inter-racial friendliness; Dr. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, with the prospects of an international language; Professor J. S. Mackenzie (Cardiff) with the possibility of using the schools for ethical teaching in regard to races; Mr. Edwin D. Mead (Boston), a veteran peace-worker, with "The Organisation of a World Association for Encouraging Inter-racial Good Will."

It will be observed that international and inter-racial politics are excluded from the programme, the Congress being, of course, independent of all parties and not identified with any scheme of action or reform. But it is clearly impossible for the writers of papers to discuss the problems of race without touching upon political matters, and accordingly they will have full liberty to express their own views, although it will be expected that they will do justice to all parties and refer as sparingly as possible to the issues of current controversy.

By reason of the Coronation festivities, London will during the coming summer contain an exceptionally large contingent of representative visitors from abroad, and it is hoped that many of these may be able to extend their stay so as to include the four days (July 26 to 29) during which the Congress will sit. The meetings will be open to the public. Active membership involves a fee of one guinea, which includes the volume of papers and all other Congress publications. It is proposed also to hold in connection with the Congress, an exhibition of photographs, books, charts, skulls, &c., illustrating the highest human types. This section is under the direction of the distinguished anthropologist Dr. A. C. Haddon, of Cambridge, who will be glad to receive good portraits of leading personages from any country and photographs illustrating characteristic scenery, local customs, and architecture. All inquiries and other communications should be addressed to the Honorary Organiser of the Congress—Mr. G. Spiller, 63 South Hill Park, Hampstead, London.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE MAN OF LETTERS: A SCHEME FOR FOSTERING INDIAN VERNACULAR LITERATURES

SO there has been a literary conference at Maldah also. In this way through industrial, literary and political movements our small and backward places are being made parts of a great whole. A new national life is thus being created and superseding the old communal life of the village.

The unity we have been gradually realising is altogether a new feature of Indian life. There is no doubt that we have had always principles of unity and harmony in the midst of the thousand and one diversities of our social and religious life. But the condition we are approaching through the influence of Western political ideas and English education is the unity of political life—nationality.

Having come into contact with the Western civilisation we have discovered, as it were, our indigenous culture and got an insight into our own life. The English people have *made* India, so to speak, and have created opportunities for the Indians to seek their proper place in the scheme of nations.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, when, in the interests of their commerce, the Europeans were compelled to seek, and succeeded in finding out new routes to India—their achievements were looked upon as mere geographical discoveries. The history of Europe during the next three centuries is the record of a struggle for world power and colonial supremacy; and gradually India was drawn into the whirlpool of the European struggle for existence. The great consummation of the momentous series of conflicts has been the foundation of the British Empire and the subjection of India. Historically considered, this dependence fully deserves the whole-hearted thankfulness of the Indians. For it is through this subjection to a foreign power that India has been able to discover her own soul. The accidental

geographical discovery of a distant country has thus been a stepping stone to the self-realisation of one of the races of humanity.

Whoever will take a long and large view of matters will feel that Western education has not in any way been harmful to our society. On the contrary, it is contact with Europe that has given us all those features of our national life which we respect so much and feel glory in today.

Whatever might have been the motives with which English education was introduced into our country, and whatever might have been the reception first accorded to the features of Western civilisation by our society, there is no use denying the fact today that our society has been progressing in all departments ever since we have acquired the fitness sufficient to enable us to assimilate with our peculiar national existence, the scientific spirit, ideas of constitutional self-government, political unity and other aspects of Western life. We have been able to organise independently institutions like the Indian National Congress, the Science Association, the Sahitya Parishad, the National Council of Education and the Association for the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians. Our movements in the fields of thought and activity have reached not only the departments of industry, literature and science, but are also influencing our education, society, and religion. Our life in manifesting itself in diverse ways.

Even the ideas of self-sacrifice, renunciation, *vairagya*, philanthropy, service to mankind, those moral and spiritual truths which we have of late been trying to realise in our life, our efforts at relieving the distress of others and doing good to fellow-men—all these are really the fruits of Western education. These teachings of the ancient Upanishads and the Vedanta we have got in a new shape from Europe, and

this has given an impulse to our propagation of the truths of the *Gita*, the study of metaphysics and the consecration of our lives to some selfless mission. Our modern *sannyasis* and *karmayogis* are really the students and disciples of European *Rishis* like Goethe, Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin and Tolstoy. Since the French Revolutionary epoch, owing to the conjuncture of several circumstances, a reaction has set in in Europe to the *ancien regime* of her thought and life; and she has begun to acquire democratic and socialistic ideas, such as equality, fraternity, liberty of thought, assertion of individuality, highest self-realisation, and the rights of the proletariat. The result has been a comprehensive and all-embracing movement in the literature, economic life, religion and morals of Europe which has been the cause of an *Auf Klarung* and a renaissance by introducing into the cast of European thought, elements of idealism, spirituality, other-worldliness and transcendentalism. This supersensualism of the Romantic outburst in Europe is the direct fountain-head of our present-day Vedantic movements in India.

The admission of the fact that India is indebted to Europe is not a disparagement of Indian civilisation; for the world's culture develops itself through such mutual intercourse. In olden days the Indians discovered certain truths and contributed them to the fund of human civilisation. In modern times Europe has approached mankind with a present of certain new ideas. Egypt, Babylon, Greece and other states of antiquity have become extinct in the process of their giving light to the world. They are nowhere now to use the modern ideas in their own way and to contribute to the world's richness by making something out of them. But ancient India having borne a peculiar immortal life is still existing, and is making arrangements for the opening up of a new chapter in the history of human civilisation by Indianising the truths of the modern world. Modern Greece, modern Egypt bear no testimony to their ancient national life and culture; but modern India is keeping up the traditions of her old life even after Europeanisation. India is, in fact, the meeting ground of the ancient and the modern, the Eastern and the Western; and the great synthesis that is evolving itself at this con-

fluence of the world-forces, is neither a transfer to the Indian stage of the acting of Europe nor a mere repetition of antique Ind. In this India is displaying her new capacities and energies in novel forms, manifesting herself in a new shape suited to the new age.

To prove that India does not present the case of an arrested growth, and that our national life has not been petrified into an insensible fossil imbedded in the lower strata of human civilization, we need only consider the fact that in the process of assimilating the new conditions and adapting ourselves to the environment we have not lost our separate existence, our individuality. We have, in fact, been able to use the world-forces according to the needs of our proper development; and the new type of life that is growing within us as a result of this assimilation is manifesting itself in the creation of a new literature. Under the influence of the new ideas and forces we have been vitalized into being, and have got possession of the special characteristics of the living peoples, e.g., the wealth of a language and a literature. And this is a possession which enables man to realise his separateness from the mere animal, which differentiates nation from nation by developing the national individualities. This gives rise to forces which in the Middle Ages were sufficient to start the peoples of the modern world along independent national lines, which in recent times have been the cause of a revolution which has shaken the French State to its roots, and which have been able to enlighten and illumine the minds of the Poles and keep them up even after the demolition of their national existence by the triple partition of their territory. Such forces as these we have acquired, and our language has been growing in complexity and our literature becoming fuller and richer. We have certainly had in our nature sufficient strength and elements of fitness to use the new ideas, express the new life and embody the new desires.

The mark of a living people is its growth and development along the lines of its traditional character, its own historic individuality. History tends to evolve through nations their peculiar natures, and

develops their natural aptitudes and characteristics. And so the existence and growth of a language suited to the nature and expressing the ideas and aspirations of a people is the sign and test of the existence and growth of national life. There can exist no national life without a *national* language. Where we fail to perceive the signs of a special language there we are sure not to find a separate national existence. It is because of this that in the modern world we find a very prominent position given to the national languages and literatures in the schemes of education. In the systems of national education in all countries we find an effort to familiarise the pupils with the national traditions and the various features of national life; and to use the national languages as the mediums of instructions even in the highest stages of education. National language and national literature are, in fact, the basic foundations of a real national education.

Those of our countrymen, therefore, who want to inaugurate a new type of education adjusted to the new conditions of life and have been attempting to qualify us for the solution of modern problems, have a double function to discharge. In the first place, they have to make arrangements for scientific, industrial and commercial education in order to equip society with the means of supplying its needs according to modern methods. In the second place they have to make arrangements by which the national language can be used as the medium of instruction in all subjects from the primary and free night schools to the highest educational institutions. Our educational system cannot be natural and really national until and unless our mother tongue is used in all the stages of our educational life. It is on the development of national literature that the progress and success of national schools depend. National education cannot strike its roots deep into our soil solely on the strength of a permanent "local habitation" or the establishment of a new Council. Those who have devoted themselves to the development of the vernacular languages and literatures are laying the real foundations of national education in the country. It is these men of letters and educational missionaries who are in reality the pio-

neers and makers of the future national University of India.

Our literature is still in its insignificant nonage. There is no doubt that our language has within a short time displayed its capacity by growing in expressiveness and complexity; but our literature cannot as yet be used in the highest classes of an advanced University. Consequently our mother-tongue has been awarded the position of a second language in the Government scheme of higher education and has not been entitled to the dignity of the first language; and it is because of this backwardness of our language and literature that the aims and efforts of the National Council of Education have been futile and abortive and may be ranked among the class of "pious wishes."

Stripped of poetry, fiction and tales, our literature has very little worth the name. A beginning has just been made, so to speak, in the study of antiquities; but our national literature bears no trace of work on the historico-comparative method. It would not be an exaggeration to remark that the science of criticism has not yet been introduced in our literature. Our monthlies have of late been displaying a taste for scientific essays. Translations from foreign poetical literature are few and far between. We have a vanity that we are a nation of philosophers, but of high class philosophical dissertations our literature has very little. We can easily estimate the poverty and slenderness of our literature if we just compare it with that of those peoples among whom the mother tongue occupies the first place in the scheme of education. But there are signs of hope everywhere. People have become alive to the need of diffusion of learning through mass education and female education. A desire for the cultivation of letters, the study of the country's past, and the collection of materials for history is being evinced by all classes of the community, rich and poor, educated as well as illiterate; the reading public has been enlarged and a general demand for knowledge and education has been created in the community. We are, in fact, on the threshold of an extensive thought-movement and a vast literary outburst.

In order that we may help forward this process of intellectual revolution which is

destined to bear rich fruit for us in the immediate future, there is but one duty for all our literary men in the present. The sole cry they have to take up is—IN WHAT WAY AND IN HOW MANY YEARS CAN OUR LITERATURE OCCUPY THE POSITION OF FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH FOR THE STUDY OF SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY AND OTHER SERIOUS SUBJECTS IN THE HIGHEST CLASSES OF A UNIVERSITY. The efforts and activities of our men of letters have to be regulated in such a way as to focus our whole literary devotion on the realisation of this single object.

But a question may arise as to the possibility of thus consciously developing a literature by artificial means. First, it is generally believed that language and literature are natural institutions. Their growth and development are similar to those of plants and other natural objects and can not be controlled by the will of man. They are not *made*, but they *grow*.

Undoubtedly, the growth and development of religion, state, society, language, literature and other human institutions depends on the growth and progress of the character of man. These features of human life cannot transcend the limits of the general culture attained by him. In order that he may be fit for an advanced religion, a scientific polity and a well developed society, he must have to elevate his own nature and develop his own powers. Regulations regarding these can not be made except with reference to the peculiar conditions and the particular stage of a people's existence; and so ordinances enjoining or prohibiting self-government, liberty of thought and discussion, Free-trade, worship of images or of the Formless One, and the like, are based on the historically developed characteristics of a people. But it is a matter of commonplace observation that wants and desires can be created through persistent efforts and activities. In all matters physical, spiritual, domestic as well as political, there is an intimate connection between demand and supply. If somebody is sincerely convinced of a need and if with perseverance one can make his ideas filter through various strata of society, his ideas and aspirations can ultimately permeate the community and become the ideal of the whole people. Constantly talking and thinking of a want,

men begin to *feel* that want. Under the influence of this creation of new wants many advanced nations have fallen low and many half educated and semi-savage societies have acquired the fitness for adopting the institutions of civilised life. The individual or the people that is today quite unfit for some social, political, industrial or religious institutions, may tomorrow be possessed by such an inveterate desire for them as can give them the necessary qualification. On the other hand, the intelligent, skilled and God-fearing individual or nation of today may under the influence of new conditions become degraded and lifeless in no time. In the history of the world the records of the growth and decay of industry and commerce, the propagation and decline of religions, the rise and fall of states and the development and decadence of literature bear ample testimony to the conscious creation of new ideas and wants and the art of subjection and demoralisation.

The fact is, man can make progress by perseverance and efforts and may be degraded under the influence of adverse circumstances. The industry and commerce of Spain were ruined by such unfavourable activities. The history of economic life in England teaches that the prosperity of British industry and commerce was founded by the efforts of princes and patriots who tried to advance the country's interests by the adoption of the policy of protection. It was this protective policy again which guided the efforts of the Roman Emperors in their attempt at elevating their capital city from a rude, insignificant condition to the position of the metropolis of the educational world. It was this that underlay their imperialism which effected an intellectual centralisation by destroying the glory and prestige of the universities of ancient Hellas. The all round prosperity of Alexandria was due to such conscious efforts of responsible men. The development of industry and commerce as well as the spread of education in Russia were regulated by such a policy of the conscious creation of new wants. All religions that have been promulgated and all attempts at the renovation of religion by removing superstitious and meaningless practices, all religious revolutions and reformations are the results of the growth of new ideas and aspirations.

It was through the preaching of a new idea that the institution of slavery has become a thing of the past in the civilised world. Prussia has acquired a high place in international diplomacy and the polity of European states by adopting the features of an advanced constitution. Religious preachers and social reformers have succeeded in endowing many illiterate, barbarous and half-educated peoples with civilisation, culture and literature in the very process of imparting to them their special ideals.

Language is a mere instrument for the expression and interchange of thoughts. A proper use of the ways and means by which man gives expression to his wants and aspirations leads to the enrichment of his language. The wealth and variety of a language depend on the variety and copiousness of these methods and means. Again the soul of literature is the thoughts and ideas embodied therein. And therefore the richness, variety and complexity of a literature can grow only with the growth in variety and complexity of man's thoughts and desires. The enrichment of literature, therefore, depends on the conditions which enrich the mind and make it the storehouse of thoughts and ideas.

It is the actual life of man, the part played by him on this world's stage that is the cause of all thoughts and ideas, and therefore these can grow in copiousness and variety only with the variety, width, and depth of life. In order, therefore, that a language and literature may be enriched and made flourishing the prime necessity and precondition is to make the actual life complex, eventful and momentous in various ways. A language can not display its potentialities and a literature can not become vast, extensive and impetuous unless the political, social, and individual life of man is agitated by conscious activities and becomes all-reaching, comprehensive and all-grasping.

In the interests of the full development of the national languages and literatures of India it is necessary that the lives of the inhabitants of its various provinces should be eventful and as full of diversities and varieties of functions as possible. It is necessary that Bengal and Maharashtra, the Punjab and Madras should know one another in all particulars as minutely as

possible. We have to help forward the attempts of the people of each province to settle in other provinces and to create opportunities and fields of work there. Arrangements have to be made for the study of the several vernaculars at school. We have to try to make at least the three Indian vernaculars, *viz.*, Bengali, Marhatti, and Tamil, subjects for higher education in every part of India. In this way we have to organise closer intimacy and mutual intercourse between the several provinces. Besides it is necessary to make the relations of India with the other countries of the world more direct and intimate. Efforts are to be made by which Indians can live and move with other peoples in their own countries and rise to high positions in their social, intellectual, commercial, and other spheres. We have to see that our educated countrymen can have posts of service in foreign lands and spend their lives there, that our preachers and missionaries can attract the attention and sympathy of foreign peoples by organising lectures and discussions on Indian society, religion and literature. Arrangements should also be made for a wider diffusion of knowledge in our country regarding the constitution of various civilised states, their social condition, their literary history, their commercial and religious life. At least two European languages, *viz.*, French and German should be introduced into the curriculum of higher educational institutions in India.

Our range of thought and activity being thus widened, our thoughts and aspirations, our wants and desires will grow in variety and complexity. This extension of the sphere of life and enlargement of its duties will not only create the materials and elements of a new literature, but will *pari passu* usher a new literature into being. Coming into contact with various sights and sounds and observing the multifarious manners and customs of many lands our countrymen will spontaneously tend to institute comparisons, detect differences and discover the principles of unity and harmony. Such comparative studies will be the basis of a real science of criticism. Theology, sociology, literature, history and other human subjects will gradually assume the characteristics of the historico-comparative science. A scientific

and philosophic era will commence with greater reliance on reason and discussion—as opposed to passions, prejudices and blind faith—and with the discovery of novel methods of thinking. Literature will march along new channels with quickened pace. Besides, mutual intercourse among the various provinces and *rapprochement* with foreign people will even unconsciously lead to our adoption of new methods and means for the expression of ideas. Our vocabulary will be enlarged and the language grow more copious. Various terms and technical words will naturally be introduced and supply the necessary gaps. Under these new conditions our mother tongue will have the capacity of easily bearing and expressing the high and serious thoughts of science and philosophy. Compilations of the best ideas in foreign literature and translations of the best works of foreign authors will be matters of course; and national literature will continue to swell in volume and grow in dignity.

The time has arrived when in the field of letters a new desire is to be awakened and a new demand to be consciously created, such as have been done by the Great Men, who have in various times and climes filled the people's minds with cravings after new ideals. We want men who can preach the need for the enrichment of our life and development of our literature. A movement exclusively for the diffusion of learning is required to supply our wants in the department of higher education, mass education, industrial education and female education. We are in need of the institution of commissions and the appointment of missionaries and experts who can securely study literary, educational and industrial conditions, and suggest ways and means for their improvement. We can no longer put off the foundation of permanent endowments and the organisation of academies and institutes for the carrying on of researches, experiments, translations and investigations by learned and devoted students under the guidance of scholars, organisers and educationists.

In order that the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* may supply these new wants, its scope of work has to be enlarged. Permanent arrangements have to be made for the maintenance of several educated literary

men with proper monthly salaries, in order that they may without anxiety, devote their whole time and energy to the pursuit of literature. If fortunately opportunities be created by which Bengali literature can secure the entire literary thought and activities of our distinguished men like Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal in the field of education, Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt in the field of philosophy, Babu Ramendra Sundar Tribedi, in the field of science, and Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar in the field of history and if, under their guidance and control, some of the best students of our country, freed from pecuniary wants can proceed to work together for the development of our literature, is it too much to expect that in the course of ten years we can have the best literary treasures of the world in our own national literature, that we can have the thoughts and investigations of Plato, Herbert Spencer, Guizot, Hegel and other European philosophers through the medium of our own language and that in no time the educational system of Bengal can grow into one that is natural and really national?

Idealism is our crying need now. There can be no re-organisation, no new arrangement of social conditions unless the country and its peoples are overflowed with the stream of idealism, the parent of *vairagya*. There must be such idealism as can enable men to realise future success in present failures, and perceive the great whole in the rude beginnings, can induce them to sacrifice their immediate and personal interests and to throw themselves life and soul into their mission; such idealism as can inspire educated men to shun the prospects of fame and career, and feel their highest self-realisation in the spread of education and diffusion of learning and to spend their whole life in the creation of opportunities for others, even at the sacrifice of their own higher culture; such idealism as can move the man of wealth to feel a personal responsibility for the elevation of the whole society in intellect, wealth, religion, and morals, and to pioneer with his financial resources the work of national regeneration; such idealism as can induce the man with power and capacity to consider his sole religion to be the use of his ability for the development of the powers

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and abilities of others by removing their thousand and one poverties and obstructions. We are in need of missionaries and Sanyasis illumined with such idealism as can be a permanent inspiration to their soul without in any way agitating it, as can focus and concentrate their energies without dissipating and emasculating them, as can impel a man to renounce the world and take to the work of preaching in a steady and restrained manner.

No movement, however, be it that for the liberty of thought or for prosperity through commerce, whether it be the development of literature, or the spread of education, can establish its position in society in a short time. Like all other things in this world, they grow and extend slowly and gradually. It requires much time and pains to divert thought along new channels. The uncertainty and doubts of success about untried paths engender fear in men's minds. Faith in new methods of thought and work can be created in a society and credit can be established regarding them only when after acquiring experience as to obstacles and difficulties, from the failures of pioneers

in the initial stages, certain individuals have attained some amount of success. It is these successful individuals in the later stages of the movements, who become examples to many, round whom men flock together in numbers and fill the fields of thought and activity. It is at this successful stage that the new thoughts and aspirations become inherent in the character and dispositions of men, and handed down through generations, become the ideal of the whole community.

So long, therefore, as our literary, educational, and scientific movements do not arrive at this stage; so long as individuals by taking to literature, industry or education do not attain success and can further the interests of themselves and their families; so long as people by adopting these new paths do not acquire personal dignity and fame; so long the responsible pioneers have to endure losses and wastes, and undergo silent and solitary penances for the opening up of paths for future generations.

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THE SPECIAL MARRIAGE BILL

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MANY people have been surprised at the controversy which the bill introduced by the Hon'ble. Bhupendra Nath Basu for the amendment of the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) in the Imperial Legislative Council has given rise to. I apprehend the controversy, such as it is, is due to an obscuring of the real issue or to a misconception of it. To make the matter clear it will be necessary, therefore, to state the existing law and to examine the nature and scope of the proposed alteration.

Different religious communities inhabit India and with many of them marriage is a matter of personal law. For Hindus and Mahomedans there is no statute law on the

subject;* the Parsees have a special marriage Act, XV of 1865, and the Indian Christians are governed by Act XV of 1872, whereby statute 14 and 15 Victoria, chapter XL, was repealed. Progressive ideas, however, deeply stirred the Hindu society, especially in Bengal, in the sixties, and the Brahmo dissenters, led by Keshub Chunder Sen, not only abolished caste and abjured what they considered idolatrous practices, but they set their faces also against child-marriage. Unfortunately under the British Government Hindu law has lost its elasticity and it is no longer open to modern commentators to modify the letter of the ancient texts under the guise of interpreta-

* Cf. Act XII of 1887, s. 37; Act IX of 1875, s. 2.

tion.* Doubts were consequently raised as to the validity of Brahmo unions, and the Government was approached with a prayer for a legislative enactment that would set these doubts at rest. The authorities were sympathetic and the then Law Member, Sir Henry Maine, drafted a bill which he proposed to confine to natives of British India who did not profess the Christian religion and who objected to be married in accordance with the rites of the Hindu, Mahomedan, Buddhist, Parsee or Jewish religion. The Indian public, however, is conservative in its instincts and the bill evoked opposition. The next Law Member, Sir James F. Stephen, also deprecated the idea of playing fast and loose with law and religion, and he modified the bill. The law as ultimately enacted is embodied in Act III of 1872, which purports "to provide a form of marriage for persons who do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina religion." Section 2 lays down the conditions under which a marriage may be celebrated under the Act, and section 10 requires that before the marriage is solemnised, the parties and three witnesses shall, in the presence of the Registrar, sign a declaration in the form contained in the second schedule to the Act. The form of the declaration prescribed for the bridegroom and the bride contains a clause which runs thus: "I do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina religion." Section 21 provides that every person making, signing or attesting a false declaration shall be deemed guilty of the offence described in section 199 of the Indian Penal Code. The law then as it stands does not enable a party to contract a civil marriage within the meaning of Act III of 1872 unless he or she is prepared solemnly to abjure the Hindu, Mahomedan and other religions mentioned therein.

Now what is Mr. Basu's amendment? He proposes that the scope of the enactment should be extended by including within its purview the case of persons who have conscientious scruples to making the declaration above referred to and who yet wish to contract marriages the validity of

* Sir G. D. Banerjee, *Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan*, p. 8.

which is doubtful. He wishes the legislature to take note of the fact that mixed marriages do take place, and he wishes the legislature to give effect to the policy of law which is in favour of legalising unions between the sexes and legitimising the issue. It is only an enabling enactment which he seeks to have placed upon the statute-book. It is not his object to introduce any measure of social reform by force or compulsion. If two persons contract a marriage of which the society to which they or either of them belongs does not approve, the society will be free to act as it chooses; it may ostracise them, it may treat them as out of caste. If the popular sentiment is against the act which they have done, as they have done it out of deliberate choice with their eyes open, they must be prepared to abide the consequences. But is it consonant either with public morals or with public policy that they should be placed outside the pale of law and their offspring deemed to be *nullius in filius*? Why should not the law allow freedom of action so long as it does not result in conduct which is clearly wrong from the standpoint either of the moralist or of the statesman? That is the question which has to be answered.

I do not propose to discuss any biological or sociological questions regarding endogamy and exogamy. The issue is not—whether "cross-breeding" is to be preferred to "in-and-in breeding," or *vice versa*. Nor am I concerned with the question whether intermarriage is valuable from a political point of view. No doubt a want of affection and sympathy between the different layers of society and, in some places, a desire for keeping the blood pure, are at the bottom of the prohibition of marriage out of the class which many races insist upon. But there has been a continual intermingling of blood in the past, and it may be hoped that men are becoming more and more altruistic and more and more tolerant of religious differences as the world is getting older. As Dr. Westermarck puts it,—

"Modern civilisation tends to pull down the barriers which separate the various classes of society, just as it tends to diminish the differences in interests, habits, sentiments and knowledge.... While, therefore, civilisation has narrowed the inner limit within which a man or woman must not marry, it has widened the outer limit within which a man or woman may marry, and

generally marries. The latter of these processes has been one of vast importance in man's history."

Why should a healthy development of this process be checked in British India?

But marriages between different nationalities are very few indeed in this country. Marriages between different sections of the Hindu community are becoming more frequent and the status of the married couple and of their issue raises a question of great practical importance. The Hindu community comprises some primary castes and numerous sub-castes. Is intermarriage between these castes or sub-castes permissible in law, and, if there is any doubt upon the point, should not such intermarriage be made permissible in law? That is the question which has to be squarely faced and answered.

It may be conceded that the popular Hindu feeling is not in favour of such intermarriages and they do not at the present time take place in large numbers. But some cases do occur. Can it be said that the parties to such intermarriages (to quote Sir James Stephen) play fast and loose with law and religion and attempt to be at one and the same time a Hindu and not a Hindu? Sir Romesh C. Mitter thought that "a valid marriage was impossible" between parties of different castes, unless a custom to the contrary could be proved*, but other judges have favoured a different view.† The Privy Council affirmed the validity of a marriage between members of two different sections of the *Sudra* caste in the Madras Presidency, and remarked, "To hold the contrary would in fact be introducing a new rule, and a rule which ought not to be countenanced."‡ The justice of this remark I do not think any student of Hindu law will deny. To refer to two or three authorities only, chapter X of the Institutes of Manu will be found to deal at length with mixed castes. The validity of a marriage of a man of a higher caste with a woman of a lower caste is expressly

recognised, and a confusion of the castes (*varnashankara*) is not said to result either from an *anuloma* or a *pratiloma* marriage.* As to a union between an Aryan and a non-Aryan the decision is as follows:—

"He who was begotten by an Aryan on a non-Aryan female, may become (like to) an Aryan by his virtues; he whom an Aryan (mother) bore to a non-Aryan father (is and remains) unlike to an Aryan."†

Jimutavahana devotes one chapter to the partition of heritage among "sons of the same father by different women, some equal to himself by class, others married in the direct order of the tribes".‡ In the *Mitakshara*, too, there is a section on the "shares of sons belonging to different tribes," and *Vijnaneshvara*, commenting on *Yajnavalkya*, II. 125, says,—

"Under the Sanction of the law instances do occur of a Brahmana having four wives (of different tribes, *varnas*), a Kshatriya three, a Vaishya two, but a *Sudra* one."§

Other ancient sages and modern commentators recognise and provide for mixed marriages.¶ It is, however, not necessary to go further into the authorities. There are passages to be found in books like the *Aditya Purana*, the *Vishnu Samhita* and *Raghunandana's Udvahatattva* which suggest that intermarriages are prohibited in the *Kaliyuga*. But the authority of the *Mitakshara* and the *Dayabhaga* ought to be sufficient to show that this is not correct. The commentators who are really legislators have all thought it necessary to lay down in detail rules regulating the succession where there is a competition between sons by mothers of different castes. Mr. Mayne says that intermarriages between persons of different classes are long since obsolete.¶ and the Allahabad High Court has gone so far as to hold that they are unlawful and illegal. * But 'obsolete' and 'illegal' are not convertible terms, and the Calcutta High

* Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, X, 5-24.

† Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, X, 67, p. 417.

‡ *Dayabhaga*, ch. ix.

§ *Mitakshara*, I, viii, 2.

¶ *Yajnavalkya*, I. 56-7; *Baudhayana*, II. ii, 10-12, 29; *Gautama*, XXVIII, 35-9; *Vasishtha*, XVIII, 1-10; *Smriti Chandrika*, II, ii, 6-9; *Viramitrodaya*, p. 101, § 2; *Sarasvati Vilasa*, §§ 163-7.

¶ *Hindu Law and Usage*, ed. 7, § 89, p. 107.

** *Padam Kumari v. Suraj Kumari*, 1. I. R., 28 All., 458.

* *Narain Dhara v. Rakhal Gain*, I.L.R., 1 Cal., 1, 4. Cf. *Mela Ram v. Thanu Ram*, 9 W. R., 552.

† *Upoma Kuchani v. Bhola Ram Dhubi*, I.L.R., 15 Cal., 708; *Haria v. Kanhaya*, 72 P. R. 1908; *Fakir-ganda v. Gangi* I.L.R., 22 Bom., 277. Cf. *Ram Lal v. Akhoy*, 7 C. W. N., 619.

‡ *Inderun v. Ramasawmy* 13 M. I. A., 141, 159; *Ramamani v. Kulanthai*, 14 M. I. A., 346.

Court has reason entirely on its side when it rules that that "these marriages are not resorted to is no ground for holding that they are invalid according to law."*

I have gone into this matter rather fully with the object of showing that neither according to our ancient sages nor according to their recognised commentators are such marriages unlawful for Hindus, but that their validity must now be deemed doubtful by reason of some judicial decisions. It is this doubt which the legislature is asked to remove. Sikhs, Brahmos, Jains are all believed to be Hindu dissenters and have been judicially declared to be Hindus for many purposes.† Some question has been raised as to Brahmo marriages, but it seems probable that if the Hindu law had not crystallised into rigidity as the result of 'judicial legislation' in recent times, such marriages would gradually have ceased to be regarded as heterodox, as has happened in the case of the unions of the Vaishnavas who follow Chaitanya.

It should be clearly realised that the proposed amendment of the law is not an attack, either covert or overt, upon the citadel of orthodoxy. Any discussion as to the origin or utility of the caste system amongst the Hindus is therefore irrelevant. With the object of removing misapprehension it seems desirable to state plainly that a marriage under the Special Marriage Act is not intended to dispense with the performance of such rites and ceremonies as the parties may be prepared to celebrate. It should also be stated that the effect of the registration of a marriage under that Act will not be to establish the title of the parties to belong to any particular caste or class. According to Manu the taint of the inferior parent will attach to the child,‡ and in this matter the law should be left untouched. Following the analogy afforded by the Widow Remarriage Act, it may be

further declared that the issue of a mixed marriage will have no right of collateral succession. What I mean is that proper safe-guards and qualifications may be now clearly formulated so that there may be no ground for apprehension on the part of the conservative and orthodox section of any community in India that its cherished institutions are in jeopardy.

It has been remarked that the bill introduced for the amendment of the Special Marriage Act makes marriage, subject to certain restrictions as to affinity and so forth, free to everybody. But why should it not be so? What is marriage? I take two definitions from two works of authority. "Marriage is a bond between husband and wife which is based on nature and sanctioned by law, and which has as its object that they shall live together for life in the closest community to the exclusion of all other men and women."* "Marriage is a physical, legal and moral union between man and woman in complete community of life for the establishment of a family."† With the Hindu a marriage is a sacrament, an obligatory duty, and not a mere contract. But is that any reason why, if he marries outside caste, his wife should be stigmatised as a mistress and his child as a bastard? The legislature cannot keep its eyes closed to the altered and altering conditions of modern life, it cannot ignore the growing public sentiment in the country. The Provincial Social Conference held at Benares last year declared in favour of enabling legislation on the subject, and so did the last session of the All-India Social Conference which met at Allahabad. I have dealt with the question from the special standpoint of the Hindu, but I do not think that any responsible citizen of the empire, who gives any thought to the matter, can oppose a piece of purely enabling legislation which is in complete harmony with the dictates of public policy and public morals.

* *Upoma Kuchani v. Bhola Ram Dhubi*, I. L. R., 15 Cal., 708, 711.

† *Bhagwan Koer v. Bose*, I. L. R., 31 Cal., 11, P. C.; *Kusum Kamini Ray v. Satya Ranjan Das*, I. L. R., 30 Cal., 999; *Rup Chand v. Fambu Prasad* I. L. R., 32 All., 247, 252, P. C.

‡ *Buhler, op. cit.*, x. 6.

* *Burge, Foreign and Colonial Law*, Vol. III. p. 1 (ed. 1910).

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXX, p. 549 (ed. 10).

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH

V.

MR. Myers died at Rome on January 17, 1901 and Dr. Hodgson in December, 1905. These eminent men had devoted their lives to a work which Mr. Gladstone truly described as by far the most important that is being done in the world. Mr. Myers's name is well known in the world of letters. He certainly would have acquired much greater distinction as a literary man if circumstances had not made him a seeker after truth in a different sphere. And without the patience and self-sacrifice of Dr. Hodgson the phenomena of Mrs. Piper would scarcely have been investigated with the same thoroughness and care. Both Mr. Myers and Dr. Hodgson were intimately acquainted with the difficulties of Psychical Research and knew perfectly well what kind of evidence is needed to circumvent telepathy and prove spirit return. If spirit communication really takes place, would it not be strange if Mr. Myers and Dr. Hodgson, who had laboured so much to find out the truth about it, failed to help forward their life's work from the other side? Was it not to be expected that they should endeavour, if possible, to supply such proofs as would meet the objections of sceptics, if not of scoffers? What was to be expected did actually happen. Soon after Mr. Myers's death a new method of supplying evidence of survival after death was apparently adopted on the other side—a method which had not occurred to any of the workers on this side and was detected by them only in the course of a minute study of the records. The new plan was to send a message through several automatists at a distance from each other and sometimes unknown to each other and who at first did not even know that any correspondence was going on.

Sir Oliver Lodge says,—

"In many cases, the messages as separately obtained were quite unintelligible, and only exhibited a meaning when they were subsequently put together by another person. So that the content of the message was in no living mind until the correspondences were detected by laborious criticism a year or two later; then at last the several parts were unified and the whole message and intention made out."

These messages are often full of literary allusions. To quote Sir Oliver Lodge again,—

"Whatever else they are they are eminently communications from a man of letters, to be interpreted by scholars, and they are full of obscure classical allusions. And parenthetically I may here state, as a noteworthy fact, that now a days even through Mrs. Piper such scholarly allusions are obtained—not obvious and elementary ones, but such as exhibit a range of reading far beyond that of ordinary people—beyond my own for instance—and beyond that of any one present at the time."

This new method has been named cross correspondence. Any one who wishes to understand the full significance of it must carefully study the reports on the subject by Mrs. Verrall, Miss Alice Johnson and Mr. Piddington. They are so full of literary and classical allusions that it is by no means an easy task to understand them. In this paper I will describe only a few typical cases. Some of the best of them are so long—each occupying more than a dozen closely printed pages of the Proceedings of the Society, that it is impossible to condense them intelligibly.

The automatists through whom cross correspondences have been received are Mrs. Verrall, an eminent classical scholar and a lecturer at Newnham College; her daughter, Miss Helen Verrall, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Forbes (Pseudonym), Mrs. Holland (Pseudonym), an Anglo-Indian lady in India apparently belonging to the higher circles of her community and Mrs. Piper. It fell to the lot of Miss Johnson and

Mr. Piddington to collate and study the records.

"In studying these in proof in the early part of 1906," writes Miss Johnson, "I was struck by the fact that in some of the most remarkable instances the statements in the script of one writer were by no means a simple reproduction of statements in the script of the other, but seemed to represent different aspects of the same idea, one supplementing or completing the other. * * What we get is a fragmentary utterance in one script, which seems to have no particular point or meaning, and another fragmentary utterance in the other, of an equally pointless character; but when we put the two together, we see that they supplement one another, and that there is apparently one coherent idea underlying both, but only partially expressed in each. * * It appears that this method is directed towards satisfying our evidential requirements. Granted the possibility of communication, it may be supposed that within the last few years a certain group of persons have been trying to communicate with us, who are sufficiently well-instructed to know all the objections that reasonable sceptics have urged against the previous evidence, and sufficiently intelligent to realise to the full all the force of these objections.* It may be supposed that those persons have invented a new plan—the plan of cross correspondences—to meet the sceptic's objections. * * It was not the automatists that detected it, but a student of the scripts; it has every appearance of being an element imported from outside. It suggests an independent invention, an active intelligence constantly at work in the present." (*Proceedings S. P. R. Vol. xxi pp. 376–77*).

I give below a few of these cases of cross correspondence.

On March 23, 1902, Mrs. Verrall received a note from Mrs. Forbes asking whether a certain word had any special significance for her. Mrs. Verrall replied that if the word came in a particular connection, it might have a very great significance. On March 26, she received from Mrs. Forbes the automatic message which had led her to make the inquiry and Mrs. Verrall found that it did purport to represent what the word had suggested to her. In the automatic writing of Mrs. Forbes, the name of the alleged controlling spirit with whom the word was associated in Mrs. Verrall's mind was first written and then the word without any context. Next came a message from the deceased son of Mrs. Forbes, Talbot Forbes, stating that the control wanted her "to try for a test with our friend at Cambridge. (Mrs. Verrall) Write to Mrs. Verrall today. One word

* Miss Johnson herself is sceptically inclined, as might be expected of one who is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Sidgwick's,

will be enough." Then in large letters the word in question was written. "The significance of the word for me," writes Mrs. Verrall, "could not have been known to Mrs. Forbes and accordingly the incident made a great impression on me."

Mrs. Forbes's only son, Talbot Forbes (Pseudonym) was a military officer who died in the Boer War. It was after his death that Mrs. Forbes developed the power of automatic writing and received by this means many communications from her son. On August 28, 1901, probably early in the morning, Mrs. Forbes received a message from her son to the effect that he was looking for a medium who wrote automatically in order that he might obtain corroboration for her own writing and he ended by saying that he must now leave her in order to join Edmund Gurney* in controlling the sensitive. On the same day at 10-30 P.M. Mrs. Verrall wrote,—

"Sign with the seal. The fir tree that has already been planted in the garden gives its own portent."

This writing was signed with a scrawl and three drawings representing a sword, a suspended bugle and a pair of scissors. A suspended bugle surmounted by a crown is the badge of the regiment to which Talbot Forbes belonged. The significance of the message, "the fir tree that has already been planted in the garden gives its own portent" will appear from the fact that in Mrs. Forbes's garden there are four or five small fir trees grown from seed sent to her by her son. These facts were entirely unknown to Mrs. Verrall. The object of the communicator in using this expression was evidently to indicate the connection between Mrs. Verrall's script and that of Mrs. Forbes. This cross correspondence was discovered three months after the date of its occurrence when Mrs. Forbes stayed with Mrs. Verrall for one night.

Sir Oliver Lodge Writes,—

"In another case, October 16th, 1904, Mrs. Verrall's script gave details, afterwards verified, of what Mrs. Forbes was doing, and immediately afterwards Mrs. Verrall had a mental impression of Mrs. Forbes sitting in her drawing-room, with the figure of her son standing looking at her. Mrs. Forbes's script of the same day, purport-

* Edmund Gurney who, during his lifetime, was intimately associated with Mr. Myers in Psychical Research is represented in the messages as cooperating with his old friend in the work on the other side.

ing to come from her son, stated that he was present and wished she could see him, and that a test was being given for her at Cambridge."

On March 2, 1906, Mrs. Verrall wrote,— (*In Latin*) "Not with such help will you find what you want; not with such help, nor with those defenders of yours." These words, quoted from the *Aeneid*, are used by Hecuba when she sees old Priam getting ready to defend Troy against the victorious Greeks. Then the following passage follows in English,—

"Keep the two distinct—you do not hear write regularly—give up other things." Then again in Latin. "First among his peers, himself not unmindful of his name; with him a brother related in feeling, though not in blood. Both these will send a word to you through another woman. After some days you will easily understand what I say; till then farewell."

(March 4, 1906) "Pagan and Pope. The stoic persecutor and the Christian. Gregory not Basils' friend ought to be a clue but you have it not quite right."

"Pagan and Pope and Reformer all enemies as you think." (*In Latin*) "The cross has a meaning. The cross bearer who one day is borne."

"The standard bearer is the link."

(March 5, 1906) "The club-bearer [or key-bearer] with the lion's skin already well described before this in the writings. Some things are to be corrected. Ask your husband he knows it well."

Mrs. Verrall understood nothing of all this, except the reference to the *Aeneid*—the vain defence of Troy against the Greeks in the opening line. Her husband Dr. A. W. Verrall, however, to whom she showed the script of March 2, said that he could conjecture what the communicator was aiming at, but did not tell her what it was. When Dr. Verrall saw the script of March 4, he was more certain of the correctness of his interpretation of it. Mrs. Verrall, however, still understood nothing. It will be observed that it is plainly stated in the sentence, "both these will send a word to you through another woman" that a clue to the interpretation of the message will be given through another medium. Such a clue was actually given in Mrs. Holland's script of March 7, a copy of which Mrs. Verrall received from Miss Johnson on March 11. I will quote it presently. Mrs. Holland was at that time in England. Mrs. Holland's script left no doubt in Dr. Verrall's mind that the

interpretation put by him upon the message was correct. He then told Mrs. Verrall what he understood the communicator to convey. The object was to describe Raphael's picture of Attila terrified by the vision of St. Peter and St. Paul when meeting Pope Leo, who went out to save Rome. Miss Johnson writes,—

"The picture is the well known one in the Stanza d'Elidoro in the Vatican. The Pope sits on a white palfrey, a cross-bearer riding on his left and Cardinals on his right. Attila on a black horse is in the middle of the picture, with a standard bearer in the back ground on his right and a group of mounted Huns beyond. St. Peter and St. Paul are descending from the sky, both bearing swords, and St. Peter also holding a large key or keys in his left hand. In the back-ground is seen the City of Rome, with the coliseum and aqueducts.

This picture was, of course, known to Mrs. Verrall, but, she writes, had certainly not been recalled to her mind, consciously at least, by her script."

Regarding the interpretation of Mrs. Verrall's script, Miss Johnson says,—

"The reference to Troy in the first part of the script introduces the idea of the defence of a City against an invading host; Hecuba points out to Priam the inadequacy of his material weapons in the defence of Troy. Leo, on the other hand, opposed Attila with moral or spiritual weapons of defence, which saved the new Troy—Rome.

"First among his peers" is a phrase often applied to the Pope.

"With him a brother related in feeling though not in blood." Taking the Pope in this case to be St. Peter, the brother would be St. Paul; or the two brothers in feeling might be the Pope and St. Peter.

"Pagan and Pope" appropriate to Attila and Leo.

The stoic persecutor and the Christian—Gregory not Basil's friend ought to be a clue." This is all very dubious. No satisfactory interpretation of the "stoic persecutor and the Christian" has been suggested.

"Gregory not Basils' friend," may mean, not Gregory Nazaren. Perhaps the Gregory meant is Gregory the Great, the Pope to whom the phrase 'primus inter pares' seems for historical reasons specially appropriate. There is, however, a mistake somewhere,—possibly in the introduction of the stoic persecutor,—for the Script says, "You have it not quite right" and it goes on in large and emphatic writing, as if with a struggle to correct itself.

"Pagan and Pope and Reformer—all enemies as you think"—that is, as I interpret, you might naturally suppose that the three types would be all hostile to one another; but in this case the Pope and Reformer, namely, Leo (or St. Peter) and St. Paul, are combined against the Pagan Attila.

"The cross-bearer who one day is borne" may have a double reference, to the cross-bearer in the picture and to the legend of St. Paul's martyrdom.

"The standard bearer is the link" may refer to Attila's standard bearer, who may be called a link in the sense that he furnishes one more thread of

connection between the script and the picture,—in particular because he suggests Attila himself, who hitherto has been less specifically described than the other important personages, being merely called the Pagan."

In the light of this interpretation, the reader should study Mrs. Verrall's script again.

It will be seen that the picture is described very indirectly and allusively. Particular care is taken to make the meaning not too obvious and yet sufficiently definite to leave no room for doubt as to the interpretation if a further material hint was given. Exactly such a hint was given in Mrs. Holland's script of March 7, which is as follows, —

"Ave Roma Immortalis (Hail, immortal Rome). How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue? How cold it was that winter—even snow in Rome."

Several features of the picture are absent from the description of it in Mrs. Verrall's script. No mention is made of the central idea of it—the miraculous deliverance of the Holy City of Rome from Attila and his barbarian horde. The reason for this omission is distinctly stated in Mrs. Holland's script in the passage, "How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?" The omission is now supplied in the phrase, "Ave Roma immortalis." In Mrs. Verrall's script, the passage "Both these will send you a word through another woman," means that a clue to the interpretation of the message will be given elsewhere. The two automatists were, of course, quite ignorant of each other's writings and the cross correspondence was discovered long after it was produced. It is quite clear that the communicator intended to divide the whole message into two parts, each incomplete and unintelligible by itself and to transmit them through two different automatists at a distance from each other for the purpose of proving that a single designing mind was behind the whole affair. It only remains to add that snow actually fell in Rome in January 1901, the month in which Mr. Myers died there.

Mr. Myers was intimately acquainted with the Verrall's. It was after his death that Mrs. Verrall developed the faculty of

automatic writing and by this means received what purported to be messages from Myers which seemed to her to be very striking. Towards the end of 1906, Mrs. Piper came again to England and the council of the Society for Psychical Research decided that the main object of the experiments to be conducted with her should be to bring about the kind of phenomena to which the name of cross correspondence has been given. Myers communicating through Mrs. Piper gave proof of his knowledge of unpublished portions of Mrs. Verrall's script purporting to be inspired by the same personality.* Thus, for instance, on January 15, Myers P. claimed that he had given Mrs. Verrall a message about "celestial halcyon days." Mrs. Verrall, however, could not remember that any such phrase had occurred in her writings. In her script of January 22, a clue to the discovery of the phrase was given and following it Mrs. Verrall found that the *idea* conveyed by the phrase though not the phrase itself did really occur in one of her scripts of a much earlier period. At the sitting with Mrs. Piper on January 30, 1907, Mrs. Verrall said to Myers P. "You said you had spoken to me of celestial halcyon days. I couldn't remember it, but I have found it now." Thereupon Myers P. answered, "I told you, my dear friend, that my memory was better than yours on some points." Mrs. Verrall — "Yes, so I have found."

All this led Mrs. Verrall to decide to ask a test question which Myers P., if this personality was really Frederic Myers, should be able to answer. To make the experiment crucial, it was decided that the question should conform to the following conditions, —

"The question should be unintelligible to Mrs. Piper herself, in order to prevent the medium's own knowledge from affecting the result.

The question should be short on account of the difficulty and slowness of communication between sitter and communicator in the present conditions of the Piper trance.

The question should concern a subject which had not only been known to but which had been thoroughly familiar to Frederic Myers, so that, had it been addressed to him in his lifetime, he would have answered it instinctively, without a moment's doubt, hesitation or reflection. It should, therefore, concern a matter

* In what follows Myers V. means Myers communicating through Mrs. Verrall and Myers P. Myers communicating through Mrs. Piper,

not merely of intellectual acquisition or learning, but of knowledge so completely assimilated as to have been a stable part of his personality.

The answer should be complex, though not necessarily lengthy; and in order to avoid the risk of an accidentally successful guess on the part of Mrs. Piper, it should require for completeness allusions to more than one group of associations.

The answer should be such as could be proved to have been known to Myers; that is, the verification should not depend on Mrs. Verrall's personal knowledge or impression but on unmistakable external evidence."

It was not easy to find a suitable question fulfilling all these conditions. On January 23, it occurred to Mrs. Verrall that the Greek words *Autos*, *Ouranos*, *Akumon* (and the very Heaven waveless) would serve the purpose. They are taken from the Fifth Book of the *Enneades* of the Neo-Platonic philosopher Plotinus and occur in a passage in which Plotinus describes the conditions necessary for ecstasy or the communion of the individual soul with the Divine, which, according to him, are perfect calm of soul and body and of external nature also. A translation of this passage is given in the second volume of Frederic Myers's *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, but the Greek words themselves are not given and no stress is laid on them in the translation. The Greek words, without any translation, followed by the name of Plotinus, form the motto to a poem on Tennyson by Frederic Myers in which there is an allusion to Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar*. In the event, then, of a complete answer to the question being given, the following things were to be expected.

"A translation into English of the words *Autos*, *Ouranos*, *Akumon*.

A reference to Myers's poem on Tennyson.

A reference to Plotinus and the latter part of *Human Personality*."

Mrs. Verrall put the question to Myers at the Piper sitting of January 29. Addressing Myers she said, "I want you to do something if possible. I do not want you to write Greek because the light (i.e. Mrs. Piper) does not know Greek, but if I say three Greek words, could you say what they remind you of?" Myers P. answered, "I might grasp the words and I might not, but I could try." Mrs. V.—"If I speak them now, you can tell me now or later what they remind you of." After January

30, the day following that on which the question was asked, Mrs. Verrall did not attend any Piper sitting until April 29, nor had any information as to what was happening at these sittings except what was communicated to her for the purposes of the experiment. The sittings with Mrs. Piper were mainly conducted by Mr. Piddington, Miss Johnson and Mrs. Sidgwick occasionally assisting. Mr. Piddington knew absolutely nothing of the associations of the Greek words except the bare translation and kept no information of what was being written by Myers V. during the period of his sittings with Mrs. Piper.

At the sitting of January 30, attended by Mrs. Verrall, it seemed as if the communicating intelligence had in his mind the associations of the Greek text and in the trance utterances of Mrs. Piper there appeared to be a "preliminary emergence" of them. Towards the end of the sitting and as she was coming out of the trance, Mrs. Piper disconnectedly uttered the words "larches" and "laburnum". These words occur in the following lines of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*—"When rosy plumelets tuft the larch" and "Laburnums dropping wells of fire."

On February 25, Myers V. referred to lines of Tennyson suggestive of a heavenly calm,—"I stretch my hand across the vapourous space, the interlunar space—'twixt moon and earth—where the Gods of Lucretius quaff their nectar. Do you understand?"

"The lucid interspace of world and world—well that is bridged by the thought of a friend, bridged before for your passage, but today for the passage of any that will walk it, not in hope but in faith." The allusion is to the *Lucretius* of Tennyson, to a passage which describes calm contemplation.

"The Gods, who haunt
The lucid insterspace of world and world &c.,"

On February 26, Myers V. wrote, "*Autos*, *Ouranos* *Akumon*. I think I have made him (probably Rector) understand that the best reference to it will be made elsewhere not Mrs. Piper at all. I think I have got some words from the poem written down—if not stars and satellites, another phrase will do as well. And may there be no moaning at the bar—my pilot face to face."

"The last poems of Tennyson and Browning should be compared. There are

references in her writing to both—Helen's I mean."

"The fighter fights one last fight, but there is peace for him too in the end—and peace for the seer who knew that after the earthquake and the fire and the wind, after, after, in the stillness comes the voice that can be heard."

Mrs. Verrall came to learn that in the script of her daughter, Miss Helen Verrall, who is an automatic writer, there had been a quotation from Browning's *Asolando*. The allusion in the seer who knew &c., is to Elijah's communion with God in the calm that followed upon "the great and strong winds" and the "earthquake and the fire."

It will be observed that in these scripts Myers V. refers to Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and *Crossing the Bar* (And may there be no moaning at the bar—my pilot face to face). The reference to *Crossing the Bar* is pertinent as that is the poem which forms the subject matter of Frederic Myers's poem on Tennyson to which the Greek words are the motto. One association of the words is thus plainly indicated. But the communicating intelligence continued to emphasise the idea of calm and alluded to *In Memoriam* more than once. The significance of this was not at all understood by the experimenters at first. The reference to *In Memoriam* and the association of Tennyson with Elijah's communion with the unseen in the calm which followed "the earthquake and the fire and the wind" suggests that what the communicating intelligence seeks to convey is a connection between *In Memoriam* and external calm which is the condition of ecstasy. That this is the intention of the communicator is further indicated by Mrs. Verrall's script of March 6,—“I have tried to tell him of the calm, the heavenly and earthly calm but I do not think it is clear. I think you would understand if you could see the record (the record of a Piper sitting, that is to say). Tell me what you have understood. Calm is the sea—and in my heart if calm at all, if any calm, a calm despair. That is only part of the answer—just as it is not the final thought. The symphony does not close upon despair—but on harmony. So does the poem. Wait for the last word.” “This script,” observes Mr. Piddington, “definitely said that an attempt

had been made to tell him (either ‘Rector’ or Mr. Piddington, in charge of the Piper sittings) of the ‘heavenly and earthly calm’ and that this would be recognised by Mrs. Verrall when she saw the record—the record, that is, of a Piper sitting. Then by means of a textual quotation; ‘And in my heart, if calm at all, if any calm, a calm despair,’ reference was made to the ‘calm of despair’ of an early section of *In Memoriam* (xi) with the comment that this was not the final thought of the poem. To say that the ‘calm of despair’ of *In Memoriam* was not the final thought is to imply that in the poem is another calm, not of despair, which is the final thought.”

In the meanwhile interesting things were happening at the Piper sittings of which Mrs. Verrall as yet knew nothing.

On March 6, Myers P. wrote three words as follows,—

Cloudless
Sky
Horizon

followed by the phrase “a cloudless sky beyond the horizon.” Mrs. Piper, as she was coming out of the trance, uttered the words “moaning at the bar when I put out to sea,” “Arthur Hallam”^{*} “Arthur Hallam, Good bye. Margaret.” Margaret is Mrs. Verrall's Christian name. “A cloudless sky beyond the horizon” is a very good paraphrase of the Greek words, though not a literal translation. “This paraphrase,” says Mr. Piddington, “seems to indicate knowledge not only of the meaning of the three words of the test question but also of their original context.” Besides, it looks as though the communicator purposely avoided a literal translation, which was the only thing about the question known to Mr. Piddington, in order to avoid the suspicion of telepathy. *Crossing the Bar* and *In Memoriam* are alluded to and the word “Margaret” indicates that all this has already been communicated to Mrs. Verrall which, as the reader will see, is correct.

On March 13, Myers P. said, “I saw Mrs. Verrall and gave her a sign like this (draws a bar) and said I have crossed it.” Mr. Piddington, who was quite ignorant of what Mrs. Verrall was writing, asked what the drawing meant and in reply the word, bar, was written in capital letters.

^{*} The hero of *In Memoriam*.

Myers P added, "I thought she might get a glimpse of my understanding of her Greek." Then Hodgson, who is represented as cooperating with Myers in these experiments, appeared and asked whether Mrs. Verrall had drawn a bar. It will be remembered that in Mrs. Verrall's script written before this, lines from *Crossing the Bar*, were quoted, though no bar was drawn.

In all this, it is clear that the association of *Autos*, *Ouranos*, *Akumon* with Myers's poem on Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar* is plainly indicated. This was one of the associations of the words which Mrs. Verrall expected to get. But what puzzled her was the reference to *In Memoriam* and the repeated attempts to connect that poem with the idea of calm. Sentences like "I have tried to tell him of the calm, the heavenly and earthly calm," the allusion to *Lucretius* and the mention of Tennyson's name in the script of March 11, containing phrases about "unseen or half-seen companionship," "voiceless communing and unseen presence felt", suggested to Mrs. Verrall's mind that there might be definite statements in *In Memoriam* about spiritual communion under the condition of external calm. She, therefore, read that poem in order to see whether her conjecture was correct. She had read *In Memoriam* in the days of her girlhood, when she was quite ignorant of Greek, she had never made a minute study of it, had read no commentary on it and had not read any life of Tennyson. On re-reading the poem she was struck with the great resemblance between the conditions of the poet's own trance described in sections XCIV-V and the conditions of ecstasy postulated by Plotinus in the passage from which the Greek words are quoted. Further investigation showed that though some commentators of Tennyson have noticed the similarity between the poet's trance and that of the philosopher none had pointed out that the same condition of communion with the unseen, viz., external calm, is required by both and that the language of Tennyson is very similar to that of Plotinus. Mrs. Verrall thus made an important discovery which she recorded in a paper published in the *Modern Language Review* for July, 1907. The reference to Arthur Hallam and *Crossing*

the Bar in Mrs. Piper's trance, I may mention here, had occurred before Mrs. Verrall understood the significance of the quotations from Tennyson in her own script; so there can be no question of telepathy from her mind to Mrs. Piper's.

One of the answers to the test question, it will thus be seen, was much more complete than any of the experimenters on this side could anticipate. Not only was the association of the Greek words with Myers's poem on Tennyson indicated but the reason why these words were chosen as the motto for it was given. Mrs. Verrall's own notion was that the motto was an allusion to the fulfilment of the poets' desire that there might be no moaning at the bar when he put out to sea. It so happened that Tennyson died on a day characterised by perfect atmospheric calm.

"It is specially to be noted," observes Mr. Piddington, "that the associations of the words with Tennyson, and in particular with the two poems *In Memoriam* and *Crossing the Bar*, were mentioned in the trance to J. G. P. (Mr. Piddington, who speaks of himself in the third person) who had no knowledge whatsoever as to the authorship or context of those words, or of their associations with either Tennyson or Plotinus. Again whereas Mrs. Verrall's own associations of the phrase with Tennyson referred to Myers's poem on Tennyson which contains an allusion to *Crossing the Bar* but none to *In Memoriam*, the references in her own script were to *In Memoriam* as well as to *Crossing the Bar*, and those in the trance (Mrs. Piper's) were to Arthur Hallam as well as to *Crossing the Bar*. Thus knowledge was shown in the Piper sittings of facts altogether outside Mrs. Piper's own range of interest or knowledge and those facts were all unknown to the actual sitter, J. G. P., and had been in part unknown to Mrs. Verrall when she first put the question and were not, at least consciously, known to her until March 12."

"To Frederic Myers all the main facts given in the scripts of Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Verrall had been known: the meaning of the words, the associations with Plotinus and *Human Personality*, and the associations with his own poems on Tennyson and with *Crossing the Bar*."

It is practically certain that Frederic Myers knew the similarity discovered by Mrs. Verrall. He was a profound classical scholar intimately acquainted with the writings of Plotinus and other mystics. He was an ardent admirer of Tennyson, "than whom," he writes in a letter to his son, "a greater man I have never looked and shall never look upon"—and the trances of the poet were a subject in which he was deeply interested. There is no aspect of the mystical and supernormal to which Frederic Myers's attention was not directed.

So far two of the answers to the question were given, *viz.* a paraphrase of the Greek words and their association with Myers's poem on Tennyson containing a reference to *Crossing the Bar*. So much was expected by Mrs. Verrall. But what was *not* expected and not known to her was also given, *viz.*, the reason for the choice of these words as a motto. References to *Crossing the Bar* and *In Memoriam* occur both in the scripts of Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Piper but the paraphrase of the Greek words is given *only through Mrs. Piper*. This is a circumstance of great importance. Apparently the communicating intelligence is a trained experimenter, "as anxious as Mr. Podmore himself to eliminate thought transference," who knows very well that if the translation were done through Mrs. Verrall, hostile critics would at once argue that it is the work of Mrs. Verrall's subliminal self, she being a classical scholar. The paraphrase, it would seem, was deliberately given through Mrs. Piper, who does not know a word of Greek.

After March 13, Mrs. Sidgwick took over charge of the sittings with Mrs. Piper. Up to April 24, no further progress was made in answering the question. Mrs. Verrall, therefore, attended the sitting on April 29 and reminded Myers P. that though the question had been partly answered, all the associations of the Greek words had not yet been given. This was her first attendance at a Piper sitting after the question was put. Particular care was taken not to give the communicating intelligence any hint as to which statements by him in her own scripts or in those of Mrs. Piper had led her to conclude that her question had been understood and partly answered. In the course of this sitting the names of Swedenborg, St. Paul and Dante were

mentioned in an apparently purposeless manner.

At the sitting of April 30, 1907, Miss Johnson was at first present alone. Rector said, "We greet you as a new friend in a way, and before the lady (*i.e.*, Mrs. Verrall) appears Mr. Myers would like to speak to you. Miss J. —I shall be very glad to see Mr. Myers. (Myers communicating), Yes, good morning, my friend, how are you? I am very glad to see you. Yes I promised to give my reply to the Greek words and as soon as I saw the light departing I caught Rector and gave it to him and he will now give it to you.

Miss J. —Yes, do please.

Myers P. —I believe it will be a better proof of identity than it would be if I gave it to Mrs. Verrall. Do you understand?

Miss J. —Yes, quite.

Myers P. Well my reply to the Greek words is that they reminded me of Homer.

Myers P. emphatically repeated that the words reminded him of Homer's Iliad. A little later Mrs. Verrall appeared and to her also the communicating intelligence said that the words reminded him of Homer's Iliad as well as Socrates.

All this seemed utter nonsense to Mrs. Sidgwick, Mrs. Verrall, Miss Johnson and Mr. Piddington, who after the sitting discussed the record. No connexion could be traced between Plotinus on the one hand and Socrates or Homer's Iliad on the other. They were profoundly disappointed, almost disgusted, with the answer. The whole affair seemed to be mere random guessing on the part of Mrs. Piper.

Later in the day, a clue to the puzzle suggested itself to Mrs. Verrall's mind. In the second volume of *Human Personality*, there is a reference to the vision of Socrates in which the woman of Pthia addressed him in a line from Homer's Iliad. Mr. Myers there speaks of the "prime need of man to know more fully of the laws of the world unseen." This, he argues, is only possible "by the unfoldment from within, in whatsoever fashion it may be possible, of man's transcendental faculty." "Let him remember the vision which came to Socrates in the prison-house;—then, and then only, showing in an Archangel's similitude the providence which till that hour had been but

as an invisible voice,—but now the ‘fair and white-robed woman,’ while friends offered escape from death, had already spoken of better hope than this, and had given to Achille’s words a more sacred meaning—“on the third day hence thou comest to Pthia’s fertile shore.” Further and this is a point of special significance, the Greek passage in Plato’s *Crito* in which the vision of Socrates is described and which contains the line in Homer’s *Iliad* in which the woman of Pthia addresses Socrates, is prefixed to the Epilogue of *Human Personality*. In this Epilogue the ecstasy of Plotinus is described in a passage which contains the translation of the Greek words.

The extreme appropriateness of the answer of Myers P. that the Greek words reminded him of Socrates and Homer’s *Iliad* which, at first sight, seemed to the experimenters to be utterly nonsensical led them to think that there might be some significance in the apparently purposeless manner in which the names of St. Paul, Swedenborg and Dante were mentioned at the sitting of April 29. It was discovered that on page 261 of *Human Personality*, Vol. II, close to Myers’s description of ecstasy there occurs the following passage; “We need not deny transcendental ecstasy to any of the strong souls who have claimed to feel it, to Elijah or to Isaiah, to Plato or to Plotinus, to St. John or to St. Paul, to Buddha or to Mahomet, to Virgil or Dante, to St. Theresa or to Joan of Arc, to Kant or to Swedenborg, to Wordsworth or to Tennyson.” “Any one,” observes Mr. Piddington, “who bears in mind this paragraph of *Human Personality*, with its special emphasis on the work of the “Prosaic Swede”—“of all earth’s spirits...the least divinised, the least lovable who has opened the surest path for men,”—and also that Myers wrote a poem on St. Paul, will understand why an intelligence endeavouring to recollect knowledge once possessed by Frederic Myers should select from the list in *Human Personality* the names of two of those three great visionaries.”

It is impossible not to be struck with the great ingenuity displayed by the communicating intelligence in connecting the Greek words with Plotinus and with *Human Personality*. The connection is

indicated in a very indirect and allusive manner, apparently with the object of avoiding a suspicion of telepathy from the sitters. If Plotinus and *Human Personality* had been directly mentioned at the sitting of April 29, the experimenters would, no doubt, have, at the time, been very much satisfied but they themselves would later on have attributed the correctness of the answer to telepathy from their own minds. Myers P. seems to have been well aware of this.

At the sitting of May 26, Mrs. Sidgwick had intended to again ask for the name of the author of the three Greek words, but she was forestalled by Myers P. who, immediately after greeting her, said,—“Will you say to Mrs. Verrall—Plotinus.” Mrs. Sidgwick was unable to read the last word and it was, therefore, repeated in large letters *PLOTINUS*. “What is that?” inquired Mrs. Sidgwick. “My answer to *Autos*, *Ouranos*, *Akumon*,” promptly answered Myers P.

Sir Oliver Lodge, who was present at the sitting of June 2, 1907, spontaneously introduced the subject of the test question and said to Myers P.,—“I understood about *Autos*, *Ouranos*, &c., It is considered the best thing you have done.” “Really?” answered Myers P, “I thought of Tennyson directly she gave me her words.” This evidently refers to the mention of “larches” and “laburnum” on the day following that on which the question was asked. The test question, it will thus be seen, was answered completely, much more completely than any of the experimenters had expected. The meaning of the words was given and their associations with Tennyson, Plotinus and *Human Personality*, unmistakably stated. And the reason for the choice of these words as the motto of the poem on Tennyson, which none of the experimenters knew, was given. Well may Mr. Piddington say that in the production of these concordant automatisms, “there is evidence both of intelligent direction and of ingenuity.” “I care not”, says he, “to whom that intelligence be attributed; but that intelligence and acute intelligence lie behind the phenomena I stoutly maintain.”

HIRALAL HALDAR.

THE DEBATE ON THE COUNTERVAILING COTTON DUTIES

THE debate on the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy's motion for the abolition of the countervailing excise duties on cotton goods in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 9th March last deserves more than a passing notice in view of the fact that it received the almost unanimous support of the non-official members of the Council, elected and nominated, who were present on the occasion, with the exception of the two Anglo-Indian representatives of the Bombay and the Calcutta Chambers of Commerce. When the motion was carried to a division, the actual voting was 20 non-officials for and 33 officials against it. Such a large number of non-officials never voted together in the Reformed Council since it came into being, and since even the Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Khan and the Hon'ble Maharajah of Burdwan thought it fit for once to deviate from their rigid principle of loyal adherence to the official majority, it must be evident that the case for the Government was in a bad way indeed.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy opened the debate by saying that the abolition of the duties was necessary for various reasons.

(1) In the first place, the Bombay Mill Industry had been passing through a period of unusual trade depression. In 1905, the Bombay millowners had made a profit of 350 lakhs of rupees, but last year it dwindled down to 60 lakhs, whereas the cotton excise duty amounted to 41 lakhs. By the repeal of the duty these 41 lakhs would be added to the millowners' profits and thus afford appreciable relief to the industry. Sir James Westland, Finance Minister, who was in charge of the Cotton Duties Bill in 1894 had admitted that—

"India as a manufacturing country is not yet out of her tutelage and if any industry in the world deserves protection it is the cotton industry of India—the only real indigenous industry which has sprung up in this country."

(2) The Excise Duty was imposed in 1894 solely with the object of soothing the sore-

ness of Lancashire caused by the depression in the textile industry. That depression was however due, according to Sir James Westland, to 'strenuous competition all the world over' and according to Mr. D. R. Lyall, Member of the Bengal Board of Revenue, to increased industrial activity in the United States and the Continent. Sir Charles Stevens, sometime Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, was of opinion that "the competition which is really injuring Lancashire is that of the continent rather than that of India."

(3) That the Bill had been introduced in the interests of Lancashire was distinctly admitted by Sir James Westland:—

"I would not be dealing straightforwardly with the Council if I pretend that this measure was recommended by the Government of India on its own merits. No Government would desire except under the extreme stress of financial necessity, to impose a duty upon an industry so deserving of any fostering care which the Government can bestow upon it as the cotton manufacturing industry of India. The proposal I make is therefore not made on its own merits."

Again, when the Bill was referred to the Select Committee, he said:—

"I cannot help thinking that the Government is placed in some difficulty in defending the provisions of a Bill which they have professedly brought forward as imposed upon them by conditions required by the Secretary of State and not by conditions which they themselves entirely, or independently, approve of... I am, therefore, of necessity obliged to state to the Council that this measure is recommended to us by superior orders and by orders which we are obliged to obey."

(4) The customs duty on cotton goods is not really protective, and the excise duty does not therefore countervail anything. The repeal of the excise duty would not violate in practice any of the principles of Free Trade. The imposition of import duties on foreign goods for purposes of revenue is allowed by such orthodox free traders as Mill, Fawcett and Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone even went the length of saying that England applied the Free Trade doctrine against the feelings of the Indian people in their utmost rigour and without

a grain of mercy. But apart from theory, and as a matter of fact, the import duty on Lancashire cotton goods never operated as a protective duty on Indian cotton manufactures. In 1875 Lord Northbrook, and Mr. Money, President of the Traffic Committee, were of opinion that a $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. customs duty on cotton goods was not a protective duty, though there was no countervailing excise duty in existence at the time. In 1882 the import duties on goods and yarns were totally removed, and instead of the imports increasing as we might naturally expect if the protection theory was correct, they have practically remained stationery, in spite of the enormous increase in railway communication and the large increase of population.

(5) The objection that the trifling customs duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. operates as a protective duty unless countervailed by an excise of an equal amount is disproved by the trade returns which show, as remarked by Sir Patrick Playfair in 1896, that the Lancashire mills do not compete with the Indian mills in the production of the coarser fabrics woven and spun by the latter. The heaviest decline in the importation of cotton goods was synchronous with the abolition of the customs duty in 1882. Neither the abolition of the import duty, nor the theoretical equalisation of the levy by an equivalent excise has increased the volume of trade. In the matter of yarns the decline of imports has been most marked though the customs duty upon it has been abolished since 1895. The Indian mill industry has, on the other hand, developed from 65 mills in 1882 to 259 mills in 1909, but Mr. Dadabhoy was careful to point out that "none of this progress was due to any protection or fostering care on the part of the Government." Thus, "do what Lancashire might, the demand for Indian cotton fabrics has grown within the country. The equivalent excise duty has not helped the British manufacturers to increase their exports to India." The Indian mill-owner has maintained his ground in the manufacture of coarser stuff, while the British mill-owner has lost nothing of its trade in the finer fabrics. Thus the countervailing duty does not help Britain at all, and its abolition will do it no harm.

(6) In this year of a large financial surplus, to forego a revenue of 41 lakhs of rupees should not be difficult. "Even if the repeal caused a strain," said Mr. Dadabhoy, "upon the resources of the Government, for the incalculable moral effect upon the country it should be boldly faced."

The following appeal of Mr. Dadabhoy is worth quoting in full :

"My Lord, the Reform Scheme has brought with it a new gospel of administrative policy. It has raised new hopes and has instilled new ideas of citizenship in the Indian. The people now expect that the Government should be more responsive to their wishes in the matter of taxation also. It will be a keen disappointment to them if, at the inception, the Government refuse to repeal the excise duties in response to the popular wish. My Lord, the impression will be harmful that notwithstanding reforms and new privileges the people stand where they did, the ideas of Government have not undergone any fundamental change, and the country has not so far got any real political power. Allow me to point out, my Lord, that the removal of such an impression and the popularisation of British Rule in India, which latter must be the objective of the Reform Scheme, can best be accomplished by the abolition of unnecessary and irritating taxes like the countervailing excise duties, thereby demonstrating to the people that the Government of India are ever watchful of the interests of India and that considerations of those interests predominate in their counsels. Your Excellency has struck a note of sympathy with Indians which has raised high hopes in them and they look up wistfully to your Excellency for the removal of a tax which they feel is wholly indefensible."

The Hon'ble Moulvi Shamsul Huda supported the resolution and reminded the members of the Council that by subordinating the interests of India to those of Lancashire they would be dealing a serious blow to the very first principle upon which this country was professed to be governed.

He was followed by Sir Sassoon David, who said that the abolition of the duty "would place within the reach of taxpayers Indian fabrics at comparatively reduced prices. A reduction of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the sale price of an article would substantially help the overburdened Indian taxpayer and be a source of permanent relief to his attenuated resources." He also advocated the repeal of the duty on the ground of high policy :

It will be obvious from the above that an impression is sadly gathering ground that the Government is not likely to yield to the strong and unanimous protests of the public. The prevalence of such an impression is highly mischievous and the consideration of administrative wisdom necessitates the abolition of this import.

I am convinced that the sourness that has been caused in this country over these duties will not disappear until and unless the duty is abolished.

Sir Vithaldas Thackersay was emphatically of opinion that the duty should be repealed. He indulged in a little bit of plain-speaking.

"The Tax was imposed against the wishes of the people and the Government because the Lancashire manufacturers complained that the small import duty on their goods had the effect of protecting Indian mills. Looking to what great assistance was being given to national industries by modern nations including British colonies it would not be a heinous sin if the Indian mills did get a small measure of protection. As a matter of fact they did not." "Even in England, the home of free trade, a countervailing duty against home production has not been considered essential when duty is levied for revenue purposes on imported goods."

Finally, he said :

"We are at last beginning to think that legitimate national aspirations are understood by Government. By abolishing this duty this belief will be strengthened and British rule will be brought close to the hearts of the people of India."

The official reply was given by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, who was palpably distressed for want of any plausible argument to pit against the merciless logic of his adversaries. As might be expected, his speech was lame and halting, but for this he was not responsible. He tried to make the best of a bad job, and if he did not succeed it was due to the rottenness of the case he felt bound officially to support.

The Hon'ble Minister of Commerce said that one feature of the debate could not fail to strike the listener. The speakers had all been on one side. He paid a compliment to 'the moderation and breadth of view' which characterised the speeches of the non-official members and went on to observe that 'it would be idle to deny that the existence of the cotton excise duty had been a source of irritation and ill-feeling in India'. He regarded the strong feeling which existed as perfectly genuine :—

"Whether Indian sentiment regards the duty as imposed in the interest of Lancashire manufactures or merely to satisfy the fiscal purism of English statesmen in the seventies and nineties—whichever of these views is held, it is perfectly natural that Indians should resent taxation which they consider to have been imposed on such grounds."

But did the Hon'ble member offer to prove that the resentment was undeserved? Nothing of the kind. He adopted a most curious, though in his embarrassed position

not unnatural, course. He fell foul of Sir James Westland for letting out the truth so bluntly leaving him no loophole for defence :—

Sir James Westland when speaking in this Council on the Bill imposing the excise, expressed himself with a candour which a less robust man might consider indiscreet and I was not surprised that the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy quoted largely from his remarks. It it greatly to be regretted that this feeling should have been aroused; it has spread beyond the confines of the cotton duties and stirred up suspicion that India is not governed in the Indian interest.

Condescending to arguments, the Hon'ble Mr. Clark said that it is at least very doubtful if the depression in the Indian cotton industry was due to the excise duty, for the depression in that particular industry has been felt throughout the world. Hence, 'it is difficult to believe that the remission of the duty would result in effective or permanent relief to the industry.' It cannot be said that the development of the textile industry had been crippled by the excise duty, for the progress has been great. But the Hon'ble Commerce Minister had to admit at the same time that 'though the productivity of the home industry has increased, the imports of foreign goods have increased also'; that 'no one will deny that the production of cloth falls far short of the imports'; and that 'probably if the excise duty had not been imposed, the immediate development of the cotton industry in India would have been more rapid.' This last statement completely knocks the bottom off the position taken up by the official apologists of the duty, and so the Hon'ble Mr. Clark felt that other arguments were necessary. He then observed that the effect of the repeal of the excise duty would be the sure loss of 40 lakhs of rupees, and it will *probably* have some protective effect, and so another 40 lakhs may have to be deducted from the customs revenue of 130 lakhs on imported cotton goods, thus raising the total loss to 80 lakhs. Mr. Clark knew that the Indians were rather keen about increased educational and sanitary grants, and so he tried to draw a lurid picture of the set back which education and sanitation might receive if Government were deprived of a permanent revenue of 80 lakhs. But the calculation by which the sum of 40 lakhs was converted into 80 lakhs was based on surmises and conjectures, for Mr. Clark

could not advance any good reasons for his apprehension that the abolition of the excise duty would result in a partial loss of the import trade. Finding this argument not convincing enough, Mr. Clark bethought himself of the hand-loom industry, and his heart grew tender at the prospect of its annihilation if the excise duty on the mills were withdrawn. After the Indian handloom industry had been very nearly killed by 70 or 80 per cent. protective duties in England and by employing 'the arm of political injustice' as the historian Wilson says, the Minister of Commerce of the Viceregal Council now finds it convenient, when close pressed for a handy argument to justify an iniquitous tax, to take shelter behind the following sickening cant:

"In more highly organised countries it may be desirable to see modern methods oust the old in a rapid process of development, but no one, I think, would urge that it would be a good thing for India if her local industries were too rapidly absorbed. The maintenance of the hand-loom industry is of great importance to the prosperity of the country and it is a serious responsibility to advocate the taking of any steps which might prove detrimental to its interests."

But Mr. Clark is too intelligent not to see the little flaw in his reasoning though he makes a feeble attempt at self-defence:

Perhaps it may seem illogical to argue at the same time against the hand-loom industry being deprived of this measure of protection and against the mill-owner receiving such measure of protection as the customs duty would afford if the excise duty were abolished. But there is one very obvious distinction. In the one case the protection is already in existence, in the other Government are asked to take the responsibility of creating it.

In other words, because an unjustifiable tax exists, therefore it must continue to exist. Again, Mr. Clark has to admit that there is no competition between Lancashire and India in the higher and the lower grades, one being the monopoly of England and the other of India, but he is of opinion that there is some competition in the intermediate stages, the precise degree of which must be more or less a matter of conjecture, and because it is so, *all* Indian cotton manufactures, and not those of the intermediate grades merely, must be taxed. Mr. Clark did not think it safe to enter more closely into this matter, and so wound up with a compliment to the Bombay Mill industry whose 'achievement in the face of formidable competition is one of which

its leaders may well be proud.' But the motive of this lavish expenditure of praise was presently revealed when Mr. Clark added:

"It would indeed be an insult to suggest that this is an infant industry requiring special nursing at the hands of the Government."

Nevertheless, the speaker added, the Government was doing much to improve the breed and the cultivation of Indian cotton (being moved thereto, Mr. Clark forgot to add, by the British Cotton Growers' Association) and this would afford far greater protection than the abolition of the excise duty.

Granting, for the sake of argument, that the benefit to be derived from the abolition of the excise duty would not be as great as the mill-owners of Bombay expected or the country at large imagined, the question of questions is—in the face of the bitter feeling admittedly roused by the duty—would it not be desirable to repeal it and would it not have been repealed but for something else—the interests, real or fancied of Lancashire—which stood in the way? But there is scarcely any reference to that something in the Hon'ble Mr. Clark's speech, obviously because he does not care to avow the ugly fact, that the undisclosed *tertium quid* is the dominating factor of the situation.

It is not surprising that the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoi speaking in reply to Mr. Clark, said that his case was strong and invulnerable and that whatever possible defence might be urged, Government must readily admit that as regards these excise duties at any rate their case was extremely weak and indefensible. Paraphrasing a sentence of the Hon'ble member of commerce, we may say that it would be an insult to the intelligence of the Indian people to suggest that they will be at any loss to decide with whom the honours of the debate lay, though the motion was lost owing to the opposition of the standing official majority. Torrens, the author of *Empire of Asia*, writing in 1872, compared the non-official members to political grooms-in-waiting, good only for show in the viceregal *entourage*. In spite of the reforms so loudly blazoned forth, it does not appear that this description of their powers and position has become obsolete, for even now, as in the early seventies, a

measure however unanimously advocated by the public and their representatives, has absolutely no chance of success when opposed by the Government. But one lesson emerges distinctly out of the debate of which we have attempted a summary. It is that all the eloquent appeals to Govern-

ment to allay the legitimate indignation of the Indian people by acting in their interest instead of in that of England are bound to prove futile so long as India does not get self-government such as the British colonies enjoy.

POLITICUS.

SOME GLIMPSES OF INDIA IN THE AGE OF CHANDRA GUPTA

THE Arthasastra of Kautilya, which has been recently edited and published by Mr. R. Shama Sastri, possesses a great interest and importance not only to students of Sanskrit literature but also to students of Indian history. It throws a flood of light on the material, social and political condition of the ancient Hindus during the third and fourth centuries before the Christian era. It is in fact a unique record of the secular aspects or developments of Indian civilization in that brilliant period of Indian history,—the age of Chandra Gupta. For information regarding this period or the sources of its history we had hitherto unfortunately to depend mainly upon the meagre accounts left by Greek writers whose interest in India was first roused by the invasion of Alexander. This work of Kautilya, however, removes to a great extent our want in this direction by opening up a mine of information which is as full as it is reliable.

I, therefore, propose to utilize this work, in a number of articles, as a source of information regarding the aforesaid period.

One of the most striking features of Chandra Gupta's government revealed by the Arthasastra is that it achieved many triumphs in peace which were no less than those of war,—in fact, Chandra Gupta was as well-known for the numerical strength and the efficiency of his army and the organization of his war-office as for those regulations and institutions which ensure the material welfare of a country. In the present paper, I shall refer to the most prominent works and institutions of public utility of his time, which are

definitely indicated by passages in the Arthasastra.

There can be little doubt that the department of public works in the government of Chandra Gupta was fairly well organized with its scope and functions clearly defined. The area of its activity was quite extensive. It included among other things the working of mines, the opening of irrigation-works, the establishment of factories; the maintenance of preserves and grazing grounds, of high ways, of commerce, water-ways, land-routes and other facilities for communication; the establishment of markets and stores; the construction of embankments, dams and bridges, of public religious halls as well as of dispensaries; the planting of fruit and flower trees, of medicinal plants and herbs (i.e., the establishment of Ayurvedic and pharmaceutical gardens). And lastly there was ample legislation providing state-protection of the disabled, the helpless and the infirm and also of beasts, thus anticipating some of the tendencies of modern legislation. I quote below some of the passages which contain references to these works and institutions:—

(i) आकर कर्मोक्तद्वयं हस्तिवनं व्रजं वनिकूपं प्रचारान् वारि-
श्लेषपथं पश्यपत्तनानि च निवेशयेत् ।—Book II. जनपदनिवेशः ।

(ii) सेतुवन्मयोरध्याह्नार्थेदिकात् सङ्कीदकः श्रेयान् ।
—Bk. VII. कार्यसन्धिः ।

(iii) एषं द्रव्यं द्विपवनं सेतुवन्मनाकारान्
रक्षेत् पूर्व्यकृतान् राजा नवांश्चाभि प्रवर्त्तयेत् ।
—Bk. II. जनपदनिवेशः ।

(iv) उत्तरपश्चिमभागं पश्यभैषज्यगृहं ।—Bk. II. दुर्गनिवेशः ।

(v) सहीदकमाह्वार्थीदकम् वा सेतुं वसयेत्। अन्वेषां वा वज्रतां भूमिनिर्गच्छोपकरणानुयङ्गं कुर्यात्।

—Bk. II. जनपदनिवेशः।

(vi) वृक्षमन्त्रस्थीयं मङ्गलमाचूय, विभक्तं स्त्रीपुरुषस्थानमवसारतः सुगुप्तकक्ष्यं वसनागारं कारयेत्।

—Bk. II. सन्निधाटयेयकर्म।

(vii) निषर्गमव्यागारात् आस्तादविशङ्क भेषजं गृहीत्वा पाचकं पीयकाभ्यामात्मना च प्रतिस्नाय राज्ञे प्रयच्छेत्।

—Bk. I. आत्मरक्षितकम्।

(viii) गन्धभेषज्यो शीरहीरवेर पिच्छाश्लुकादीनां यथास्वं भूमिषु च स्थास्थाय चतुःपक्षीवधीस्थापयेत्।—Bk. II. सीताध्यक्षः।

(ix) सेतुं वनं व्रजं वणिकपथं चावेलेत्।

—Bk. II. समाहृतं ससुदय प्रस्थापनम्।

(x) (a) बालहस्तं व्याधितं व्यसन्ननाथांश्च राजा विभ्रयात्

(b) क्षेप-व्याल-विषयाह्निः व्याधिभिश्च पशुव्रजान्।

—Bk. II. जनपदनिवेशः।

(xi) वयः प्राचीना राजसार्गाक्ष्य उदीचीना इति।

चतुर्दशान्वरा रथ्या राजसार्गं द्रोणमुखं स्थानीयं राष्ट्र-
विबोधपथाः।

सखीनीयं व्युत्क्रमशानं यानं पथाश्च दृष्टाः।

चतुर्दशस्थे तु वनपथः।

विदण्ड इति वनपथः।

पञ्चारव्यो रथपथस्तारः पशुपथः।

सौ चन्द्र पशुमनुष्यपथः।—B. II. दुर्गेनिवेशः।

Let us first turn to the working of mines. The only two passages in Megasthenes that are worthy of note and that have a bearing on the point in hand are these:—

"And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of points which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."—Book I. Fragment I.

The second passage is—

"The robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."—Book II. Fragment XXVII.

These passages show, no doubt, that there were extensive mining operations in those days but they do not satisfy our curiosity as to the details of these operations. The Arthashastra, however, does this by bringing into our view ample details. According to it, there were two classes of mines, viz., (i) ocean-mines and (ii) land mines, and expert superintendents were appointed in charge of each class. The duty of the superin-

tendent of ocean-mines was to look after the collection of diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, corals, conch-shells and salt. The regulation of the trade in these articles was also one of his duties. It may be noted in passing that ocean-mining unquestionably indicates great progress in the art of navigation and ship-building, which will be dealt with hereafter.

A scientific expert was appointed to the post of the superintendent of land-mines. In the first place, he had to perform the difficult work of prospecting and discovering new mines on plains and mountain slopes. He had to examine and infer from slags, ashes and other such indications whether a mine was exhausted or not. This department was manned by several other experts. It was also equipped with mining labourers and necessary scientific apparatus.

The superintendent was guided in his work of prospecting by his knowledge of the signs and properties of the mineral ores. He had to pay particular attention to the depth of colour, weight, smell, taste, oiliness, adhesiveness, power of amalgamating with particular metals and several other mechanical and chemical properties of the ores, in order to ascertain the nature and richness of a mine. We find in the Arthashastra the properties of several metals classified, and the large number and variety of them necessarily lead one to the conclusion that the subject reached a stage far above the rudimentary and that the persons who devoted their attention to it possessed no small power of discrimination. As an illustration* I quote below the passage which enumerates the signs of the different kinds of silver ores. It says that the silver ores are those which have the colour of शङ्ख, कपूर, स्फटिक, नवनीत, कपोत, पारावत, विमलका, मयूरवीबा; of सखक, गोमेदक, गुड़, मस्यखिका; of कीविदार, पद्म, पाटली, कलाय, क्षीमपुष्प, चतसीपुष्प; which are in combination with सौं, अन्नन, are विस्म (smelling of rawmeat), भिन्न, श्वेताम्, कृष्ण, कृष्णाम्, श्वेत and

* शङ्ख कर्पूर स्फटिक नवनीत कपोत पारावत विमलका मयूरवीबावर्णाः। सखक गोमेदक गुड़ मस्यखिकावर्णाः। कीविदार पद्म-पाटलीकलाय क्षीमातसीपुष्पवर्णाः। सखीसाः साक्षनाः विस्मा भिन्नाः श्वेताम् कृष्णाः कृष्णाम् श्वेताः सर्वे वा लेखा विन्दुविवा सद्वी आयमाना न कटन्ति बहुक्षेप धूमाश्च कृष्यधातवः।

लेखाविन्दुचित्र; do not split and emit much foam and smoke. Similarly we find mentioned the properties of the ores of gold, float-gold, bitumen, copper,* lead,† tin, iron &c. It is apparent from this that the classification is an elaborate one and the subject in Chandra Gupta's time reached an advanced stage.

When the superintendent discovered a new mine, he intimated it to the Government, stating at the same time the nature of its contents. The Government had to decide whether it would work the mine directly or lease it out to private persons. It was only in the case of those mines that required a large outlay to be exploited, that the Government leased them out.

The purification of the ores during the actual exploitation of the mines is an interesting study. The metals were purified by treating them with ingredients most of which were organic. The passage‡ quoted below enumerates these ingredients:—तीक्ष्ण, urine, alkalies, राजहस्य, वट, पोल, cow's bile, urine and dung of buffalo, ass, etc. Again metals were made permanently or temporarily malleable by chemically treating them with several ingredients e.g., ashes of यव, माष, तिल &c., honey, sheep's milk, clarified butter, powder of cow's teeth and horn, &c.§ The passage bearing on this point asserts that even if a metal splits into a hundred thousand parts it can be rendered malleable by the prescribed methods. These methods, however, look to us novel and peculiar and are quite different from what a metallurgist of the present day would use. But nevertheless the fact remains that they were of service in their day and our ignorance of details

* Ores of copper,—भारिकसूक्ष्मि मृदुय प्रसारधातुभूँमिभागो वा पिङ्गलो हस्तिः पाटली लोहितो वा ताम्रधातुः ।

† Ores of lead,—काकसिचक कपोतरोचनावर्णः श्वेतराजिनह्नी वा विस्फलीसधातुः ।

‡ तेषाम् (धातूनाम्) शुद्धा मृदुगर्भा वा तीक्ष्णमूलचारभाविता राजहस्यवटपोलुगोपितरोचना मक्षिष खरकरटमूच लण्डपिण्डवह्नास्तन्पतीवापासद्वलीपा वा विशुद्धास्त्ववन्ति ।

§ यवमाषतिलपलाशपोलुचारैः गोक्षीरराजक्षीरैर्वा कदलीव्रजकन्द-प्रतीवापी मार्दवकरः । मधुमधुकमजापयःसतैल द्रुतगुडकिण्वयुतं सकन्दहीक—यदपि शतसहस्रधा विभिन्नं भवति मृदु चिन्निरेव तन्निवेकैः । गोदन्तशृङ्गप्रतीवापी मृदुस्तम्भनः ।

about them is admittedly a great loss to us.

After the metals had been purified, the different superintendents who looked after the manufacture of articles from different metals took charge of them. There were several such superintendents. There was a superintendent of gold (सुवर्णाध्यक्षः) for manufacturing ornaments from gold; a superintendent of the inferior metals viz., copper, lead, tin, bell metal, ताल and लोभ्र (लोहाध्यक्षः) to manufacture commodities from them; a superintendent of the armoury (बायुधाध्यक्षः) one of whose duties was to look after the manufacture of metal weapons; a superintendent of the mint (लक्षणाध्यक्षः) for minting coins from gold, silver, copper &c; a superintendent of the treasury (कोशाध्यक्षः) a principal duty of whom was to look after the formation of ornaments of precious stones such as necklaces, bracelets &c. Commerce in the manufactured metal articles was in the hands of the Government. There was a separate superintendent to look after and regulate commerce in salt* (लवणाध्यक्षः).

There were separate regulations for the different departments of the superintendents but leaving them for the present, let us turn to the different kinds of rates that were levied from mines.* These were as the passage quoted below shows,—(1) मूल्य (2) विभाग (3) व्याजो (4) परिच (5) अत्यय (6) शुल्क (7) वैधरण (8) दण्ड (9) रूपिक ।

Before leaving the subject of mines, it should be noted that in Bk. IV, वाक्यकर्मानुयोगः, there is a passage which lays down this punishment for a Brahman who has committed a heinous offence, viz., that though he must not be tortured in any case, his property may be confiscated or he may be condemned to the mines.† This resembles the punishment inflicted in Rome on criminals for an offence of the grosser sort.

Let us now turn to the next point, viz., irrigation. That there was an elaborate system of irrigation in the time of Chandra Gupta is already known to us by the following lines of Megasthenes, viz.—

“The greater part of the soil is under irrigation and

* एव' मूल्य' विभाग' च व्याजो परिचमत्ययम्
शुल्क' वैधरण' दण्ड' रूप' रूपिकमेव च ।

† (ब्राह्मणं पापकर्माणम्) कुर्यान्निर्विषयं राजा वासयेदाकरेषु वा ।

consequently bears two crops in the course of a year."—Book I. Fragment, I.

And again,

"Some superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into other branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it."—Book III. Fragment XXXIV.

These statements are borne out by the Arthashastra and moreover, certain details are added which we do not find in Megasthenes. In the passages

इक्ष्वावर्त्तिमनुदभागं पञ्चमं ददुः ।

स्नातृप्रावर्त्तिमं चतुर्थम् ।

क्षोतयन्प्रवावर्त्तिमं च तृतीयम् ।

चतुर्थे नदीसरसटाककूपोद्घाटम् ।—Bk. II. सीताध्यक्षः ।

we see that water-rates (उदकभाग) varied according to the modes of irrigation and that the modes were four in number, viz., irrigation by hand (इक्ष्वावर्त्तिमं), irrigation by water carried on shoulders (स्नातृप्रावर्त्तिमं), irrigation by some mechanical contrivance (क्षोतयन्प्रवावर्त्तिमं), and irrigation by water raised from tanks, rivers (नदीसरसटाककूपोद्घाटम्). The rates were one-fifth, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, of the produce respectively. Again in a passage in Bk. III, वास्तुविक्रयः, which speaks of the remission of taxes in the case of the repair of old tanks and the construction of new ones and also in the case of improvement and extension of waterworks, we meet with the following expression, viz., वातप्रवृत्तिमन्निवन्धायतनतटाकक्रीदारामवृक्षवापानां सस्यपथभागीतरिकमन्वेष्टो वा यथोपकारं ददुः । Which shows that there were not only means of raising water by bullocks but also contrivances worked by windpower i.e. wind mills. In the next passage, viz.,—

सितुष्योमुच्यतस्तीयमपारि षट्पणो दमः

पारि वा तीयमन्वेष्टां प्रमादानीपदन्वतः ।

a fine of six panas is laid down for letting out the water of canals otherwise than through the sluice-gate (अपारि) and for hindering the flow of water through the same (पारि). This passage confirms the existence of sluice-gates referred to by Megasthenes in the lines quoted above; and surely it is very interesting to note that in those days there were not only contrivances

worked by bullocks but also windmills of whatever sort they be.

In the above passage, the word सितुष्यः cannot be taken as the technical name for canals in those days. For the term is a general one and has been used in several senses in the Arthashastra. It has been used to mean tanks, bridges, watercourses, embankments and even houses in a particular chapter. But in a passage in Book II, सीताध्यक्षः we meet with the word कुल्यावापाना* which means countries where water is drawn from कुल्या. This term कुल्या means an artificial watercourse and this was perhaps the technical name for canals in those days.

In this connection, it should be noted that special care was taken for keeping tanks and other waterworks in good repair and the minimum fine in the case of those who were prone to neglecting them, viz., the owners of rent-free lands, was fixed at double the loss caused by their remissness.† There were other regulations, e.g., one prohibiting men to empty a tank of its water and to allow the water of a higher tank to flow into a lower one unless the latter has been useless for three consecutive years and so forth.

This account of irrigation I cannot conclude without pointing out that in those remote days the people had a workable knowledge of the science of meteorology. They had some sort of rain gauge by which they could measure the rainfall in a particular tract of country in a given time.

(1) षोडशद्रोणजाङ्गलानां वर्षप्रमाणम् मध्यर्धमानूपानां दशवापानान्मर्धं त्रयोदशशस्मकानां त्रयोविंशतिरवन्तीनाममितमपरान्तानां षैमन्थानां च कुल्यावापानां च कालतः ।

(2) वर्षविभागः पूर्वपश्चिममासयोः, द्वीविभागीमध्यमयोः सुषमा-रूपम् ।

(3) तस्योपलब्धिवद्दृश्यतेस्थानगमनं गर्भाधानेभ्यः शुक्रोदयास्तमयचारेभ्यः सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिवैकृताच्च । सूर्याष्टौजसिद्धिः । इहृश्यतेस्थानां सन्व-करिता । शुक्रादृष्टिरिति ।

(4) त्रयस्त्रिंशद्विक्रमाणि च श्रौतिः कथञ्चैकयाः

षट्तिरातपनेधानां एवा षट्तिस्त्रिंशद्विहता ।

The passages quoted above show that they arrived at definite conclusions as to the quantity of rainfall in particular places.

* (अमितम् वर्षप्रमाणम्) षैमन्थानां च कुल्यावापानां च ।

† अग्रतोकारेहीनद्विगुणो दण्डः ।

In জন্ম countries, the rainfall is 16 dronas (a drona is a cubic measure), in the country of the অসম, 13½ dronas, in অৰলি, 23 dronas and so on [passage (1)]. Besides the rainfall is considered to be even if it falls during the commencing and closing months *i.e.*, Sravan and Kartik and two-thirds in the middle months *i.e.*, Bhadra and Asvin [passage (2)]. The third passage speaks of the forecast of rainfall that can be made by observing the position, motion &c., of the sun, and the planets, Venus and Jupiter; the germination of seeds &c., can be inferred from them also. The last passage indicates that an elaborate classification of the clouds had been made according to their characteristics. It speaks of three

kinds of such clouds as poured in heavy showers for seven days together, eighty kinds of clouds that rained minute drops and sixty kinds that appeared with sunshine. All this shows that the science of meteorology was brought to such a developed stage that the people could depend on its conclusions and guide their actions in their day-to-day work of sowing seeds, reaping harvest &c.

This brings us to the end of the subjects of mine and irrigation. Those works of public utility that require notice and have not been treated here, as well as other topics will be dealt with hereafter.

NARENDRA NATH LAW.

ACT III OF 1872 OVER AGAIN •

THE Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu has introduced a bill to amend the above-mentioned Act, which has proved since its enactment to be a veritable apple of discord, even amongst those for whom it was specially meant. In the Brahmo Samaj there are men who, coming as they do from the Hindu stock, do naturally resent their having to declare the Hindu religion to be wholly discarded by them. But Mr. Basu's Bill does not necessarily aim at the rectification of this grievance, though, if passed, it will go a great way to remove it. If we refer to the history of the Act, we find that the bigotry of Hindu orthodoxy is responsible for this defect, if defect it be. To me it does not appear defective in the sense in which it is generally interpreted. The declaration has been framed in a way which does not at all place the Hindu Brahmo outside the pale of the great Hindu Community. He has to disown not only the Hindu religion, but the Jain and Sikh religions also. But the Jains and Sikhs are Hindus. This is a fact acknowledged on all hands, even by the law of the land. The Sikh or Jain religion is a part of the Hindu religion in its widest comprehension.

So, if by the Hindu religion this wide connotation of the term were meant, the declaration would be guilty of the fallacy of cross division, with which I dare not charge those astute lawyers who were entrusted with the framing of the declaration. I think, by Hindu religion we should here understand that part of the religion which would exclude the Jains and Sikhs on account of the latter's non-caste and non-idolatrous character. So those Hindus who would not indentify themselves with the Sikhs and Jains or any other Hindu sect, but yet retain their Hindu nationality intact, had to be differentiated from the followers of this popular form of Hinduism, as the Jains or Sikhs are. Therefore, by disavowing Hindu religion in this sense the Brahmos do not necessarily dispossess themselves of the rights of belonging to the larger whole of the Hindu nation. So there is no inherent difficulty on that score. The difficulty arises out of considerations of quite a different nature. Marriage is not a contract only, it is a sacrament. Religious people, and the Brahmo Samaj is pre-eminently a religious body, object to solemnise their marriage by declaring not the avowal but the disavowal of faith in

any religion whatsoever. This is a serious objection and its speedy removal is devoutly desired.

However, as neither the community nor the law of the land as then constituted, would recognise such marriages as valid, the legalisation of them by some such act was found absolutely necessary. There are simple folk who think that the difficulty would be avoided by a free recourse to Will. The law of inheritance is one of the most vital props of human society. To leave to individual direction what is the bounden duty of collective legislation is the shortest cut to social disintegration. So the attempt at the legalisation of reformed marriages was not a fad of the reformer, but a duty imposed on him by the exigency of the situation, the imperative character of which could not be questioned by any sane man. At this late hour of the day it was an act of utter simplicity on the part of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan to appeal to the Brahman Pandits for the solution of the problem. It is a matter of history that the Pandits of Calcutta, Benares and Nadia were approached at the time of passing the Marriage Act of 1872 in order to decide its desirability or otherwise in the early seventies and the eminent Pandits totally failed to cut the Gordian knot. Hindu orthodoxy was unable to sanction such marriages, and the Act was mutilated simply owing to its opposition. But much water has flowed down the Ganges since then. The country has advanced with rapid strides both in idea and practice. There are now men who while still calling themselves orthodox require a legal sanction for carrying out their reformed idea of marriage into execution, and they cannot be denied their boon without causing serious detriment to the cause of social expansion. To refuse to grant their request is to nip the progressive evolution of the country in the bud, leaving social revolution to be the only method of progress in occupation of the field. The Hon'ble Mr. Basu advocated the cause of social expansion in a masterly and forceful way, which has left nothing to be desired. The learned advocate of Hindu marriage reform has not forgotten to bring his erudition in the ancient Hindu law to bear upon his theme. He has forced Raghunandan and other

ancient authorities into his service. The leader of the Bengal Aristocracy in the Council went to measure his length with the representative of the educated Bengali community, but to his utter discomfiture the former found himself shorter by several inches. The Maharaja finding the Shastras very hard nuts to crack and thus driven to the wall suddenly waxed eloquent in the denunciation of the Brahmo Samaj, thereby cleverly creating an exit out of the difficult position in which he had very unwisely placed himself. He gave it out in a patronising tone that the Brahmo's religion was all right, because it is the religion of the Rishis of old, but so far as his marriage system was concerned he had fallen away from the right track. Here also the Maharaja betrayed an amount of ignorance which can be matched only by the colossal un wisdom that led him to handle the "bomb"! If he had the slightest acquaintance with the works of Raja Rammohun Roy he would have found that the marriage system obtaining in the Brahmo Samaj had the hearty support of its illustrious founder. The Marriage Act as the Brahmos would have it, is the literal translation of Rammohun's own view of marriage that he would press for our adoption. The Raja has succinctly and nevertheless very definitely worked out his views about marriage at the end of his Bengali booklet called "Reply to four questions." Here a comparison has been instituted between the *Vaidic* system of marriage and the *Shaiva* system. In the latter system there is no regard for caste and age. But, according to the Raja, it is none the less valid on that account. The only restriction is that a certain degree of consanguinity should be avoided and the bride should not already possess a husband, or in other words, she should not be *sapinda* ("सपिन्दा") and must be *bhartrihina* (भर्तृहीन).

Curiously enough these are the only restrictions that have been insisted upon in Act III of 1872. So there was no occasion for apprehending, as Mr. Subba Rao did, that everybody was to marry everybody. The Raja has advocated this *Shaiva* marriage with all the force at his command. He has again returned to the charge in another of his Bengali works named "Diet Prescribed." He has defended its validity

from the Hindu standpoint with his vast *Shastric* erudition and logical acumen. "The wife married according to *Shaiva* rites is as legitimate as one married according to *Vaidic* rites. The wife married according to *Vaidic* rites," continues the Raja, "does not exist with one from birth. But on the contrary, it is evident that a woman with whom there was no relation yesterday turns out one's better half today by the force of the rites performed in the name of *Brahmá*. What objection is there to accept a woman to be the legitimate wife when married in accordance with rites prescribed

by *Mahaveda*?" With this forcible and significant utterance still extant, it is simple perversion of truth to urge that the Brahmo Samaj has gone astray from the path chalked out by its founder. The truth lies rather in the opposite direction. The Samaj has not transgressed the Raja's spirit by so much as a hair's breadth. The Maharajadhiraj was quite unaware of the fire he was playing with. His reference to Raja Rammohun Roy has proved to be the proverbial weak reed to lean upon.

We wish the bill all success.

D. N. CHOWDHURI.

CURRENT LITERATURE: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MAGAZINES (MARCH, 1911)

PROBLEMS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

TWO problems vitally affecting the future of the British Empire have come very prominently to the front during the last month. One is the problem of Irish Home Rule, and as arising out of it, the problem of the working out of a larger federation between the different units of the United Kingdom and gradually between the different parts of what is now generally called the self-governing Empire. It is essentially a political problem. The other problem is commercial and economic. It has reference to the proposed Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States. This question has opened up the somewhat decadent interests of the people in the Chamberlainite Protection or Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform. Naturally enough, therefore, the prominent March Reviews devote considerable space to both these questions. The place of honour in the *Nineteenth Century* is given to your old friend, Sir Roper Lethbridge, who, since his retirement from India, has been playing the role of the High Priest of Imperial Preference in this country. Sir Roper discusses in an unconscionably long article, the—

QUESTION OF TARIFF REFORM.

Under the heading—"The Liberal Policy

of Imperial Disintegration,"—in the light of the proposed Canadian American Reciprocity Agreement. In the *Fortnightly*, Mr. J. L. Garvin of the *Observer*, the most virulent Imperialist and Tariff Reformer in the British press, discusses the same question from the same standpoint. I will not tire you with Sir Roper's indictment of the Free Trade Fiscal Policy of the British Liberals. Whatever historical value, the countless citations made by Sir Roper from eminent British statesmen and publicists, beginning with Lord Beaconsfield and ending with "Professor Nicholson, the author of "Project of Empire," may have, his article is exceedingly dull reading. Neither his matter nor his manner has anything to appeal to those who take up their monthly reviews to get within a brief compass a correct view of the course of thoughts and events in contemporary life and history. Mr. Garvin's is much more pleasant reading. One may not agree with him, but one finds in his comparatively short article, a much clearer view both of this proposed reciprocity arrangement and its likely effect upon Imperial policy in great Britain. The psychology of this Agreement is clearly traced by Mr. Garvin to two facts, first, the wonderful agricultural development in Canada, and second, to the increasing needs of the United States for these products.

In the last ten years Canada has entered upon her growing time.

The vast stretches of her last, best West, have been opened up by a network of railways. Immigrants of all nationalities, though very largely from the Mother Country, have swarmed into the new lands. Canada already counts eight millions of people. There is no limit to be set to her growth. In another generation she will have the numbers and more than the wealth now thought necessary to make a great power. But upon the other side of the imaginary line dividing the eight millions in Canada from the ninety millions in the United States, there has been going on a gigantic process of the quite opposite kind. There has been an enormous development of the industrial output and human consuming power of the American Republic. Its wheat surplus, which formerly fed these islands, has dwindled so rapidly that it now forms only about an eighth part of the whole, and in a few years, that export will have disappeared altogether. In respect of all foodstuffs, the eating power of the United States has gained rapidly upon its growing power. As demand has risen faster than supply, prices, as usual, have risen more than proportionately. In the same way, the United States have used up their own resources of raw material—above all timber—with unparralled recklessness.

Mr. Garvin also summarises the principal clauses of this Reciprocity Agreement. They provide (1) broadly for absolute free trade in all food-stuffs except dead meat and various canned and prepared commodities; (2) free trade in certain raw materials, including rough and sawn timber; (3) free trade in wood pulp and paper (but this will only come into force when Ontario and Quebec consent to remove the export duties imposed for the purpose of keeping the manufacture in these provinces); (4) mutually reduced duties on various manufactured goods, including agricultural machinery.

THE FLAG FOLLOWS TRADE.

And Mr. Garvin's chief contention is that it is not only true that trade follows the flag, it is even more true especially as between practically independent States, the flag also follows trade. Specially is it true of the Imperial Flag. It was proved in the case of Germany where the Zollverein paved the way through commercial union to an ultimate Imperial union. The practical creative force behind the making of the American Constitution, says Mr. Garvin, was the same. Commerce, as Daniel Webster said, was the beginning and end of it. Mr. Chamberlain recognised this, and so wanted to work up a closer Imperial unity between the different parts

of the British Empire by the establishment through Imperial preference and Tariff Reform, a close commercial community of interests between the Mother Country and her Colonies. And yet this policy was being rejected by the Liberals. And what is the result. Canada is already entering into a closer commercial union with her nearest neighbour than exists between herself and Great Britain. The new South African Government actually put forward a proposal for consideration by the coming Imperial Conference that in matters of commerce the Mother Country should receive no better treatment than foreign countries, and she was persuaded to withdraw it at the last moment. All these are to Mr. Garvin, sad evidences of the lack of true statesmanship in England, and of the consequent threat of disruption of the British Empire. He takes the remark of the United States Senator that he hoped that this reciprocity agreement would gradually lead to the annexation of Canada to the United States, very seriously. Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, is said to have laughed as he heard the statement. It was a criminal laugh, said Lord Ampthill, the other night in the House of Lords. So apparently thinks Mr. Garvin in the columns of the *Fortnightly*. But there is a way out of it, and that is Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference. The Reciprocity Agreement is not to be embodied in a treaty, that is itself a safeguard. It is to be carried out on each side by concurrent legislation, terminable at will. The second safety lies in the fact that British Preference is not wiped out of the Canadian tariff. Canada remains absolutely unfettered in the matter. She remains free, if she pleases, even to increase the British preference to any extent. And what Mr. Garvin desires is that the fullest advantage should be taken as soon as possible of these facts and conditions, with a view to establish an Imperial Preferential trade relation between not only Canada and Great Britain, but between all the component parts of the British Empire.

FORMS OF HOME RULE.

While the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Fortnightly*, both of which are dominated by Tory ideals, discuss prominently the

Canadian Reciprocity Agreement, they seem to have left both the question of the House of Lords, and of Irish Home Rule as practically hopeless. *The Contemporary Review*, which is dominated by a kind of Liberalism, of the moderate brand, devotes its leading article to the above question. It is, however, not a new article, but a reprint of an article contributed to its pages nine years ago by the present Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn. But though written nine years ago, it embodies practically the whole policy of the present British Cabinet in regard to the question of Irish Home Rule. Ever since this question came to the front last year, it has formed part in all Ministerial utterances of a general scheme of Home Rule or Local Government all round. The Irish Home Rule must be accompanied with or followed by similar Home Rule constitutions for Scotland and Wales. Mr. Redmond accepts this general Home Rule scheme, but he is not willing to wait until Scotland and Wales have developed their own Home Rule institutions. Lord Loreburn practically supports Irish Home Rule as a part of this general scheme. He agrees with the Prime Minister that if Home Rule is to be granted to Ireland at all, it shall be a substantial something and not a mere shadow of self-government. Imperial supremacy must be maintained, but complete local autonomy must also be simultaneously secured. Ireland must be permitted to manage her own affairs, subject to Imperial supremacy by her own Parliament, and through her own Executive, responsible to that Parliament. But Mr. Loreburn says, if that be done, it cannot be just that Irish members should vote upon purely British questions. I will quote the last paragraph, though it is rather long, of Lord Loreburn's reprinted article as it gives practically the outline along which the present Government is likely to try to frame their Irish Home Rule Bill when the time arrives for its presentation to Parliament:—

Let the several methods of Home Rule for Ireland that have been under review be now finally contrasted in respect of the justice, convenience, simplicity, and degree of innovation they respectively import. Absolute exclusion of Irish members means an alteration in the status of Ireland, which must either be followed by her release from all contributions to Imperial expenditure, or provoke an unanswerable complaint of inferiority to every other self-governing part of the Empire. Retention of Irish members, with liberty

to take part, as heretofore, by voice and vote on all subjects, affixes a disadvantage to England and Scotland by daily subjecting them to Irish interference in their internal affairs, including the choice of their Ministers, without a corresponding right to interfere in the internal affairs and choice of Ministers in Ireland; a grievance alike practical and sentimental, which, though slightly abated, would not be substantially removed by a reduction in the number of intruders. Retention of Irish members, with liberty to take part only upon Imperial questions, unless accompanied by a reconstruction of our Ministerial system, involves such instability, that the mere necessity of avoiding constant changes of Government would weaken the authority of the House of Commons, and thereby enhance that of the Crown or the House of Lords. Of these three methods the first would be convenient for our ease, and simple to perfection, but a vast innovation, either not just or not final. The second would be unjust to Great Britain, inconvenient as breeding a legitimate resentment, simple enough if it could be maintained, and of a novelty quite startling, because though Great Britain may have inflicted, she has never hitherto submitted to, inequality. The third method would be free from injustice, except that created by the worry, complication, and impotence inseparable from a constant succession of short-lived governments, or by a diminution of popular power, whichever might appear to posterity the lesser evil. Nevertheless, there are a good many—myself among the number—who, for one plain reason, would rather accept for a time any of these methods than go on as now, with Ireland at heart mutinous, under an unconstitutional rule, contaminating our own traditions of freedom, and with a congestion of business in Parliament so serious that the prime wants of our own population can scarcely be discussed, while public expenditure evades control, and foreign, colonial, and Indian matters are determined by a virtual autocracy of Ministers and permanent officials. For each of these three methods could be but a stage in a journey longer or shorter toward the fourth, namely, the maintenance of a House of Commons and an Imperial Government precisely as they are now, committing to representatives of Great Britain and Ireland respectively the duty of making and administering their own domestic laws. This method alone is at once just, convenient, and simple, involving in reality less of novelty than any other. It would maintain the status of Ireland without encroaching upon self-government in Great Britain, avert risk of Ministerial instability, preserve the authority of the House of Commons, and offer a visible sign of union which Unionists could hardly gainsay. And, though scoffed at by many as an intolerable innovation, it would in truth be redolent of ancient usage, and salutary in itself even were it not demanded by necessity.

YOUNG TURKEY AFTER TWO YEARS.

This is about the only other article in the *March Nineteenth Century* of any special interest to the student of contemporary history and politics. The Young Turk has been the object of considerable commendation as also of a good deal of criticism

during the last two years. There have been people who have not concealed their distrust in his motives or in his capacities. The very suddenness of the coup for a time disarmed all criticism. Europe was commencing to go back to its old attitude of supercilious contempt towards Turkey when the second revolution which successfully quelled a mutiny and captured a conspiring monarch, once more established the capacity for statesmanship and organisation of the leaders of the Turkish Revolution in the eye of contemporary European history. Mr. Noel Buxton in this article tries to sum up what Turkey has already done during the last two years to clear her Augean stables, and to indicate some of the problems that faces her in the future. With regard to what Young Turkey has been able to do, the writer points out quite a number of things, among which are the security to person and property which she has established and the prospects of economic advancement which follows such security. Freedom of travel has immensely enlarged the old system, which made it penal to leave his district without permission, and which has been completely done away with. As in the case of freedom of travel, the cessation of vexatious interference has produced a marked improvement in another matter, namely, freedom of speech. Before the revolution, every conversation, between two or more Ottoman subjects, might bring disaster upon them, and a general atmosphere of anxiety destroyed social life. To-day the Ottoman subject is free to meet his friends and even to enjoy public meetings and club life. The substitution of a Constitutional for a despotic regime has incidentally brought about another excellent result. It has completely stopped the internecine feuds that led in the latter years of the reign of Abdul Hamid to a death roll of 200 per month. And Mr. Buxton says:—

It is greatly to the credit of the Young Turks that they have not attempted to continue the noxious method of setting one section of the people against another, employed by Abdul Hamid. By encouraging the national hopes of the Greeks (and giving them *carte blanche* to murder) the late Sultan succeeded in decimating the adherents of the Bulgarian Church—the element most dangerous to him. I myself, for instance, in 1906, visited a large village which had a few days before been attacked by a Greek and Turkish band, and found the wounded, men, women,

and children, lying untended, some days after the attack. Thirteen of the villagers, including children, had been killed.

Then there is a very considerable increase of trade, and among other incidental benefits, the poorer classes are not now so wholly as of old beyond the reach of medical aid.

The Young Turks are free to admit that in visible works of public utility, they have not as yet progressed very far. But they have done something in regard to railways, irrigation, and road schemes. The one field of progress, however, for which the Turks claim credit, is that of army reform. This, they say, is rightly the first sphere for the establishment of equality. It is to create a patriotic feeling, to turn the eyes of the Christians from Athens or Sophia to Constantinople, to increase the sense of Imperial unity and strength, and to indicate the Turkish idea of equal justice. And finally, in regard to finance, the key-note of efficient administration, it cannot be denied that Turkey has done even more than was expected of her. The revenue has greatly increased, though militarism has eaten up a good portion of this increased revenue which might otherwise have been usefully employed for the promotion of public works and education, but yet there has been progress even in education. Failing adequate Governmental action, certain branches of education have been virtually undertaken by the organisation of the Young Turks known as the Committee of Union and Progress. It has been laid down indeed, that no branch of the Committee shall be formed unless it maintains a school. There are six hundred of these schools in Turkey now. The Committee have established also night schools for giving free elementary teaching to vast numbers of men who do not know how to read or write. In summing up Mr. Buxton says,—

Among positive reforms effected by the Government, the Turks claim to have done much in the appointment of non-Turks to official posts. But perhaps the most effective recognition of the idea of inter-religious equality has been the Parliament itself. Though "constitutional" is hardly the word to apply, yet we must remember that methods for securing the preponderance of the predominant race are very familiar in Europe, and particularly in a monarchy so near to Turkey as Hungary: and where the feeling of religious and racial ascendancy has been so intense

it is no small achievement that Christian deputies should be allowed not only to sit but to make the most scathing attacks upon the conduct of the Government.

The press is not so free, it appears, as the Members of Parliament. But criticisms of the Government appearing in foreign newspapers are at least reproduced in the Turkish journals, and it would be unfair in this or any other respect, to apply a standard more lofty than we should demand of certain European states with whom we are on friendly terms, and whose methods we seldom criticise.

REFERENDUM VERSUS REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

The only other article besides that of Home Rule in the March "*Contemporary*" of special interest to political students, is that of Mr. John Macdonnell who writes under the above heading. The advantages claimed for the Referendum are mainly the following as enumerated by the writer:—

(1) Its educational effect; "It is most favourable to the advancement of the education of the people" (Oswald, "Direct Legislation by the people", page 9). (2) The supposed power of the people of judging of measures which are to their interest; "The experience of democracy teaches that a people can be more easily misled when there is a question of things" (Oswald, "Direct Legislation by the People", page 8). (3) The Referendum is the only means, it is said, of keeping the Legislature in touch with the people. (4) The separation of measures from men. It (the Referendum) separates public issues from men and gets the people into the habit of considering the advisability of laws upon their merits. (Pierce, "Federal Usurpation," page 104-5). The Referendum would correct the anomalies of our electoral system; each voter would have one vote; each vote would have one value; a vote in Ireland would not count for more than a vote in London. (6) The Referendum would be a protection against hurried legislation.

And in considering these, he says that:—

Whatever elements of truth may be in these claims for the Referendum, most of them would be met by short Parliamentism by reforms in electoral distribution, and by some measure securing the representation of minorities. I will not dwell upon all the disadvantages incident to the Referendum—e.g., the expense of the system, the difficulty of amending measures which had been once approved. I mention only one vital objection. What is now the problem of political problems, the difficult conciliation to be made, if possible here and wherever democracy exists? To maintain it while eliminating its dangers; to combine the power of the people with the just influence of knowledge; to unite free political life with discipline and self-restraint; to find protection not only against oppression, which is now rare, but also against ignorance, which is always common. The Referendum is no solution of this problem; it might make the combination to be desired rarer and more difficult.

In the writings of publicists there has been much refined discussion as to the true distinction between representative government and the rule of the many, direct and unqualified. The former has been described as a method of eliciting the collective will, the true will of the community. Guizot, the historian of representative government, sees in it a method by which prominence is given to the best elements scattered through society. "Les organiser en pouvoir de fait, c'est à dire de concentrer, de réaliser la raison publique, la moral publique, et de les appeler au pouvoir." These are dark sayings, refinements not in touch with facts, abstractions which often conceal the advocacy of defence of class interest. The essence of the representative system, stated in simple words according with facts, is trust by the many in the worthiest available. It is this trust which gives to representative government what is best in aristocracy without its drawbacks. It is this trust used on the whole, honestly and wisely, which has so far confuted the oldest and most common accusations against democracy; and such hope as exists that the evils incident to democracy may be more and more avoided depends upon the continuance of a system under which the many repose confidence in a select few. And this element the Referendum and Initiative would weaken.

THE NEW IDEAL IN MONTHLY MAGAZINES.

Besides these few articles noticed above, there is really little or nothing of general interest in the more pretentious and costly magazines. In fact it seems that the old ideal of English magazine literature, which the *Edinburgh* or *Blackwood* or the *Quarterly* or *Frazer's*, and subsequently, the *Contemporary* and the *Nineteenth Century* tried to reach, in their best days, has no marketable value in either England or America to-day. All these are perceptibly declining both in the matter and the manner of their articles. The new ideal seems to my mind to be realised to a very large extent by the *Century* and *Harper*, among American, and the new *T. P.'s Magazine* among English periodicals. All these are illustrated, and are characterised by superior literary treatment. These seem to know how to make their articles intensely interesting without losing in depth of thought or accuracy of analysis or knowledge. *T. P.'s Magazine* is only six months old, but it has already made its mark among current periodicals here, and seems clearly to have come to stay. The number before me has quite a large and varied assortment of eminently interesting and instructive reading. The place of honour is given to a character

study of Mr. Balfour by the editor. It is headed:—

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

Character sketches such as we have here are exceedingly difficult to summarise, and I will not make the attempt either. I would recommend this article to all those who are interested in the study of present day British political life, and to that larger class who enjoy a peep behind the main-springs of the life and character of public men. Incidentally, the writer in discussing the psychology of Mr. Balfour, throws considerable light upon what may be called the psychology of civilised political life, as will appear from the following quotation from this article. It is a large quotation, but will amply repay perusal:—

Politics is also the hardest of taskmasters, and demands the utmost concentration of interest, thought, and activity; and Mr. Balfour is not a man of strong health, and his interest in politics, as indeed probably in most things, is fitful; and politics demand as keen, vivid, and enduring interest in the smallest details as in the greatest; and Mr. Balfour has never been able to master mere detail, few men who have a love for abstract generalisation ever have shown such an interest. And among the infinitesimal details to which the true politician has to give most attention, is that of personal relations with innumerable and often infinitely little people, and Mr. Balfour has few personal susceptibilities and still fewer personal pretensions of his own, and is what Catholic theologians would call invincibly ignorant as to the large part small personal attentions play in the lives of the small people that go to make up the ranks and the strength of a political party. He was once, I have heard, reproved by one of his friends because he had neglected to salute or to speak to one of his new supporters in the House of Commons; it was purely from inadvertence, because Mr. Balfour is incapable of even a small act of impoliteness; but he asked in unaffected surprise if such a thing could in the least influence any human being's vote or support or concern. Charged even recently with aloofness, he is really innocent of any intention to inflict pain or to assume airs: it is a natural and unconquerable disposition to attach importance to personal trivialities. How different from that other man—now broken and remote from the scene of conflict—who never, I am told, even in the hours of domestic meals encouraged the discussion of anything or anybody but politics and politicians! How different from that man who, when he entered upon any great undertaking—the break away from one party, the opening of a campaign on a new policy in another party—first spent every hour of every day for weeks and months in capturing this man or that, in electing to or rejecting from apparently small posts in small organisations the men on whose hostility or support he could rely; and who never went into any battle without having

secured every pass and defile of every position either in his own or his enemies' camp!

Finally, the true politician must, or ought to be, possessed by a certain eager, if not even devouring, personal ambition; and the atmosphere of popular acclamation and personal power must be that which he breathes with zest and even avidity. It is doubtful if Mr. Balfour has any such passion. He is, I believe, an essentially modest man, with no eager desire for recognition; with probably the shirking of most men of sensitive nerves and of fragile physique, from the crowd and its huzzahs. The changed conditions of public life, which have come even in his own epoch, are calculated to make such a shirking from popular manifestations even more pronounced. For to-day the most real of slaves are the dictators. The long railway journeys, the crowded and hot halls, the even more crowded and even stiffer overflow meeting, make such a demand on the politician's physical and mental resources that the life of a leader degenerates often into a slavery and a drudgery that wear out; and a man worn out physically or intellectually, finds it hard to enjoy anything, and especially that enthusiasm in others, which is in such sharp contrast with his own physical and mental exhaustion.

My readers will by this time have come to the conclusion that I have made an irresistible case against Mr. Balfour's fitness or disposition for political life, and still more for political leadership. But here again one must look at the life and the temperament of a politician from the inside, and not from the outside.

In no man is the duality of human character more pronounced than in the politician. His life is a devastating, but it is also an intoxicating one. To fill the eye and mouth of the millions of the world is a joy to even the most modest nature, to be one of the great forces which control the wills and the destinies of mankind; to have a share in making the changes that reform, or preventing the changes that may prejudice all the future of humanity, these are fascinating possessions which no man, who has once held them, can give up without a sigh and a struggle. It may avail a man little if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul; but what man will give up the world if he have once conquered it? What politician will abandon the mighty place he holds if he be one of its leading figures, unless he is compelled to do so by the loss of popularity or of health? For a man of the prominence and power of Mr. Balfour to descend to the obscurity of private life, would require as great a wrench as Charles V. must have felt when he exchanged his Imperial throne for a cloister.

Again, Mr. Balfour, like every other leader, has ceased to be the master of his own destinies. Every man in such a position makes engagements, contracts, obligations, to tens of thousands of other men; their fortunes, their hopes, their convictions, are bound to the chariot wheels of his personal fortunes and position; and it would be something like treason and treachery to abandon these followers.

I have often written that after a while a politician has no more power of independent motion than a brick in the very centre of a wall.

Among other articles of general interest in this month's *T. P.'s Magazine*, are a short

but exceedingly enthralling account of the Fabian Society and its work. It shows the intellectual and moral force that stands behind the present Socialist Movement in England. Fabianism is really another name for the most advanced and practical school of Socialism, and we learn from this article that among the members of the Fabian Society have been such eminent moulders of contemporary British thought and life as Mr. Bernard Shaw, the well-known dramatic author and art critic, Mr. H. G. Wells, the famous novelist and writer, Ernest Rædford, the poet, E. Nesbit, novelist and poetess, Mr. Sidney Webb, political writer, and Mrs. Sidney Webb, reformer and sociologist; Rev. Stopford Brook, and the Rev. R. J. Campbell, among eminent preachers; and Messrs. Will Crooks and Chiozza Money, Members of Parliament. Another article discussing the Post Impressionist School of Modern Art, and one, on the Art of Jo Davidson, the Impressionist Sculptor, are both likely to interest the student and lover of contemporary British art, while to the student of occultism, Max Rittenberg's "A Scientific Basis for Ghosts," must be eminently interesting, but space forbids my making any quotation from these.

A SEARCHLIGHT UPON THE SUFFRAGISTS.

In the March number of *Nash's Magazine*, Mrs. Teresa Billington Greig, who until recently had been Organising Secretary of the Womens Freedom League, contributes an article repudiating the methods of the militant suffragists and presenting her out-

look over the immediate political future of the Movement with which she had up till a few days ago been very prominently associated. Her repudiation of the Suffragist cause is due to her recognition of the fact that the present Suffragist Movement is forgetting its end in its concern for the pursuit of ephemeral means. She says that "the desire for protest has become stronger than the desire for the suffrage, the means has been preferred before the end." She admits the necessity of revolt. But "there was a natural way, and an artificial way open to the rebellion; a real way of revolt and a sham one: this new movement betrayed itself when it chose the artificial, gave itself up to the sham." The suffrage movement, Mrs. Billington Greig thinks, is only a phase, a little phase, of the larger woman's movement of our times. The freedom of women is a much bigger thing than the vote. In a movement of real emancipation, she says,

"Women would strive for the personal emancipation of the individual woman; they would work against the false relations of our social and industrial and family life, as well as against political disabilities; they would develop the sense of sex solidarity until it was superior to all petty considerations of social class, they would recognise the need for the co-operation of men and women on a basis of mutual respect in the search for the solution of sex problems."

And her last word is that neither the use of the vote, nor the frenzy of hurry in the winning of it, will accomplish this full emancipation of woman.

N. H. D.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space.

"Are the Bengali Hindus a Dying Race?"

Allow me to begin by thanking the writer of the review of the above subject for the careful attention with which he has examined my brochure. It is not often that such careful and close attention characterise the work of the critic in this country. He has differed from me on several points. Of course there

We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1,200 words approximately.

are several matters on which diversity of opinion is inevitable and we may very well agree to differ on those points. But there are other points on which he seems to have misunderstood my meaning and I hope to be able to convince him of this in the following notes.

The writer has laid at my door the accusation that I have hurled "injudicious epithets and unseemly banter" at Dr. Mukherjee. I must take exception

to this remark, which is unfounded. I have been exceptionally careful not to import any strong feeling into the discussion of an important subject, and I challenge the writer to single out one epithet to which exception can reasonably be taken.

The writer remarks—"He admits that in every part of India except Bengal the Hindus permit their widows to be united with a second husband." This is evidently an oversight. What I have actually said is that in all parts of India except Bengal the lower section of Hindu society—the *Shudras*—*Navashakhs* downwards, allow their widows to remarry.

Last but not least must be considered his concluding remarks—"Finally, we have a few words to say with regard to the mental attitude of Prof. Deuskar touching the whole question.—He says that a perusal of the country's history for the past one thousand years has convinced him that no good will come to the Hindus unless they are permeated with the spirit of their religion, and proceeds regretfully to observe that Hindu students do not hesitate to act in opposition to their *Samaj*. On page 122 he says that in the opinion of many, the Hindu race shall not regain its former health unless it conforms, in ritual, and practice, in religion and activity, in spirit and ideal, wholly and always, to the ancient Arya system of India. We regret that this should be the attitude of the professor of history in the National College of Bengal, and we should regret it still more if this were to represent the attitude of the scholars and the authorities of the College," etc.

It is a big jump from my pamphlet to the National Council of Education, an institution which he seems to have converted into the target of his scorn. What the National College has to do with the individual opinion of a man who has a separate existence, I cannot see. I have nowhere said that "the Hindu race shall not regain its former health unless it conforms to the ancient Aryan System of India." Practically, I have quoted the opinion of another writer, Sjt. Radharaman Mukherjee, M.A. B.L., and remarked that the erudite should examine the soundness of this opinion. But I have expressed the opinion that we shall not prosper till we become *Swadeshi* in almost all respects. I laid special stress on the fact

that the European mode of living cannot suit us and must exercise a detrimental effect on our health. This is an opinion which has been held by an orthodox Hindu like the late Babu Bhudeva Mukherjee and a reformer like the late Babu Rajnarain Bose. What I object to and do condemn is the reprehensible tendency of our young men, whose want of experience precludes the possibility of their being competent to form a definite opinion on social customs, to rebel against a social system which has successfully withstood the corrosive wear and tear of time. In no country is such a tendency regarded with satisfaction. And as for the system of education in which religion is at a discount—it only enhances the weakness to which flesh is heir to. I am sure the writer does not support such a system of education, which stands in need of reformation,—speedy and sweeping.

In the March issue of the *Modern Review* presumably the same writer has reverted to the subject. I have to remark that I have nowhere ignored the influence of the immigrant population in the course of my discussion. On the other hand I have carefully tried to exclude such population from the "natural population" of the province. All that I have done is that where Dr. Mukherjee has not taken such population into account. I have not tried to be fastidiously scrutinising, but have examined the official figures roughly in the earlier part of my book.

As for the relative longevity of the followers of the two faiths, I have not ignored, but on the other hand quoted figures (number of sexagenarians and old men) to show that the relative longevity of the Hindus is much greater than that of the Mahomedans. I am at a loss to understand why the writer has ignored this fact, which has been fully discussed on pp. 77-78 of my book. That "the Mahomedans have a lower mean age than the Hindus" has been admitted even by Mr. Gait. Mr. O'Donnell also came to the same conclusion in 1891 when he said—"The longer life of Hindu men in Bengal is probably due to their conditions of life being more favourable." Census Report of 1891, p. 170.

S. G. DEUSKAR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Life of Gris Chunder Ghose, by one who knew him: Edited by his Grandson Manmatha Nath Ghose, M. A.:—Calcutta, R. Cambray & Co., 6, Hastings Street, 1911. Cloth bound, pp. 239 quarto, with illustrations, Price Rs. 2/8/0.

The name of Gris Chandra Ghose is almost forgotten nowadays, but this is but one of the many instances of the transitoriness of journalistic fame, for he was born in a well-known and gifted family in the metropolis of India about the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and was the first editor of

the *Hindu Patriot* and subsequently the Editor of the *Bengalee* when it first saw the light of day as a weekly journal in the year 1862. Seven years later the *Anglo-Indian I. D. News* wrote of him as follows: "It is no secret that we held him to be at the head of his contemporaries in the Anglo-Bengalee press...and with more men of his stamp, we should not despair of the future of India." An eloquent speaker, a brilliant writer with a very wide command over the English and the French languages, a staunch friend of the oppressed and the downtrodden, he was admired alike by the rich and the poor, by Indians and Europeans. Colonel Malleon, himself a distinguished

literary man, was an admirer of Giris Chandra's scholarship and said that he had travelled over different parts of the world—Italy, Germany etc.—but had never seen a more independent or more honourable man. His premature death in 1869 at the early age of forty was mourned over by every section of the Calcutta community and the sum collected at a public memorial meeting held in his honour at the Town Hall was devoted to the foundation of a scholarship in his *alma mater*, the Oriental Seminary, with a view to perpetuate his name.

It is well that the life of such a man should be written, and we are glad to be able to say that it has been very ably written. The biographer chooses to be anonymous but it is quite evident that he is thoroughly competent for the task he has set to himself. His style is racy, idiomatic and interesting to a degree, he possesses judgment and the power of selection, and has taken care not to overload the narrative with cumbersome details. For the life of an Indian cannot, in the present circumstances, be very eventful; he is bound to move within set grooves, and 'deeds of high emprise' are forbidden to him. Giris Chandra, like his comrade in arms Harish Chander Mukherji, was only a clerk in the military Auditor General's Office. With the insight born of true sympathy, Sir Henry Cotton once observed that had he lived in India in any other time but the present he would undoubtedly have attained the very highest rank. Hence Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mukherji called Giris 'a geophaphical mistake'—an expression applied, we believe, in our own days to the great Iswar Chandra Vidyasager by Babu Robindranath Tagore. That which heightens the value of the present biography is the success with which the writer has woven into the story glimpses of the notabilities of the times so as to make the *tout ensemble* complete. Here, for instance, we are introduced to men like Ramdulal Dey, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Harish Chandra Mukherji, Shib Chandra Dey (father-in-law of Giris Chandra), Gour Mohan Addy, founder of the Oriental Seminary, Herman Geoffroy, the distinguished linguist and scholar who was at the head of that institution, Captain D. L. Richardson and Derozio of the Hindu College, David Hare, Rev. K. M. Bannerji, Ramgopal Ghose, and others. The book begins with an excellent pen-picture of Giris Chandra's millionaire grandfather Kashinath, friend and contemporary of the merchant-prince Ramdulal Dey. In him we find portrayed the genial piety, the generous self-sacrifice, and the infinite patience of the head of the joint Hindu family as it then was; Kashinath spent Rs. 30,000 to rescue a fellow creature from social ignominy, and gave away no less than four-fifths of a prize of Rs. 50,000 won by him at a lottery to the subordinates of his office, because when he purchased the ticket he had mentally debited them with part of its price in the belief that if his luck did not suffice, theirs might secure the prize. Truly does the writer observe: "These were our forefathers, and how small and degenerate we look beside them with our everlasting tattle of principle and morality, yet perpetual struggle to overreach our fellows." We also find that Kashinath and his contemporaries lived to a good old age, earned a fortune and lost it with equal unconcern, and died in the fear of God and absolute resignation to His will. The next generation represented by Giris Chandra and others of his stamp were our pre-

University scholars, with a sounder knowledge of English and sometimes of other European languages than is usual now-a-days among the best products of our colleges, and a better memory than most of us possess; they could quote from the best English classics by the yard; they took delight in epistolary composition and in the cultivation of letters even in mature years; when they were weighed down with the cares of life they turned for solace to literature and poetry; their patriotic impulse used to spend itself in debating clubs, small charities, and in humble efforts at social reform. Life is more strenuous now more melancholy for the individual but full of nobler aspirations for the race, the spirit of patriotism colours our thoughts and activities more deeply than in the early sixties, but we have lost something of the grace and charm of life in the interval. Few of us have the leisure to devote so much time and attention to our letters as Giris Chandra, for instance, bestowed upon his correspondence, our style is more simple and direct though less eloquent; our thoughts are deeper and richer, we have abandoned all superfluities in transliteration. We do not spell Urdu as 'Oordoo,' Kashinath as 'Cossyenauth,' Bhagabati as 'Bhuggabutti'; we do not call ourselves 'natives' so complacently as they did, nor do we feel pride in calling English our adopted language, and are less neglectful of the claims of our mother-tongue. We do not regard those Indians who engaged in the Sepoy Mutiny as 'ruthless savages,' neither do we consider a trip to Balasore as synonymous with a journey to *ultima Thule*. Times have changed, and with them the manners. But though we have gained much, we cannot say that the gain is entirely on the side of us modernists. Culture, sweetness and grace, want of that extreme form of selfishness which is sometimes identified with practical sense, are some of the points in which young Bengal of a by-gone generation must be given the palm over us.

Giris Chandra was affected by the prevailing spirit of religious unrest. Herbert Spencer, Mill and Comte—specially the last—were then in the heyday of their glory. But as Professor Lobb said, 'He was one who, though perplexed in faith, continued to be pure in deeds.' His views on Brahmoism, which was just then coming into the forefront, will appear from the following extract: "The idolator makes a God of human features, hands, eyes, forehead, and feet. The spiritual worshipper prepares a deity of mercy, of justice, and the various components of the human soul. We fail to see the difference between the two. Both copy from frail, wicked, sinful man. The God of nature may be fundamentally distinct, infinitely superhuman, or organically different from human. The idolator gives his God a multitude of eyes, the spiritual worshipper calls him omniscient. The sense intended to be conveyed by both is the same. Why then these mock-heroics against idolatry?" Prof. Lobb seemed to share with Giris Chandra this antipathy towards Brahmoism. In a letter to Giris, referring to Justice Dwarakanath Mitra, the great Indian apostle of positivism, who knew French almost as well as his mother tongue, he says: 'Such a man is worth a thousand of the raw recruits of Brahmoism—the beardless youths who can read the secret decrees of heaven before they have mastered the elements of arithmetic'. We may add that we quote these views not because we share them, but in order to show the

attitude of an enlightened section of the Hindu community towards Brahmoism as it was propounded by the school of Keshub Chunder Sen.

In the recently published book, 'India under Lord Ripon,' by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, that sympathetic and statesman-like observer of Indian events, the author says that British rule has made amends for all its shortcomings by introducing a new element in the intellectual atmosphere of India—freedom of thought. Had Mr. Blunt written in these days of Press Laws and Seditious Meetings Acts, of proclamations, forfeitures and suppressions, his views would probably have undergone considerable modification. We will close this inadequate review of the very interesting book before us by quoting the following passage from pages 75-76 in this connection :

"It is worthy of remark that in former days, that is to say, before the promulgation of the present stringent rules prohibiting Government servants from having anything to do with the press, there were heads of offices who used to take a pride in having clever journalists for their subordinates. The first question that Colonel Osborn put to Giris's eldest son when the latter joined the Pay Examiner's Office, was 'Do you write for the papers?' and on receiving a reply in the negative, he remarked : 'You should follow in your father's footsteps.' Colonel Champneys used, it is said, to supply Harish Chandra Mukerji with London telegrams for publication in the *Hindu Patriot* and there is reason to suspect that Colonel Malleon occasionally contributed to the columns of that paper. The following remarks made by Giris Chandra regarding the right of Government servants to freely criticise the measures of Government are quoted from an article which appeared in the *Hindu Patriot* of the 11th May, 1854. They have a peculiar significance and interest at the present day.

"All civilised Governments ought to bear in mind that their power is merely derivative and that because a member of the general polity consents for the benefit as well of himself as that of the public to accept service under the state, he does not thereby forfeit the title of a freeborn citizen to give expression to his opinion regarding measures to which he may take objection. On the contrary, his official position should peculiarly qualify him for leading the public mind into the correct channel of thought; and to a Government that builds not its power on the complement of bayonets at its service, but on the reverence and affection of its grateful subjects, such discussion is fraught with manifold advantages. But evil seeks darkness and the East India Company is certainly not in a position to bear the light."

We find from the letter of Giris Chandra quoted at page 194 that Lord Dalhousie failed to secure a public address from the non-official Indians of Calcutta. One cannot but contrast with this the pretentious memorials set up in honour of every little tin-god of officialdom in these degenerate days and reflect on the quality of the freedom of thought which he is supposed to enjoy.

The printing and binding of the book are excellent, and we commend it to the public as a most instructive account of the life and times of one of our foremost publicists in the last century.

P.

Manganese-Ore Deposits of the Sundur State : by A. Ghose.

This paper was read at a meeting of the Mining and Geological Institute of India in August, 1909, and was published in the IVth volume of the *Transactions of the Society*.

The Sandur State comprises an area of about 158 square miles and is included in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. The existence of Manganese ore in the state was first noticed by Newbold in 1838 and it was in 1895 that Mr. Foote gave a full account of the geological structure and of the mode of occurrence of the manganese and iron ores in that state in his admirable "Memoirs on the Geology of Bellary District," while Mr. L. Leigh Fermor, who is now recognised as the greatest authority on the manganese ore deposits in India published in 1909 an exhaustive account of those deposits in the 4 parts of the 37th Volume of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India. And in it we also find a descriptive account of the Sandur ores based mainly on his own and Mr. Ghose's observations. Mr. Foote recorded the occurrences of the ores in nodules in this state but it was, as Mr. Fermor writes, "to Mr. Ghose belongs the credit for the discovery of the large ore bodies *in situ*." We are also glad to note that this is not the only paper of Mr. Ghose on the subject but he has contributed two other papers on the Manganese Industry of India.

The existence of the Manganese ores in India was recognized by the people of this country from time immemorial. It was known to them as a sort of iron ore and some use was also made of it in iron smelting and for colouring glasses and enamels and pottery as well as occasionally compounding it with *surma* or antimony sulphide, while there is a tradition that in ancient times the Phoenicians used to carry them way from this country.

We know that though the Manganese ore was largely used for the manufacture of chlorine till lately, at

least $\frac{9}{10}$ ths of the world's output of it is now consumed

in the manufacture of iron and steel. The Bessemer process for making steel was made public in 1856 and from that time the value of this ore began to be appreciated. But it was not till 1891, that serious attempt was made to work the deposits in India and we can form an idea of the expansion of the Industry when we learn that the annual output of the ore in India rose from 674 tons in 1892 to 873, 000 tons in 1907. In 1905, India took the second place amongst the world's manganese producers, while there is little doubt that from 1906, she holds the first place in the world; but unfortunately almost the whole of it goes out of India.

While one cannot be certain that the use of manganese may not one day be discontinued in favour of some other efficient substance in the manufacture of iron and steel, it is a pity that, as Mr. Fermor observes, "each ton of ore that goes out of the country means a smaller amount of ore left against the time when the iron and steel industry becomes a large and flourishing one in India. It would be a great pity considering how excellently India has been endowed with many of the materials—iron ore, manganese ore, chrome ore, and wolfram,—needed

in the modern processes for the manufacture of iron and steel, if, when the time came for iron and steel to be manufactured in the country, it were found that all the subsidiary minerals—manganese ore, chrome ore, wolfram, etc.,—had been exported from the country, so that the manufacturer had to import these materials from other countries." Fortunately, however, there are signs, such as Tata's project at Kalimati in Singhbhum, that the Indian iron and steel industry will get into full swing in the next ten years, so that it may be in time to take advantage of the existence of manganese ores in this country.

While on the subject of the large quantities of ore which are being raised and exported out of India, we are glad to note that both Mr. Fermor and Mr. Ghose estimate that there are still about 10 million tons of the ore to be extracted in the state of Sandur alone. But there are considerable difficulties which depreciate the economic importance of these vast deposits, such as the want of efficient labour, absence of good roads for transport, &c. But we are glad to notice that a company has been formed with a capital of 48 lacs for the purpose of working the manganese and iron ores of the state and for manufacturing ferromanganese, and iron and steel in India. We would conclude our review with pointing out that Mr. Ghose has not accepted the theory of the origin of these deposits as formulated by Mr. Fermor. The latter has the advantage over him in this that he has supported his replacement theory with the help of a diagrammatic section across Ramadrug Main deposit. In fact the absence of a geological map and sections depreciates the value of a otherwise very good paper.

Sir Thomas Holland more than once in his *Reviews* on the mineral productions of India has demonstrated how little attention is paid by the Indians to the waste and loss of the mineral resources of the country when these valuable ores are sold at a very low price to foreign countries; but we are glad to notice that coal and manganese have attracted the attention of our countrymen to this matter and it is true that when they are placed in charge of responsible duties, they can show their abilities, though it must be admitted that the Europeans have the advantage of a world-wide experience, which is so essentially necessary in the successful development of the mineral resources of any country.

S. B. B.

BENGALI.

Sanskar O Sanrakshan, or Reformation and Conservatism. By Prof. Dharendra Nath Chowdhuri, M.A. of the Hindu College, Delhi.

It is a very suggestive work in Bengali, published from 6, College Square, Calcutta, a few months ago. Although most of the essays appeared in different Bengali magazines from time to time and many are already familiar with the author's ideas in social matters, their present form has a new significance and will soon, I am sure, attract the notice of the Bengali reading public. "In our changing social life", says the author, "reformation and conservation have become equally necessary. We are now before such a current that to sit idle is but to invite destruction. An effortless man may glide down the stream, but cannot reach his destination, and it is not impossible that he should lose himself in an eddy. Change in us

is inevitable, and it is the object of the present essays to indicate the lines on which this change should take place." In doing this the author has shown a considerable amount of shrewdness and circumspection and a clear knowledge of the data he uses. He does not attempt the construction of a new social system like a visionary by *a priori* speculation; but is quite practical, and does not lose sight of facts. He recognizes the static as well as the dynamic factors of social evolution. In the process of regeneration, India should not forget the peculiar character of her ancient civilization, her time-honoured traditions, and her national life. He is intensely earnest, and gives a warning against the danger of considering reformation as only a subject for academic discussion. How truly he understands the attitude of the educated but light-hearted young men of India towards reformation! How serious is his appeal to them! "Say whatever you like", he says, "I can read your mind. A high ideal has presented itself to your mind through your open understanding. But you lack the force of character which can stand and overcome the difficulties, trials and self-sacrifice which are sure to come in your way, if you are to realize it. And this is the reason why you have adopted a position of compromise which can keep up your pride that you are not on the same low level with the common people, and yet at the same time it saves you from the trouble and self-surrender which are necessary to rise above them. * * * * Speeches will not do, you must work."

In India at the present time, the contact of two different, but powerful civilizations has made a readjustment of social relations inevitable, but difficult in the extreme. Who can tell us exactly in what direction the new synthesis will be? Prof. Chowdhuri has taken into account, as far as possible, the different conflicting forces acting on the present Indian society. He has to deal with the revolutionary section which finds nothing good in India and wants to borrow even food and clothes from the West, as well as with the conservative element to whom the old Hindu institutions are nothing short of perfection and even a hint at reformation is a sacrilege. And here one can not but admire his wariness, experience and profound learning. He has brought forward texts from the Hindu *Shastras*, as well as from the Western leaders of thought to bear out his views.

Religion, the caste system and the condition of Indian women have been the chief subjects for his consideration. With regard to the first, he proclaims Brahmoism, a theism freed from superstitions of all kinds, based on reason, and humanitarian in its tendencies, as the religion for India. Here again he emphasises the universal as well as the racial aspect of religion. India has her rich spiritual tradition, her peculiar heritage and enlightenment and she must be true to these—she must not give up her special character and mission.

His plea for the abolition of caste and the emancipation of women is very touching. He feels for the so-called lower castes and the poor women of India; he finds in their condition signs of a social disease which if not attended to at once will surely lead to the ultimate dissolution of the social organism. The social disabilities of the 'lower castes' and the women of India are not only disgraceful and unnatural, but against the best traditions of the Hindu Aryans as embodied in the *shastras*; not only are these disabilities

an offence to the sense of honour and justice, but against the best interests of society itself. For, the degradation of one section of society is sure to react upon the community at large and to degrade and corrupt it. The author has cited historical instances and shown how such injustice and oppression have been retributed in history. "Moral retribution" indeed! And history may repeat itself.

We welcome the book, for it gives us a clear exposition of the very complex and difficult situation in which we find Hindu Society at present, it raises questions which must be answered, and answered rightly if we are to live and prosper as a nation. It has attempted a solution of these urgent problems, and I think, succeeded to a large extent. I should now recommend it to the notice of the Bengali public (it is a pity it has not been written in a language more universally understood). It will be worth their while to give it a serious reading.

N. K. SEN

GUJARATI.

Premanand ni Prasadi, by Bhanu Sukhram Nirgunram Mehta, B.A., Head Master, Middle School, Rajkot. Printed at the Ganotra Printing Works, Rajkot, Kathiawad. Thick card boards. Pp. 215. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1911).

Premanand stands in Gujarati literature at the top of all poets, and a selection from his writings, with explanatory notes, in a cheap and popular form, cannot fail to be useful. Mr. Bhanu Sukhram's attempt to thus extend the wide popularity of a poet who has already become popular, deserves praise and encouragement. The introduction to the book is written in a very simple and lucid style, and betrays the clear grasp which the writer has acquired over his subject. The notes, too, are very helpful, and, altogether, he has turned out a work which is greatly creditable to him.

Shri Satya no Bhandar, Ratnasinh, by Vithaldas Gokuldas Mehta. The Rander Printing Press, Surat, Paper cover, pp. 107. Price 0-4-0 (1910).

This book is so small in size, that the hollow of one's palm can hold it. Ratnasinh, the hero, was a speculator but distinguished for his truth-speaking. He could not pay his creditors and told them he would, if necessary, steal from the palace of the king and pay them; and to carry out his word, he does so, and is found out, and taken to the king, to whom he confesses the whole story and is pardoned. The book has no literary or any other kind of merit, and beyond satisfying the self-complacency of the writer serves no other useful purpose.

Abalahita-darpana, by Mrs. G. K. Upadhyaya, Head Mistress, Dhoraji Girls' School. Published by Karsandas J. Chitalia, Girgam, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 95. (1911).

This book is written in a very pleasant and clear style, and sets out the present condition of our women folk very well, and the remedies it suggests to improve their condition are clear-cut also. It is written by a lady and as such entitled to great weight and consideration. It owes its existence to the public spirit of Mr. Chitalia, who invited essays on the subject, offering a prize of Rs. 25. Mrs. Upadhyaya's essay was passed by the Committee, and it has now been published in book form. The publisher has got a scheme in hand for the practical attainment of the object in view, and he has given a few but general details thereof, in the preface. Of course, it involves, like many other such ambitious schemes, much self-sacrifice, and more of united work. There are many workers in the same direction who are all working as separate units. So to us, it seems that greater merit lies in co-ordinating them all rather than setting up a new individual working factor by itself.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Sectarian Educational Institutions.

The unremitting and self-sacrificing labors of H. H. the Aga Khan in the cause of Muhammadan education are worthy of the highest praise and deserve to be imitated by all who, whatever their sphere or mode of work may be, want to elevate the condition of the Indian people or any part of them. Admirable also are the readiness and generosity with which the Musalman chiefs and aristocrats of India have responded to his call for subscriptions to found a Muhammadan University. Nor must we forget to bestow our due meed of praise on the Musalman community for its discipline

and obedience to a leader. For we are aware that the Musalmans, too, have their divisions and class jealousies. Yet we have not had the mournful sight of many rival schemes to fritter the energies and divide the donations of the Moslems.

It is not necessary to determine who, whether Hindus or Musalmans, started the idea of sectarian educational institutions. What is clear is that the best equipped sectarian college is a Musalman College, and the first sectarian University started in India is also going to be a Musalman University. Mrs. Besant's university scheme has been long before the public. Pandit

Madan Mohan Malaviya's prospectus of a Hindu University saw the light of day several years ago. The Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute have also been working for some time. The success of the Aga Khan's scheme may give a fillip to all these schemes, though it is doubtful whether the promoters of any of them can secure promises of donations amounting to twenty lakhs in the course of less than three months. Yet the Hindus are far more numerous and wealthy than the Musalmans. One reason of the Aga Khan's success no doubt is that the Musalman scheme has powerful official support behind it, whereas any Pan-Hindu scheme will not only not receive official support but on the contrary will be secretly discountenanced by many officials. But to think that this would be the main cause of the want of success of Hindu schemes, would be for Hindus to deceive themselves. The main cause lies elsewhere and may be discovered by anybody who wants to do so, unblinded either by self-love or by prejudice against the foreign bureaucracy. The forces of disintegration and division are more powerful among Hindus than among Musalmans. The religious and social polity of Hindus is responsible for this state of things. But Hinduism can still remain Hindu *minus* these disintegrating forces. There is, however, little hope of Hindus becoming as organised and as compact a body as the Musalmans so long as their leaders mistake mere externals for the very essence of Hindu civilisation.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of Sectarian Universities.

Let us now see what are the advantages and disadvantages of sectarian universities.

At the present stage of evolution of the Indian people, the advantage of sectarian educational institutions or universities is that they are sure to arouse more enthusiasm and evoke greater generosity and self-sacrifice than non-sectarian national institutions. The prominent Musalmans who will work for the education of the Indian people as a whole can be easily counted on one's fingers. The prominent Hindus who will do so, though far larger in number, are not so enthusiastic or generous in giving as those who have worked or

given, or would work and give for purely Hindu institutions. It is also evident that on account of the unequal intellectual, educational or cultural levels occupied by different communities in India, special efforts are needed for raising the more backward among them to a common high level. This is the reason why the Government, in spite of its avowedly neutral religious position, has to make special provision for the education of certain classes. But these official efforts have not taken any sectarian shape. Hence the efforts made by a community itself for its educational elevation need not necessarily be sectarian in name or spirit. But it is clear that such a name and spirit give greater impetus and life to such efforts.

But notwithstanding the advantages referred to above we must recognise the drawbacks and evils of sectarian institutions. In India caste and creed stand in the way of full and free social intercourse. We need not enquire whether similar barriers exist in other countries or not. If they do, that will not console, help or strengthen us in our difficulties or make these barriers cease to be the obstacles in our way that they are. If they do not, that ought to be an incentive to us to break through our own barriers.

Now, hitherto our schools and colleges have furnished the nurseries of lifelong friendships between persons of different castes, creeds and sects. The Hindu boy has found much to love, admire and respect in the Musalman boy; and the Musalman boy has reciprocated the sentiment. Mutual intercourse has rubbed off their angularities and made them more catholic, liberal and *Indian*. If sectarian universities be the order of the day, where shall we find a substitute for this nationalising force? Cooped up within their narrow spheres, our boys will grow up more bigoted and narrow than ever.

In a recent speech at Bombay the Aga Khan is reported to have said that the proposed Muhammadan University would be of a non-sectarian character and Hindus would be more than welcome to it. Without in the least questioning the speaker's sincerity, we may say that whatever it may be meant to be in theory, in reality it will be a sectarian institution. The self-respect of Hindus would prevent them from joining it in any appreciable numbers, nor would

they enjoy the same advantages as Moslem students. When Sir Syed Ahmed Khan went about collecting donations for the Aligarh College, he obtained large sums from non-Moslem chiefs and others by making a similar declaration. We do not suggest that this declaration was insincere or a mere device to get money; on the contrary, taking it for granted that he had a sincere desire to benefit Hindus also, one may ask: has his College become *in fact* a non-sectarian College? How many Hindu students go there? Or are those who go there given the same advantages and consideration as their Moslem brethren receive from the College authorities and the Government?

We should not be inattentive to the lesson of history. Now, history shows that Hindu civilization, including Hindu religious and social ideals, has not been adequate for India. Had it been sufficient for India's needs, the Musalmans would not have succeeded in obtaining a foothold in India. Musalman civilisation had something to give to India. Again, the revival of Hindu power and the birth of the Sikh power showed that somewhere there lurked a fatal weakness in Musalman civilisation and polity, too. The advent of the British power showed conclusively that neither Hindu nor Musalman civilisation, nor even the two combined, could make India what it is destined to be. Whether the West is contributing its best to India's making, whether we are developing the best in us that the West can provoke or stimulate us to develop, whether again, supposing the West is giving us its best and we, too, on our part, are developing the best in us under Western influence, whether this is the final contribution needed to build up the ideal India of the future, time alone can show. Time alone can show whether rejuvenated Japan and China will have to contribute their quota or not.

Whatever lesson the future may have in store for our posterity, to us it is clear that mutual exclusiveness and narrowness spells death not only to the idea of nationality but to that of culture as well.

If it be said that these sectarian universities will not exclude any branch of knowledge that is requisite for culture, then why give them a sectarian character at all? If

it be said that a particular religious faith is to be taught in a particular university, and that is the justification for the sectarian name and character, then the question arises as to the spirit in which that faith is to be taught. Is it to be taught in a dogmatic spirit? If so, there will be no culture, no education worth the name. One chief end of education is to free the human spirit by the single-minded devotion to truth alone. Where there is no free inquiry, there cannot be this devotion; and where authority pure and simple is the basis of religious instruction, there cannot be free enquiry. If it be said that the students of the proposed sectarian institutions must both receive dogmatic teaching as well as imbibe the spirit of free enquiry, the result, we are afraid, will be simply to turn out indifferentists, sceptics and hypocrites. Surely this is not a worthy result to be achieved at the cost of so much self-sacrifice.

If now the advocate of any sectarian University says that in his university religious teaching will be given on the basis of reason and spiritual experience, how will this square with any particular dogmas? Who can ensure and secure the harmony of these dogmas with the testimony of the soul at all stages of progress of human knowledge and human spiritual experience? If dogma clashes with reason and spiritual experience, will dogma be given the go-by or reason and spiritual experience? If dogma, then what justification would remain for giving a sectarian name and character to the institution? If reason and spiritual experience must be dismissed as unwelcome intruders, then why set up the pretence of creating a place of thorough-going culture at all?

We are afraid, with all their defects and faults, we must pronounce in favour of the existing official universities, until we can create at least one non-sectarian, national university teaching as efficiently and up to as high a standard as the best colleges affiliated to the former. They are called godless. But that is a misnomer. We would, of course, prefer to have direct religious teaching on the basis of an appeal to reason and spiritual experience as the final authority. But even as matters stand at present, is there any literature that is godless? Is science godless, or philosophy godless? Or is history?

The competition of the Hindu is good for the Musalman, that of the Musalman good for the Hindu, not to mention the effect of the mutual competition of different Hindu castes. "He who wrestles with us strengthens us." The best products of sectarian universities can never be sure of being the very best in India;—they will probably be far from being able to hold their own in any empire or world competition. Sectarian universities must necessarily produce comparatively stunted men; it is the free air of competition and free enquiry alone that can enable men to rise to their full stature.

Perhaps, so far as the proposed Musalman University is concerned, the underlying idea, though not openly avowed, may be to produce cheap graduates to catch the Public Service Market. If so, the standard of qualification must have to be lower in reality, though not on paper, than what prevails in the official universities. Should that be the case, must we not deeply deplore the short-sighted policy that sacrifices the intellectual prospects and welfare of a community to a temporary pecuniary advantage? And it is quite certain that in its own interests the British Government cannot for long continue to patronise a low standard of efficiency, so far at any rate as the higher posts are concerned. It is to be hoped, however, that the Musalman leaders do not want to turn out cheap graduates for securing posts in Government offices. That, under present conditions,—so long as university degrees have to be looked upon as passports to the professions and the public service,—no sectarian university in India can make its standards really higher than those of the official universities, whatever they may be on paper, is perfectly plain; for then they will not have students in sufficient numbers. The standards will then have to be the same as, if not lower than, what now prevail in the latter,—a consideration that would prove that the sectarian institutions were not wanted. The state of things will be different when new careers, industrial and other, can be opened by educationists and capitalists combined. But that happy time is yet to come.

This note is in substance identical with an article contributed by the editor to a weekly paper.

Our Legislative Councils.

The proceedings of Indian legislative councils have enabled the public to draw many pleasant conclusions. The foremost of these is that the official members are repositories of perfect political and economic wisdom. Their monopoly of such wisdom would have been complete but for the existence of the *semi*-official members who cry ditto to whatever the former say. The semi-officials only *co-operate* with the officials, it being neither necessary nor possible for them to advise, or add to the wisdom of, the officials. The non-official members proper, are a wholly useless lot. They do not possess any information of their own, else why should they ask so many questions? They possess no wisdom, else why should their resolutions and amendments (except in the very rare cases where these happen to be the "unconscious" echoes of official views) be so impartially rejected? They are unfit to advise the Government, else why should their criticisms, suggestions and entreaties bear such little fruit? They are not even fit to co-operate with the Government; else why should they not always cry ditto to the Hon'ble official members? For co-operation means only this that the bureaucracy are to propose and the non-officials are not only not to oppose them but to support them whole-lippedly, if not whole-heartedly.

The expansion of the legislative councils has been *almost* perfectly justified by the result. It would have been perfectly justified but for the presence of the non-official members, who form the only *un*-redeeming features of the councils. We, therefore, suggest that the non-officials be abolished and an equal number of perfectly *co-operative* semi-officials be recruited in their place. We have great hopes that our suggestion will be accepted, as we are not non-official members of any legislative council.

Terrorism and Repression.

If the papers are to be believed, there was at one time some chance of the Seditious Meetings Act being allowed to die a natural death. But, probably, the murder of a policeman and the throwing of a bomb at an English official at the psychological moment, have prolonged its life. We are sorry for the death of the poor policeman,

and equally glad that the bomb did not explode;—it is just possible that it was so made that it could not explode.

These silly and mischievous acts of violence are the doings of either some men of unhinged minds who in their irritation think that they can gain their object by such deeds, and possibly also think that the more repression there is in the country the easier it would be for them to add recruits to their ranks; or, as the history of some other countries where terrorist outrages and repression have gone hand in hand shows, these deeds may be due to the machinations of persons who gain pecuniarily by the pursuit of a repressive policy by the Government. It is also possible that the murder of the policeman is not a terrorist outrage at all but an act of private revenge. Whether there be or be not any instigators of the crimes behind the scenes, the actual perpetrators must be punished. And in any case, it is the duty of the higher officers of Government not to be misled by preconceived theories, but coolly to trace, test and ascertain facts and draw conclusions therefrom.

It has been said by some Government officials and their so-called non-official supporters that honest and law-abiding men need not fear laws like the Seditious Meetings Act or the law against incitements to violence, the implication and insinuation being that the critics and opponents of such measures are dishonest and seditious. But such observations miss the real point, which is, whether the repressive laws are necessary under the circumstances, and whether they do good to the Government and the people. Our reply is in the negative.

The Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill.

We give our cordial and full support to the Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill introduced in the Legislative Council of the Governor General of India on the 1st March, 1911, by the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra-nath Basu. The introducer has given the following "statement of objects and reasons."

THE Special Marriage Act of 1872 applies to persons who do not profess any of the recognised religions of India and a declaration has to be made by the parties contracting marriage that they do not profess any

such religion. This declaration, which is a negation of faith in all the religious systems of India, has been felt to be an unnecessary condition by the community for whose benefit the Act was specially intended.

The provisions of the Act, moreover, cannot be availed of by those members of the Hindu community who desire to introduce intermarriage between different sub-sections of the same caste or between members of the same caste inhabiting different provinces of India. Such intermarriages have not taken place for a very considerable time. Marriage customs observed by the same caste of Hindus in different parts of India vary sometimes considerably, and intermarriages are difficult, as people naturally feel great hesitation in contracting marriages the validity of which may be open to question. Under the law as it stands at present, intermarriage between members of different castes of the Hindus is of extremely doubtful validity, if not an absolute nullity. The necessity for a simple law of marriage wholly optional and which may be supplemented by the religious rites observed by the contracting parties is greatly felt by those who do not desire to break away from Hinduism and at the same time seek to adapt their life to the governing needs of the times.

It appears then that Mr. Basu has introduced his bill for the benefit of Brahmos and Hindus. Brahmos of the Brahmo Samaj of India and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj contract marriage under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 and have to make the negative declaration referred to above. A large proportion of these Brahmos make the declaration rather unwillingly. To them Mr. Basu's amendment will be very welcome. Others, who are smaller in number, do not feel any such reluctance. But as there is no reason why at the time of marriage they should insist on calling themselves non-Hindus, non-Moslems, non-Christians, &c., they will also heartily support this bill. The Adi Brahmo Samajists do not take advantage of the Act of 1872; they have a ritual of their own based on the Hindu ritual, but shorn of its idolatrous features. But as Mr. Basu's proposed Act is not called the Brahmo Marriage Act, and as members of the Adi Brahmo Samaj are quite at liberty to take or not to take advantage of it, we are sure they, too, will support it. Their objection to the Act of 1872 was that it compelled the contracting parties to declare themselves non-Hindus, whereas the Adi Samajists rightly consider themselves Hindus. But as Mr. Basu's Bill contains no such obligatory negative declaration, and as the Act of 1872, which it amends, makes polygamy penal, they may even find it advantageous to contract

marriages under its provisions. Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, the best known and most prominent member of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, holds very advanced views in social matters. We are sure the Bill will have his hearty support.

We now come to the case of the Hindus. As the Bill is entirely permissive, we do not see any reasonable cause why any Hindu should oppose it. The Bill does not propose to compel any Hindu to contract marriage under its provisions, either within his caste or sub-caste, or outside his caste or sub-caste. It will only validate marriages under its provisions.

Those Hindus who are opposing it, lose sight of a great advantage which it offers to even the most orthodox. At present a Brahman, for example, marrying within his particular sub-caste and *mel*, according to the orthodox rites, is quite at liberty to take many more wives within the life time of his first wife. This is a great social evil; it still exists, though to a smaller extent than before. Such a prospect cannot be pleasant to the bride and her relatives. Now, Mr. Basu's proposed Act can be availed of by orthodox people marrying within their sub-caste and "*mel*," as well as by heterodox people marrying outside their sub-caste or caste; it being a mistake to suppose that it can be of use only to the latter: so if orthodox Hindus get their daughters married under its provisions, supplemented by orthodox rites, or, which is the same thing, if the marriage of their daughters with orthodox rites be supplemented by registration under Mr. Basu's proposed Act, then the law will penalise and in all cases practically prevent polygamy on the part of the bridegroom. This is no small advantage.

The real reason why some short-sighted and unthinking Hindus are opposing the Bill is a fear that if it becomes law, many Hindus will begin to marry outside their sub-castes and even castes, and then Hinduism will be shattered to pieces. To us this seems to be a groundless fear. The remarriage of widows is now permitted by the law as a legally valid act. But have Hindu widows, therefore, begun to remarry wholesale? The fear of social ostracism and other causes still keep the vast majority

of them un-remarried. What has happened is this: a few widows have remarried and remained within the pale of Hinduism. But for the permissive Widow Remarriage Act, they would either have not married, or have gone astray, or have remarried declaring themselves non-Hindus. As some of the lower Hindu castes have always allowed widow-remarriage, it is only just and a gain to the Hindu community that widows of other Hindu castes remarrying should remain Hindus. Similarly, if Mr. Basu's Bill becomes law, a few Hindus will marry outside their castes or sub-castes and continue to call themselves Hindus. It is a gain to a community to be able to keep its own men, so long as they are not immoral. Marriages outside the limits of a caste or sub-caste are sure to be contracted in future,--resolutions passed at the National and Provincial Social Conferences show it. Nobody can prevent them. The only question is, will Hindus who contract such marriages be allowed honestly to call themselves Hindus or not? The Bill will enable them to honestly call themselves Hindus, and that would be a gain to the Hindu community. But if it does not become law, persons desiring to contract such marriages will avail themselves, as they now do, of Act III of 1872, calling themselves non-Hindus. And that must be considered a loss to the Hindu community. Even orthodox men, including pandits, at Benares and elsewhere have vehemently denounced the attempt to exclude the "untouchable" Hindus from the total number of Hindus. With what consistency can it now be said that if a Brahman marries a Kshattriya bride, he must not remain within the pale of Hinduism?

Marrying outside one's own caste or sub-caste has never in the best days of Hinduism disqualified a man from being regarded as a Hindu. The great *rishi* Vyasa, the reputed author of the Mahabharata and the editor of the Vedas, is rightly considered to have been a Hindu and a Brahman. But his father was a Brahman, and his mother a fish-woman. Yayati, Dasaratha, Rishyasringa, and a host of other persons married outside their caste without ceasing to be Hindus and men of their own caste. There are examples in our ancient shastras and history of both *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marri-

ages (marriages of higher caste men with lower caste women and of lower caste men with higher caste women). In Manu we find rules regarding both kinds of marriages. In Nepal, which is ruled by Hindu Kings, intercaste marriages still prevail. In the Malabar country the offspring of the conjugal connection of Brahman men and Nayar women are considered just as legitimate as anybody elsewhere is. Many ruling chiefs of India still claim and exercise the right to take wives from outside their caste. In the Nizam's Dominions, some aristocratic Hindus take both Hindu and Musalman wives without ceasing to be Hindus. In the United Provinces, among some of the lower orders of the people, there are both marriages with the orthodox rites, as well as what we may call *gândharva* marriages or marriages of choice. In the latter, contracted by grown-up persons, the parties sometimes belong to different castes. In many districts of Eastern Bengal and Assam the Kayastha and Baidya castes still intermarry. It can never be contended with any show of reason that Hinduism includes only the social practices of Brahmans and other higher castes, or of Hindus now living to the exclusion of those who lived in former days and made Hindu history and the Hindu Shastras, or of Hindus who live in British territory to the exclusion of those who live in Nepal and in the Native States. If then Hinduism includes the social practices of all Hindus living anywhere and at any time past or present, certainly Mr. Basu's Bill does not propose to make any Hindu a non-Hindu.

Hindu revivalists lay great stress on present-day Hindus giving up modern corrupt practices and reverting to the better ways of ancient times. Consistency requires that they should advocate inter-caste marriages, too, which prevailed in the most glorious days of Hinduism. At any rate, they are not justified in opposing the efforts of those Hindus who do want to revert to the ancient custom of inter-marriage. The reforming Hindus have not the least desire to compel or press conservative Hindus to marry outside their sub-castes or castes. So the latter should not stand in the way of the liberal Hindus to contract inter-caste marriages if they choose to do so.

Our own opinion is that if the Bill be-

comes law, it will not in the least prejudicially affect the essence of Hinduism. On the contrary, in consequence of it, the Hindu community will be more unified, stronger and better organised, and will acquire greater vitality and solidarity. But if the present Bill is thrown out, the social progress of the Hindus along the right path will be stopped probably for half a century, and certainly for a quarter of a century.

The contraction of marriages repeatedly within narrow limits weakens the race. The widening of the area from which wives and husbands can be chosen infuses new life and strength into a race. In as much as the bill proposes to do this, it must be considered a highly beneficent measure. Another indirect good result of Mr. Basu's Bill, if it becomes law, would be that as the choice of brides and bridegrooms would not be confined to narrow circles, the payment of prices for brides and bridegrooms would become increasingly rare.

Orthodox Hindus may justly say: "We do not think they are Hindus who contract inter-caste marriages. We will not dine with them and will not have any social intercourse with them." Now, the Bill leaves orthodox Hindus undiminished liberty to socially persecute and ostracise all who contract or advocate intercaste marriages, just as they persecute and ostracise those who marry widows or advocate widow-marriage. But orthodox Hindus have no right to stand in the way of the legalising of inter-caste marriages.

We shall now consider the attitude which the Government should adopt towards the Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Jenkins could not promise any official support to the Bill unless the public supported it unanimously. In saying what he did, he seems to us to have forgotten what Government did on previous occasions when social legislation was undertaken. Such legislation has been of two kinds, preventive and permissive. Under the first class come laws like those which have penalised *Suttee*, infanticide, &c. Mr. Jenkins knows that these laws, far from receiving unanimous public support, were passed in the teeth of powerful opposition from the majority of the Hindu public. Such was the case with the Age of Consent Act too. As regards permissive legislation, the Widow Re-marriage Act, for instance,

received the support, neither of all Hindus nor of a majority of them. Yet it was passed. So it would be unreasonable for the Government to insist that before Mr. Basu's Bill becomes law it should be supported by all Indians or all Hindus. What the Government would be justified in demanding is that a minority really want it. Government occupies a position of religious neutrality. It is bound to protect all persons in the exercise of their liberty of action under the dictates of their conscience, so long as such exercise is not subversive of its authority or productive of social evils. Intercaste marriages cannot have such results. On the contrary, they are sure to be beneficial in their effects. It cannot be contended that it is the duty of the British Government to allow only conservative people to practice what they believe. Progressive people, too, should not be prevented from doing what they believe to be socially and morally beneficial and reasonable.

A study of the history of Hindu social and religious ordinances shows that no previous Government—Hindu, Buddhistic, Musalman or Sikh, has ever fixed or tried to fix the social practices of the Hindus unchangeably. It would ill become the enlightened British Government to stereotype the present-day Hindu marriage customs of British India, when a minority consisting of progressive Hindus want to revert to the freer and more liberal ways of ancient times, which to some extent still prevail in the Hindu kingdom of Nepal. British rule has directly and indirectly promoted social reform and progress. At no time should it cry "halt" to the tendency to advance. A great occasion has arisen for the Government to demonstrate that not only is it not opposed to the Hindus attaining social solidarity and organic unity (a suspicion which we must say we have heard expressed in many quarters), but is prepared to help it to advance in the direction of such a goal.

The Hon'ble Mr. Jenkins has said that the real object of Mr. Basu's Bill is to enable Brahmos to call themselves Hindus. That is certainly not a correct or full description of his object. If his Bill becomes law, no doubt it will enable those Brahmos who want to do so, to honestly call

themselves Hindus. But there are Brahmos of Hindu extraction who do positively object to be called Hindus. There are other Brahmos, again, who are of Musalman, Sikh, Jain or Khasia extraction. Surely Mr. Basu's Bill will not enable these to call themselves Hindus. Why, again, does Mr. Jenkins forget that progressive Hindus (who are not Brahmos) in National and Provincial Social Conferences assembled, have called for exactly the sort of social legislation proposed by Mr. Basu? For instance, at the last session at Allahabad, of the Indian National Social Conference, Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji moved and carried a resolution advocating the need of such legislation. Dr. Banerji is not a Brahmo, but a Hindu who performs year after year the worship of the goddess Durga and other Hindu deities in his house. He is a scholar and lawyer of distinction and has a recognised position in Hindu society. There are other Hindus like him who advocate such legislation.

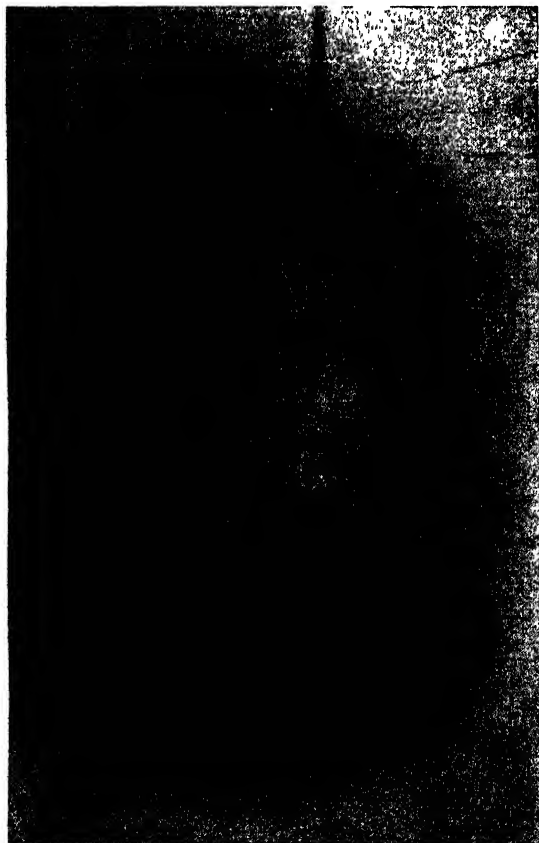
Mr. Basu's Bill is avowedly meant for Brahmos and Hindus, but as this fact is nowhere definitely mentioned in it, other sects would be justified in considering whether they should support the Bill or not. But caste does not exist in its Hindu restrictive forms among any non-Hindu sects. No Christian, Musalman, Parsi, &c., ceases to be what he is by marrying outside his sect or outside the section of his sect to which he belongs. Such marriages have taken place and do take place still, without any resulting harm to these sects. So there need not be any opposition on their part. On the contrary, the progressive Musalmans should welcome the Bill, as by its aid, they can fight the evil of polygamy in their midst very effectively. But should non-Hindus still think it necessary to oppose it, which we hope they will not, Mr. Basu would be prepared to confine its application only to Hindus and Brahmos. For our part we think the Bill in its present form is just what is required. It would serve the purpose of orthodox and heterodox persons alike, of any sect or no sect. In a civilised country it should be possible even for atheists and agnostics to marry legally without hypocritically following the orthodox nuptial rites observed by any historical sect. In other words, there

should be a Civil Marriage Act. Mr. Basu's Bill has the double merit of providing for such marriages, as well as of suiting the convenience of even the most orthodox. In the distant future with the gradual levelling down of sectarian distinctions, this Bill would make it possible for even Hindu men to marry Musalman or Christian women, thus leading to the complete nationalisation and unification of the Indian people.

As to how the Bill may affect the laws of succession, that is a question which must be left to the lawyers to deal with.

Shishir Kumar Ghose Memorial Meeting.

The Shishir Kumar Ghose Memorial Meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall was an unqualified success. The audience



THE LATE BABU SHISHIR KUMAR GHOSE.
was very large and contained many representative men. The speakers also were drawn

from different classes and races inhabiting Calcutta. Some notable speeches were made. We make an extract from the address delivered by Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

It is true, that even before meeting him, I had formed a very high idea of him, because I had heard a great deal about him from my master, the late Mr. Ranade, who always spoke of him in terms of great admiration and affection; but it was not till I actually met him that I realised what a wonderfully interesting and inspiring personality his was. What struck me most in him was the combination of deep spirituality with passionate patriotism, and this combination produced another combination of two seemingly contradictory qualities—deep peace and great restlessness of mind and energy. His patriotism made him a restless and incessant worker in the service of his country, and yet behind it all was deep peace, born of true spirituality. Often, in the midst of a strenuous argument, when he was emphasizing his point of view with all the energy of his powerful mind, he would suddenly break into a gentle smile, and change the subject with some affectionate enquiry of a personal nature, thus giving us a glimpse of the peace that lay underneath his restlessness, and showing that, in the midst of the din and turmoil of practical life, he could, when he chose, withdraw himself into an inner sanctuary, there to be alone with his Maker. Such a man, possessing the dynamic power which comes from the intensity of conviction, and that quiet strength which springs from faith, was bound to attain greatness not only in India, but anywhere in the world and it is no wonder that Shishir Babu exercised such vast influence on his times and surroundings in this country. We lose in him a great spiritual teacher, a true and earnest patriot who loved his country, as few love her, a vigorous thinker, and a courageous and strenuous worker. I am sure that when the history of these times comes to be written, Shishir Babu will occupy a foremost place among the makers of modern India.

Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill.

The Elementary Education Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council by Mr. G. K. Gokhale is worthy of the cordial approval and support of all patriotic Indians. Apart from minor details which may be open to criticism, the two main points which require consideration are the principle of compulsion, and the levy of a special educational rate by Municipalities and District and Local Boards. In the abstract, it is perhaps desirable that no person should be compelled to do even a good act; though we do not think there are many men who would say that for preventing men from doing acts injurious to individuals or to society, persuasion, pure and simple, should alone be resorted to, without the use of force. In all civilised

countries, men are not only prevented from doing harmful things and punished for doing them, but they are also compelled to do many things for the existence and good of society. For instance, to give evidence in a law-court, when summoned to do so, is obligatory in all civilised lands. Similarly to serve on the jury or as assessors is obligatory. To pay taxes is obligatory. In many countries it is obligatory for every able-bodied grown-up man to serve in the army for a number of years. In most civilised lands, elementary education is free and compulsory, and this has been shown by Mr. Gokhale in the speech he made in introducing the Bill. It is, therefore, rather late in the day to object to the principle of compulsion.

Moreover the circumstances which singly or conjointly would under the Bill, be considered reasonable excuses for not attending school, are such that compulsion must be deemed to have been reduced to a minimum. They are as follows :—

Any of the following circumstances is a reasonable excuse for non-attendance :—

(a) that there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile, measured along the nearest road, from the residence of the boy, which the boy can attend, and to which the parent has no objection, on religious grounds, to send the boy ;

(b) that the child is prevented from attending school by reason of sickness, infirmity, domestic necessity, the seasonal needs of agriculture, or other sufficient cause ;

(c) that the child is receiving instruction in some other satisfactory manner.

As if this were not enough, Section 16 provides that "The Local Government may exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of this Act." This would entirely meet the case of those classes or communities who might object to the compulsory attendance of their boys or girls at school. It is also to be borne in mind that the Act will be operative only in the local areas to which it may be applied by a notification issued under Section 3, which runs as follows :—

Every Municipality or District Board may from time to time, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, and subject to such rules as the Governor General in Council may make in this behalf, by notification declare that this Act shall apply to the whole or any specified part of the area within the local limits of its authority and the provisions of this act shall apply to such area or part accordingly.

That this notification may not be issued

prematurely or injudiciously with respect to any local area, Section 18 lays down that,

(1) The Governor-General in Council may make rules for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for—

(a) the fixing of the percentage of boys, or of girls that should be at school in an area before a notification in respect thereof may be issued under Section 3 or Section 17, as the case may be.

The word compulsion need not give rise to undue alarm by calling up terrific visions of the almighty village chowkidar and the still more omnipotent police constable. For the actual administration of the Act will be in the hands of local school attendance committees, who will act according to bye-laws framed for the purpose. The fines for non-attendance even after due warning are light. Of course, it is possible to think of the abuse of the power of compulsion. But what good thing is free from the possibility of its abuse? Compulsion of the mild sort proposed in the Bill will certainly not make education unpopular, particularly if educated men do their duty to explain its benefits to the people, instead of raising false alarms or selfish difficulties.

As for girls, the Act will apply in their case in the following manner :—

17. In any area in respect of which a notification has been issued under Section 3, the Municipality or District Board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, by notification declare that the foregoing provisions relating to boys, shall, from a date to be specified in the notification, apply also in the case of girls residing within such area, and the said provisions shall apply in the case of girls accordingly.

This shows that the compulsory education of the girls of a local area or a community will be thought of only after its boys have all become accustomed to go to school. This caution is necessary and commendable.

If any other practicable course were available, we would on principle be opposed to the levy in India of a special education rate for providing elementary education free to boys and girls. For its poverty, India is already as highly taxed as it can be ; nay, probably it is more highly taxed than it ought to be. We think all the expenses could and ought to have been met by retrenchment and redistri-

bution of expenditure. This is what ought to have been in the abstract. But is there any likelihood for the Government to undertake such retrenchment and redistribution for this particular object? The officials may do so either under popular pressure, or as an act of generosity and self-abnegation. Now, we all know that the independent non-official members of Council are in such a hopeless minority that they cannot possibly exert any pressure on the Government. Generosity remains. Mr. G. K. Gokhale has great faith in the potential self-abnegation, benevolence and generosity of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, and he also believes, as his recent resolution relating to the increase in public expenditure shows, that it is possible to curtail public expenditure to a very great extent. When such a man proposes the levy of a special education rate, it means that he has no hope of the bureaucracy ever exercising *sufficient* self-abnegation and generosity to reduce the present scale of public expenditure in order to be able to apply the savings to meet to *the full* an increased expenditure on education, though he expects that the Government will find a considerable portion of the money required. And if that be indeed Mr. Gokhale's implied estimate of the potential self-abnegation and generosity of the bureaucracy, the estimate of others cannot be expected to be higher. So, how are all our boys and girls going to be educated? That they *all* require to be educated must be axiomatic to all right-thinking men. Theoretically it may appear possible to raise voluntary subscriptions throughout the country to open as large a number of elementary schools as may be necessary to educate all our boys and girls, say, from 6 years to 10 years of age; though we do not think it is a practicable plan. But suppose it is practicable. Still there would remain to solve the difficult question of securing the attendance of all the children. Persuasion alone will not be sufficient; a little compulsion, however small, will be necessary. But unless this compulsion were legalised, it would be criminal to use it. And Government will never legalise compulsory attendance at schools which are not under the control of its education department. And if these hypothetical schools maintained by volun-

tary subscriptions be under departmental control, in what respect would they differ from the schools to be started under the provisions of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and how would these voluntary subscriptions differ in their use from the special education rate proposed to be levied by Mr. Gokhale? Moreover, owing to certain events of the last five or six years, the opening of a network of such private schools all over the country would probably be looked upon by the police as a preparation for a revolution, and such schools would probably be raided by them as our national schools have been; public elementary schools will not incur any such unfounded suspicion. But as we have already said, it would not be practicable to raise by voluntary subscription a sum sufficiently large to enable us to open elementary schools all over the country in sufficient numbers.

The theorist may, however, still object that the bureaucracy ought not to be allowed to neglect the principle that it is a primary duty of the State to impart elementary education to all the children of its citizens. But, while we are firm believers in this principle, we do not see by what means we can at present enforce its observance by the Government.

Rather, if Mr. Gokhale's Bill became law, education might in course of time so spread throughout the length and breadth of the country that the consequent growth of public opinion would make it difficult for the Government to violate any principle accepted by civilised states.

We may be permitted also to ask a practical question. We all know that in times of famine in particular, and even in ordinary times, it is the duty of the Government to see that all persons able and willing to work should obtain employment and wages. But suppose a government neglects this duty. Will the citizens be justified in allowing their fellow men and women to die of hunger because a government does not do its duty? Man does not live by bread alone. His soul has also to be nourished. And this it is impossible to do without imparting knowledge. Even the physical emaciation and death of thousands of our people are due to want of knowledge. For their bodily and spiritual improvement and salvation, then, education

is the first thing needed. If it be not received by all our children from the Government, whatever the cause may be, shall we be justified in doing nothing to help our people? The plan of starting and maintaining voluntary subscription schools we have seen to be impracticable. We have also seen that there is little ground for the hope that Government can be obliged to or will, from its present income, incur a sufficiently large increased expenditure for universal education. The only remaining plan is to ask the Government to tax us and spend the proceeds on universal elementary education. And this plan has been adopted by Mr. Gokhale. To be just to him it should be mentioned here that his Bill does not throw all the burden on the special education rate. Section 18, Clause (2) (b) lays down that the rules to be made by the Governor General in Council for carrying out the provisions of the Act may provide for,

(b) the prescribing of the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education under this Act should be divided between the Municipality or District Board and the Local Government, as the case may be.

The use of the auxiliary "may" leaves it optional for the Government of India to do so or not, and the proportion also is left to its discretion. But the spread of education will strengthen public opinion, which will necessitate the listening to popular demands. The speech delivered by Mr. Gokhale in introducing the Bill contains a passage which shows what proportion he expects the Government to contribute. The Government, he says, must not grudge to find the bulk of the money which will be required for a universal diffusion of education in India.

Considering their income, the people of India as a whole are very highly taxed. In fact taxation has reached its high-water mark. But there are classes of the people who, for the good of the country, may be able with some sacrifice to bear a little extra taxation. Our public spirit is on trial. We should be prepared for making very large sacrifices. Many men are already doing so. Many pay subscriptions for their town and village schools. It does not matter if the word tax be substituted for the word subscription.

Coming to details, we find that the bill lays down that,

9. (1) No fee shall be charged in respect of the instruction of a boy required to attend school under Section 4 if the monthly income of the parent does not exceed Rs. 10.

(2) In every other case, the Municipality or District Board may, on the ground of poverty, or for other sufficient reason, remit the whole or any part of the fee payable by a parent on account of his boy required to attend school under Section 4.

We think that the limit of Rs. 10 is too low, and that the limit, if any, should be fixed separately for different provinces and separately for urban and rural areas. An income of Rs. 10 in Bombay, Calcutta or Rangoon, is not equivalent to the same income, as, say, in a village in the interior of the United Provinces or East Bengal.

We think that if not utterly impracticable elementary education should be made entirely free to all, rich and poor alike. The not charging or the remission of fees on the ground of poverty has a sure tendency either to blunt or to wound the feeling of self-respect of parents, leading to their demoralisation. The children of such parents cannot hold up their heads erect, literally and metaphorically, as among their peers. The dwarfing of manhood is a great evil. Nothing can compensate for it. What every child is entitled to as a matter of right, should not be given to him as charity proceeding from pity.

Section 8 lays down that the proceeds of the special education rate shall be devoted exclusively to the provision of elementary education. We should like a safeguard to the effect that no part of these proceeds should be spent on pretentious buildings and costly appliances, or even on the salary and travelling allowances of inspecting officers. These, where necessary, should be provided from other sources.

Our Frontispiece.

YAMA AND NACHIKETA.

It is related in the *Katha-Upanishad* that, desirous of future fruition, King Bajasravasa performed the sacrifice *Visvajit*, at which he distributed all his property. He had a son named Nachiketa. Old and infirm cows being brought by the father as fees to be given to attending priests, the youth was seized with anxiety for the future welfare of his father. So Nachiketa re-

fleeted within himself, "He who gives to attending priests such cows as are no longer able to drink water or to eat grass, and are incapable of giving further milk or of producing young, is carried to hell." He therefore thought that it would be better for his father to give him (Nachiketa) to some priest in lieu of those lean old cows. So he said to his father, "To whom, O father, wilt thou consign me over in lieu of these cows?" and repeated the same question a second and a third time. Enraged with his presumption the father replied to him, "I shall give thee to Yama (the God of death)." Though his father had said this in anger, yet Nachiketa persuaded him to keep his promise and send him to Yama. So the youth by permission of his father, went to the habitation of Yama. At that time Yama had gone to *Brahma-loka*. So Nachiketa waited for three days without food and refreshment. On his return Yama said to him, "As thou, O Brahman, hast lived in my house, a revered guest, for the space of three days and nights without food, I offer thee reverence in atonement, so that bliss may attend me; and do thou ask three favours of me as a recompense for what thou hast suffered while dwelling in my house during these days past." The last of the favours which he asked was instruction respecting the nature of the soul. And this forms the subject of the *Katha-Upanishad*.

Babu Priyanath Sinha, the artist, has painted Yama in the act of offering to Nachiketa a cocoa-nut fruit and water in a golden vessel, as tokens of welcome. He is accompanied by his two dogs, one black and the other dappled, with four bright eyes, as described in the Vedas. Behind him stands his attendant Kalakanja or Kalapurusha.

The Last Census.

The Census Commissioner has now completed his totals. The total population of India according to the provisional totals is 315,001,099 (three hundred and fifteen millions) an increase of 7 per cent, over the last Census. To the totals British territory contributes 244,172,371 (two hundred and 44 millions) (+5.4 per cent.) and the Native States and Agencies 70,828,728 (seventy millions) (+12.9 per cent.). The relatively greater increase in Native States at the present Census is due partly to the fact that the decade was one of recovery from the famines of 1897 and 1909

when many of the Native States suffered far more than British territory, and partly to the fact that they are still comparatively sparsely inhabited and have more room for expansion.

The largest increase in British territory is in the Central Provinces and Berar (+16.3 per cent.). Burma follows closely with 14.9; then comes Eastern Bengal and Assam with 11.4, Madras with 8.3; Bombay with 6 and Bengal with 3.8 per cent. Owing chiefly to plague and malaria, the Punjab has recorded a decrease of 1.8 and the United Provinces a decrease of 1 per cent.

We presume that in the above paragraphs, taken from the morning papers, the explanations for the increase and decrease of population in different parts of the country are official in origin. It is true the Native States are more sparsely inhabited than British territory, but that is because they are less fertile and contain a smaller proportion of arable land than British India. It seems to us, therefore, that there must be some other causes at the bottom of the relatively greater increase of population in Native States. Perhaps these causes are to be found in the following extract from Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's "India under Ripon," a book, which in spite of its outspoken criticism of British rule in India, is on the whole unmistakably in favour of the continuance of that rule.

"With regard to their material prosperity, as contrasted with British India, I can only speak of what I have seen. The territories of the native princes are for the most part not the most fertile tracts of India; and one cannot avoid a suspicion that their comparative poverty has been the cause of their continued immunity from annexation. Nearly the whole of the rich irrigated ricelands of the peninsula are now British territory; and the estates of the Nizam, and the two great Maharatta princes Holkar and Scindia, comprise a large amount of untitled jungle. These countries possess no seaports or navigable rivers, and their arable tracts are not of the first order of productiveness, while the Rajput princes are lords of districts almost wholly desert. It would be, therefore, misleading to compare the material wealth of the peasantry in any of these States with those of Bengal or the rich lands of the Madras coast, for the conditions of life in them are not the same. But, poor land compared with poor land, I think the comparison would not be unfavourable to the Native States. I was certainly struck in passing from the British Deccan below Raichore into the Nizam's Deccan with certain signs of better condition in the latter. Most of the Nizam's villages contain something in the shape of a stone house belonging to the headman. The flocks of goats, alone found in the Madras Presidency, are replaced by flocks of sheep; and one sees here and there a farmer superintending his labourers on horseback, a sight the British Deccan never shows. In the few villages of the Nizam which I entered I found at

least this advantage over the others, that there was no debt, while I was assured that the mortality during the great Deccan famine was far less severe in the Nizam's than in Her Majesty's territory.

"It must not, however, be supposed that in any of the Native States the ancient economy of India has been preserved in its integrity. Free trade has not spared them more than the rest. Their traditional industries have equally been ruined, and they suffer equally from the salt monopoly; while in some of them the British system of assessing the land revenue at its utmost rate, and levying the taxes in coin, has been adopted to the advantage of the revenue and the disadvantage of the peasant. On the whole the agricultural condition of the Hyderabad territory seemed to me a little, a very little, better than that of its neighbour, the Madras Deccan, and I believe it is a fact that it is attracting immigrants from across the border. The Rajput State of Ulwar, where I also made some inquiries, was represented to me as being considerably more favourably assessed than British Rajputana.

"The best administered districts of India would seem to be those where a native prince has had the good fortune to secure the co-operation of a really good English assessor, allowing him to assess the land, not with a view to immediately increased revenue, but the true profit of the people. Such are to be found in some of the Rajput principalities, where the agricultural class is probably happier, though living on a poor soil, than in any other part of India; for the assessor, freed from the necessity which besets him in British territory of raising a larger revenue than the district can quite afford, and having no personal interest to serve by severity, allows his kindlier instincts to prevail, and becomes—what he might be everywhere in India—a protector of the people. I trust that it is understood by this time that I am far from affirming that Englishmen are incapable of administering India to its profit. What I do say is that selfish interests and the interests of a selfish Government prevent them from so doing under the present system in British territory. Thus it is certain that the Berar province of Hyderabad under British administration has prospered exceedingly; and its prosperity affords precisely that exceptional instance which proves the general rule of impoverishment. What may probably be affirmed without any risk of error is that the best administered districts of the Native States are also the best administered of all India.

"With regard to the town population, I found the few independent native capitals which I visited exhibiting signs of well-being in the inhabitants absent in places of the same calibre under British rule. With the exception of Bombay, which is exceptionally flourishing, the native quarter, even in the Presidency towns, has everywhere in British India a squalid look. The "Black Town" of Madras reminds one disagreeably of Westminster and the Seven Dials: and there is extreme native misery concealed behind the grandeur of the European houses in Calcutta. The inland cities are decidedly in decay. Lucknow and Delhi, once such famous capitals, are shrunk to mere shadows of their former selves; and there is a distrustful attitude about their inhabitants which a stranger cannot fail to notice. The faces of the inhabitants everywhere in Northern

India are those of men conscious of a presence hostile to them, as in a conquered city. In the capitals of the Native States, on the contrary, there is nothing of all this, and the change in the aspect of the natives, as one passes from British to native rule, is most noticeable. The Hyderabadis especially have a well-fed look not commonly found in the inland towns, and are quite the best dressed townsmen of India. There is a bustle and cheerfulness about this city, and a fearless attitude in the crowd, which is a relief to the traveller after the submissive silence of the British populations. Elephants, camels, horsemen—all is movement and life in Hyderabad; and as one passes along one realizes for the first time the idea of India as it was in the days when it was still the centre of the world's wealth and magnificence. That these gay externals may conceal a background of poverty is possible—English officials affirm that they do so; but at least it is better thus than that there should be no gaiety at all, nor other evidence of well-being than in the bungalows of a foreign cantonment.

"Nor is the cause of the better condition far to seek. Whatever revenue the native court may raise from the people is spent amongst the people. The money does not leave the country, but circulates there; and even where the profusion is most irrational, something of the pleasure of the spending remains, and is shared in and enjoyed by all down to the poorest. In British India the *tamasha*s of governors-general and lieutenant-governors interest no one but the aides-de-camp and their friends; and a large portion of the revenue goes clean away every year, to the profit of other lands and other people. Pp. 301—304.

It is noteworthy that the Panjab and the United Provinces, which for ages have been looked upon as the healthy abodes of sturdy men, show a decreasing population. Whatever the proximate causes of plague and malaria, which are decimating these provinces, may be, the ultimate cause is undoubtedly the poverty of the people, which has diminished their power to resist the inroads of disease. Ignorance is another cause, ignorance which prevents them from adapting their manner of life to the changed environment.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica.

We first saw the announcement of the publication of the 11th edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica in *The Literary Digest* of New York, in November, 1910, perhaps. Not knowing whether the same favourable terms as to price, &c., which were offered to American purchasers, would ever be offered to Indian buyers, we wrote immediately to the Cambridge University Press for information. On receiving a reply we remitted the price of

all the volumes in full, and are now expecting to receive a complete set early. We write all this to show how high our opinion is of the value of this work of reference is. It is the greatest book of its kind in the English language. And it is not for purposes of reference alone that it is of use. Besides answering the needs of scholars and serious students, it furnishes very interesting and instructive reading, in many of its articles, to the general reader, too. We think not only would all journalists, professors, lawyers and advanced students be better equipped for their work by possessing this work, but we go further and say that no cultured home which can afford to purchase it, should be without it. We are, therefore, glad to find that the work is being offered for a short time in India on exactly the same terms as those which English and American buyers have received. A further advantage is that delivery will be free in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Colombo and Rangoon.

The new edition is practically an entirely new work, as only 15 per cent. of the matter contained in it has been taken from the previous edition. The contributors are all eminently qualified for their work, and many are the highest authorities on the subjects they write upon. The get-up is excellent.

The Promotion of Dr. P. C. Ray.

We congratulate the Government on the promotion of Dr. P. C. Ray from the Provincial to the Indian Educational Service. This act of bare justice would have been somewhat graceful if it had come at least a decade ago. Better late, however, than never. But it should be borne in mind that this single act of justice does not obliterate the colour line in the Indian educational and scientific departments, nor can it reconcile the public to the maintenance of race distinctions in the public service.

The Factory Act.

"Killing by kindness" is a good old saying, but not too old to suit some modern legislative enterprises in India. The Factory (Amendment) Act has been passed, and the disinterested philanthropists of Lanca-

shire are satisfied. But we doubt very much if the millhands for whose ostensible benefit the Act has been passed would, if they could give their thoughts words, thank the missionary zeal which animated the legislature in undertaking this measure of protection on their behalf; for the Cotton Mills in India serve the purpose of famine relief camps in times of distress, and the operatives are not likely to be so blind to their own interests as to curse the hand which feeds them. The philosophic historian Lecky in his *Map of Life* (chapter IV), referring to cases of ill-considered benevolence, says:—

"Measures guaranteeing men, and still more women from excessive labour, and surrounding them with costly sanitary precautions, may, if they are injudiciously framed, so handicap a sex or a people in the competition of industry as to drive them out of great fields of industry, restrict their means of livelihood, lower their standard of wages and comfort, and thus seriously diminish the happiness of their lives."

But the operatives in the mills are not pestilential agitators, and so their point of view need not matter.

V. J.

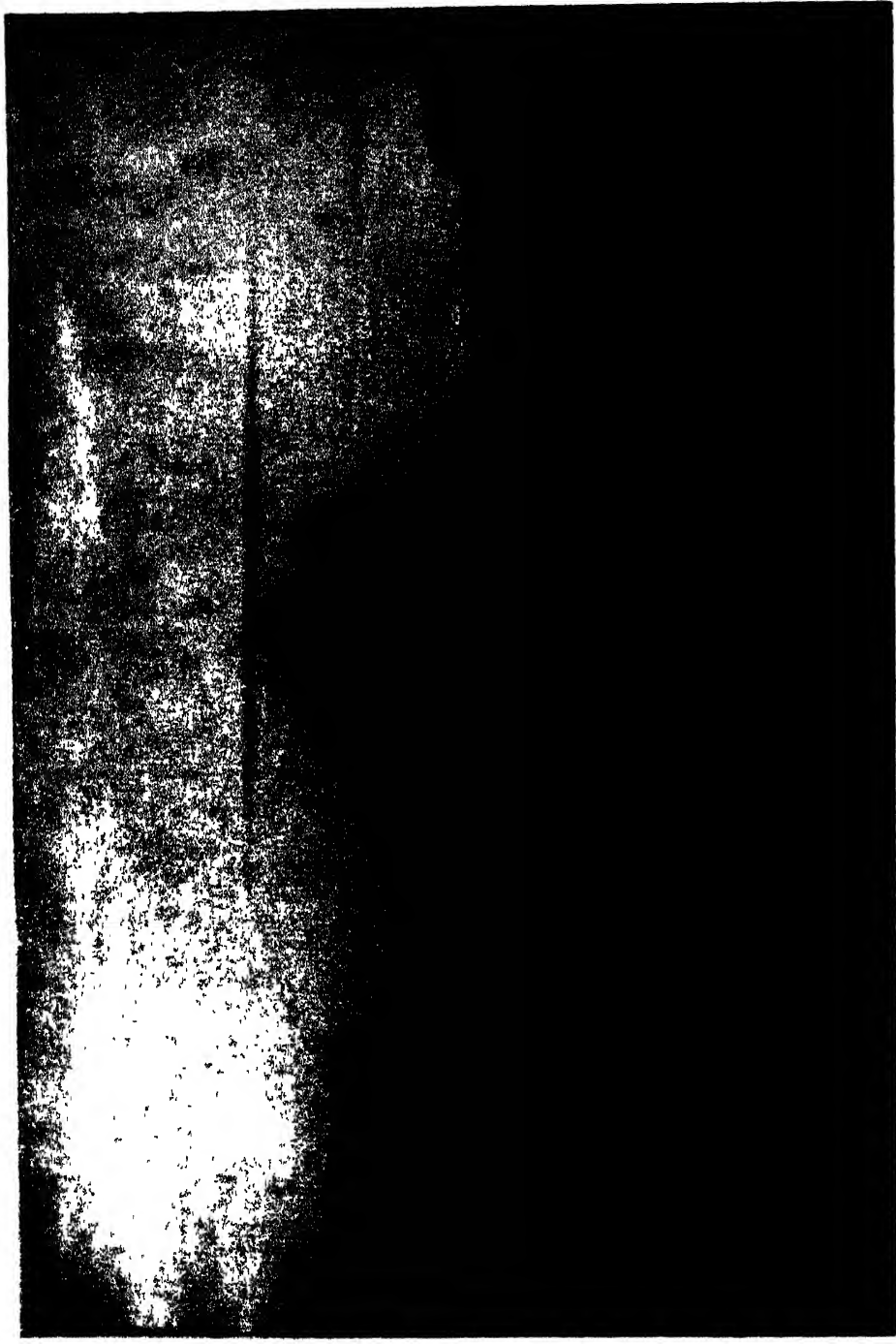
It is difficult, of course, to say what the operatives themselves think of the Factory Act. But some factory owners approve of it; Mr. Greaves of Bombay, for instance, as also Mr. Manmohun Dass Ramji of that city. The latter says:—

"Before I conclude I would like to congratulate the Government and the mill-owners upon the passing of the Factory Bill and the compulsory reduction of working hours. It will improve the physique of the labourers, and give them peace and a sense of comfort hitherto denied. All this will tend no doubt to produce a healthier and more intelligent class of labourers benefiting thus to a great extent the leading industry of this country."

Perhaps such opinions are to some extent due to the fact that under present circumstances the mill-owners think a "concerted movement for short time working," to quote Mr. Ramji's words, one of the means for removing the present depression in the cotton industry. And the State by fixing the hours of labour may have unintentionally come to their rescue. All these opposing views, however, will help the thinking public to arrive at a correct conclusion.

ERRATUM.

In page 350, under Fig. 9, for *Temple* read *Modern House*.



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ANTHROPOMETRY AND RACE

BY PROFESSOR HOMERSHAM COX, M.A.

EVEN so late as thirty years ago there were philologists who thought that races speaking related languages must themselves be related. This opinion, opposed as it was to the most obvious facts, is now entirely abandoned, and it is recognized that the test of race is not linguistic but physical. Mere common sense would lead to the same conclusion, for it is evident that a negro who speaks English is not an Englishman. But the signs of race which the ordinary man applies, colour, curliness of hair, &c., are not visible in the skeleton, and cannot help us to distinguish the races of the past. Even for living races it seems to many more scientific to be guided by quantitative distinctions rather than by general aspect. Hence systematic measurements have been introduced, especially of the skull, and, in the living man, of the head. The proportions of the head and face have been expressed by various indices of which the most important is the cephalic index equal to a hundred times the ratio of the breadth of the head to its length. When this index is below 75 the man is said to be dolicho-cephalic; when above 80 to be brachy-cephalic.

There is however great divergence as to the conclusions to which anthropometry leads. The Scandinavians and the Southern Italians are dolicho-cephalic, and are said by Sergi to be of the same race, his Mediterranean race, while Keane considers them to belong to different races. Keane is influenced by the differences in stature

which Sergi thinks of subordinate importance. According to Broca, the Ligurians were brachy-cephalic, while Sergi and Keane agree in taking them to be dolicho-cephalic. Canon Taylor says:

"We know,* that in the early centuries of our era Southern Germany was Teutonised in speech by German invaders, whose tombs known as the Row Graves, contain dolicho-cephalic skulls with a mean index of 71.3."

But Sergi tells us that

"The so-called Reihengräber types are not Germanic Aryans but belong to the pre-Aryan population."

As to "Aryans", that is to say, the men who spoke the primitive language from which Indo-European languages are descended, there is the widest difference of opinion. Penka maintains that they were dolicho-cephalic and originally inhabited Scandinavia, while Sergi holds that they were brachy-cephalic and came from Asia. Indeed, so numerous are the contradictions of anthropometry, that an eminent archæologist, Professor Ridgeway, says:

"As the physical anthropologists cannot agree upon any principles of skull measurement, the historical inquirer must not at present base any argument on this class of evidence."†

When experts arrive at different conclusions, the layman begins to doubt the validity of their methods. Let us then see what is the method of the physical anthropologist. He goes to a country, measures some heads, finds the average of certain

* The italics are mine. Notice the confidence of the assertion.

† Ridgeway, "The Early Age of Greece," p. 79.

indices, and from this average infers the race of the inhabitants. His method rests on the following assumption: "Difference in an average index implies difference of race." No doubt the more cautious anthropologists would not make this assumption without reserve and Sergi repudiates it altogether. He tells us: "that indices may serve to approximate the most diverse forms and to separate the most homogeneous." But other writers have no hesitation in deducing race from index. Thus Canon Taylor on the ground of mean index distinguishes between the people of Jena and the people of Hesse. The inhabitants of Jena whose mean index is 76.9 are dolicho-cephalic Germans, while those of Hesse, with a mean index of 79.2 are brachy-cephalic Celts.

In a previous article we have examined the use of the average, but it is perhaps as well again to call attention to the fact that the statements of anthropologists refer to averages, not to individuals. A single department of France, the Charente, has indices varying from less than 70 to more than 90, so that some of the inhabitants are very dolicho-cephalic and others very brachy-cephalic,* and every department shews a range of variation as great or nearly as great. In every one, brachy-cephals and dolicho-cephals are to be met with. But further, even in the same family broad and long heads may be found. A French writer, quoted by Holmes, says:—

"Of two brothers one will have black eyes and the other blue; one will have a long and the other a round skull; the father and mother will be tall and the children short."†

The celebrated Viennese anatomist Hyrtl used to puzzle the anthropologists by asking them the races to which the skulls in his museum belonged. They would name the most various races, but as a matter of fact, the skulls were all German. The present writer remembers that in 1885, after a course of lectures on anthropometry by Professor Macalister at Cambridge, two of the audience measured their heads and one was brachy-cephalic and the other dolicho-cephalic. They were cousins.

When these facts are brought before the anthropologist he replies: "The reason is

that the Germans and English are not pure races." Putting the biological questions on one side, for the moment, it is clear that this use of the word "race" deprives it of all *political* significance. Obviously, from the social and political point of view brothers and cousins belong to the same race. It follows that any inference as to conquering and conquered races when based only on the cephalic index must be very doubtful. We have noticed the variations of cephalic index in a single French department. Now the indices of 900 Bavarian skulls were found to vary from 70 to 98, or if we exclude sporadic cases from 76 to 90*. So that on any battlefield of the Franco-German War of 1870, we may expect to find dolicho-cephalic and brachy-cephalic skulls. Both kinds of skulls belong to both nations, but if we did not know the facts and followed the methods of some anthropologists we might suppose there had been a conflict between a broad-headed and a long-headed race. Now the ancient nations were also not pure races, so that when for example in Crete, broad skulls and long skulls are found dating from before 2,000 B.C., it may well be that their owners belonged to the same community.†

We come now to the biological question of pure and mixed races and we shall see if there is any sense in which brothers or cousins may be said to have different racial peculiarities. According to one view there is no such thing as a mixed race. Of course the existence of mulattoes, the offspring of parents of different races is not denied, but it is said that these mulattoes are sterile, or comparatively sterile, among themselves, so that the breed can only be maintained by intercrossing with one of the parent stocks. In a memoir published in 1864, M. Broca cautiously summed up the evidence available at that time.‡ He points out that the word "race" has been used in two senses. When used in the first sense:—

"To distinguish two races, a single character, however slight, is sufficient, provided it be hereditary and sufficiently fixed. If, for instance two peoples differed merely from each by the colour of the hair

* Ranke quoted by Pearson, "Chances of Death," p. 278.

† Burrows, "The Discoveries in Crete," p. 166.

‡ Broca, "On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the genus Homo."

* Haddon, "The Study of Man," p. 136.

† Holmes, "Caesar's Conquest of Gaul," p. 286.

and the beard, though they may resemble each other in every other respect, by the simple fact, that the one has black, whilst the other has fair hair, it may be asserted that they are not of the same race."

We may perhaps call the Jews, Arabs and Basques races in this sense. When used in the larger sense the word "race" is applied to groups consisting of those races in the narrower sense which have certain common characteristics. The Caucasian race is an example. Now M. Broca has collected a good deal of evidence to show that in certain cases when the parents belong to different groups, the offspring is infertile. On the other hand he thinks that it is possible for a mixed race to arise from two nearly allied races of the same group. His conclusions are as follows:—

"1. That certain intermixtures are perfectly engenesic.*

2. That other intermixtures are in their results notably inferior to those of engenesic hybridity.

3. That Mulattoes of the first degree, issued from the union of the Anglo-Saxon race with the African Negroes, appear inferior in fecundity and longevity to individuals of the pure races.

4. That it is at least doubtful, whether these Mulattoes in their alliances between themselves, are capable of indefinitely perpetuating their race.

5. That alliances between the Anglo-Saxons and the Melanesian races are but little prolific."

The evidence on which these conclusions are based is not always very satisfactory and as the reader will note, M. Broca expresses himself with great caution. His results need to be revised in the light of knowledge acquired since his time. Mendel's work, which has effected a revolution in the theory of heredity, was communicated to the scientific society of Brunn in 1865, a year after the publication of M. Broca's memoir, but it did not become widely known till 1900. Although Mendel's laws have so far only been verified for human beings in a few cases, they have been proved true for so many animals and plants that it is not likely man will be an exception.

"The deficiency of evidence is probably due to the special difficulties attending the study of human heredity. Human families are small compared with those of our experimental animals or plants, and the period covered by each generation is so long that no observer can examine many."†

* By "engenesic" is meant that the mongrels are fertile both among themselves and with either of the parent stocks.

† Bateson, "Mendelism," p. 205.

What Mendel's discovery was may be stated in his own words. When the parents belong to two varieties possessing constant differentiating characters,

"The hybrids form seeds having one or other of the two differentiating characters, and of these one-half develop again the hybrid form, while the other half yield plants which remain constant and receive the dominant or the recessive characters [respectively] in equal numbers." "If A be taken as denoting one of the two constant characters, for instance the dominant, a the recessive, and Aa the hybrid form, in which both are conjoined, the expression

$$A + 2Aa + a$$

show the terms in the series for the progeny of the hybrids of two differentiating characters."

In one set of experiments Mendel crossed two varieties of the edible pea, one tall and one short. The hybrids were all tall. When only one of two opposite characters appears in the hybrids, it is called the dominant character and in this case tallness was dominant. The other character, in this case shortness, is called the recessive. This character is absent from the hybrids but it appears again in their descendants, for the next generation consists of both tall and short plants in the proportion of three to one. Further breeding shews that the short plants are pure, but the tall plants are two parts hybrid and one part pure. So that altogether the generation bred from the hybrids consists of one part pure tall, one part pure short and two parts hybrid. Mendel emphasizes the fact, so entirely opposed to popular beliefs, that *transitional forms were not observed in any experiment*. The germ cells of the hybrids convey *either* the character of tallness *or* the character of shortness, not an intermediate character. This separation of characters in the germ cells is known as *segregation*. It is the chief part of Mendel's discovery. Dominance is of less though great importance and does not always occur. When dominance is imperfect the hybrids produced by the union of germ cells of opposite characters may present an intermediate character.* In any case however as far as a single pair of opposite characters is concerned there cannot be more than three types, two pure and one hybrid. The common belief is that there is an indefinite number of intermediate types, as if the phrase "mixture of blood" were to be taken literally and

* Bateson, "Mendelism," pp. 50—54.

blood could be mixed in the proportions of one to one, or three to one, or seven to one. But this is impossible according to the Mendelian laws of inheritance.

So far we have only spoken of one pair of opposite characters. But the parents may differ in several. Mendel examined seven distinct pairs of characters in peas. He found that "*the relation of each pair of different characters in hybrid union is independent of the other differences in the two original parental stocks.*" The descendents then may be pure in certain characters and hybrid in others. It is an essential part of Mendel's theory that each character must be considered separately. Sometimes it may happen that a character apparently simple depends on more than one factor. Professor Bateson has shewn this to be the case with the combs of fowls. When this happens, the validity of Mendel's laws can only be proved by a good deal of careful analysis and experiment.

The investigation of heredity in man is, as has been said, peculiarly difficult. One case, which has been very carefully studied is the transmission of the colour of the eyes. Eyes may be divided into two classes according as there is pigment in the front of the iris or not. Those with pigment will generally be considered brown and those without blue, but the popular estimate does not always correspond with the result of scientific examination. Using then the words "brown" and "blue" in a somewhat technical sense, it is found that the brown colour is dominant to the blue, so that the blue are always pure blue while the brown may be either pure brown or hybrids. According to Mendel's theory then, the union of blue and blue should produce only blue, and this was verified in 101 children the result of 20 marriages. When brown is mated with brown if either of the browns is pure the children should be all brown, but if both of the browns are hybrid the children should be brown and blue in the ratio of three to one. This result was also verified. These investigations were carried out by Mr. Hurst in a small English village, so that if with Broca we say that any character transmissible by heredity is sufficient to distinguish a race, then the inhabitants of an English village are a mixed race. It would be possible

to produce from among them a pure blue-eyed race by selective breeding. In this sense two brothers might belong to two different races. For if the parents be both hybrids some of their children may be pure blue-eyed and some pure brown-eyed.

The transmission of skin colour is not so simple. If it depended on a single factor we should expect that in America, the children of mulattoes, would be a quarter pure white, a quarter pure negro, and the remaining half again mulatto like their parents. This is not what happens, but it does not follow that the Mendelian theory fails, because its application is not immediately obvious. Instances of segregation have been adduced; in some mentioned by Mr. Mudge the races were Scotch and Canadian Red Indian, and in another published in the Journal of the R. A. M. C. they were northern English and Panjabi. If segregation does not usually occur the explanation may be that suggested by Mr. Doncaster:

"It is also not impossible, when germ-cells differing very considerably in constitution combine in fertilisation, that in the formation of the germ-cells of the next generation the machinery for segregation is inadequate. Extreme cases of this are possibly the cause of the frequent sterility of hybrids, but it may be that when the parental differences are insufficient to prevent the formation of fertile germ-cells, they may yet be enough to interfere with normal Mendelian segregation."*

That is to say, absence of segregation is a stage on the way to sterility. It may be conjectured that when the parental races are far removed there is at least partial sterility, and when they are near there is segregation. At any rate, there are, I believe, hardly any instances of a mixed race breeding true to an intermediate type.† Before Mendel's time Waitz wrote:

"The sterility of Mulattoes, when it is complete, may be compared with the fact recognised by Wirgman, that the hybrids of intermediate types between the two parent stocks are sterile, whilst those resembling one or the other species are prolific."‡

Sterility, it must be remembered, does not mean that the hybrids have no children. It means that comparatively few of their children reach maturity, so that the race unless blended with one of the parent races would become extinct. M. Jacquinet, a

* Doncaster, "Heredity," p. 109.

† For the few instances see Bateson, "Mendelism," p. 251, 2.

‡ Quoted by Broca, p. 38.

Zoologist, who travelled in Oceania from 1837 to 1840, claims to have been the first to point out the sterility of human cross-breeds in this sense. He asserts that "if their unions were constantly between themselves they would not be long before becoming extinct."^{*} M. Jacquinet's belief was founded on general impression, not on precise statistics, but Dr. Nott, a physician in South Carolina who had exceptional opportunities for ascertaining the facts, arrived at the same conclusion for the hybrids between the negroes and Anglo-Saxons. According to him the children of Mulatto women generally die young and when Mulattoes intermarry they are less prolific than when crossed on the parent stock. M. Broca has collected with great care and caution much more evidence of the same kind. Perhaps the most striking fact is the diminution of free coloured men in the old slavery days, after the owners had been prohibited from emancipating their slaves. These free coloured men were the natural children of slave owners and had been emancipated by their fathers. They could neither marry slaves on the one hand, nor white men on the other. When the liberation of slaves was forbidden their numbers diminished rapidly. The census of Charleston shew a decrease from 2,107 to 1,491 between the years 1830 and 1848.

It seems then very doubtful whether a mixed race can maintain itself, and the existence of such a race ought not to be believed without strong evidence. According to Sir Herbert Risley the inhabitants of the United Provinces are Aryo-Dravidians descended from Aryan fathers and Dravidian mothers. The original Aryan invaders, he thinks, had no dislike to Dravidian women and often took them as wives. But the sons issued from these unions developed such an aversion to the race of their mothers that marriage with Dravidian women was forbidden under the severest social penalties. This is not very probable in itself, and Sir Herbert Risley seems unaware of the serious reasons for doubting whether races so far apart as the Aryans and Dravidians could unite to form a mixed race. He makes no mention of segregation or of sterility in the unions of

hybrids. If the Aryo-Dravidian hybrids had, as Sir Herbert Risley thinks, "closed their ranks to all further intermixture of blood," they would, we may infer from the example of South Carolina, in all probability before long have become extinct. Sir Herbert Risley does not bring forward any direct evidence in support of his conjecture but he refers to the cases of the Eurasians of India and the "Burghers" of Ceylon. Now the Eurasians do not form a caste. They merge on the one side into the English born in India, and on the other into the Indian Christians many of whom have English names. It is not true, as Sir Herbert Risley incorrectly states, that the Eurasians "do not intermarry with natives and only occasionally with pure-bred Europeans". Such marriages, I can say from personal knowledge, are by no means uncommon. Indeed it would be impossible to prevent them, for the pedigree of the Eurasian is generally unknown and he may be as fair as a pure Englishman or as dark as a pure Indian. About the Burghers of Ceylon I know nothing directly. But Mr. Willis, a competent authority, writes in his "Ceylon,"—

"This term dating from the days of the Dutch is commonly applied in Ceylon to people of mixed European and native descent, in fact as the term Eurasian is used in India, but strictly it applies to descendants of the Dutch, some of whom are quite white and have no native blood in their veins."

Obviously the example of the Burghers proves nothing.

It is as well to note again that when speaking of mixed races we mean mixed in one particular character. The separate transmission of characters must not be forgotten. Professor Bateson says:

"In current parlance, dogs, for example, derived from a cross a few generations back have been

spoken of as $\frac{1}{2}$ Bulldog, or $\frac{1}{32}$ Pointer blood, and so

forth. Such expressions are quite uncritical, for they neglect the fact that the characters may be transmitted separately, and that an animal may have

only $\frac{1}{32}$ of the "blood" of some progenitor, and yet be pure in one or more of his traits."

If segregation takes place a race may be produced resembling one of the parent races in one character and the other parent race in another character. In one of

* Broca, p. 32.

Mendel's experiments hybrids were formed from peas with round seeds and yellow albumen and peas with wrinkled seeds and green albumen. Among the plants produced in the second generation some had round seeds and green albumen and some wrinkled seeds and yellow albumen. Perhaps in human races features and complexion are two distinct characters. Every one who has lived for some years in India must have seen Eurasians who had perfectly English features with a very dark complexion.

We have seen that if Mendelian segregation takes place, it is possible for two brothers to have different racial characteristics. To distinguish the races is comparatively easy, at least for an expert, when the difference consists in the presence or absence of a certain character, such as a pigment. But it is not easy, when as in the case of cephalic index the difference is only quantitative, for there will always be quantitative differences between individuals of the same race. For the same race, the frequencies with which the different values occur will very often, though not always, follow the normal law. Conversely, if the curve of frequencies can be broken up into two normal components we may suspect a mixture of races. But the real distinction is whether the differences are transmitted hereditarily, or not. For instance, if the index 72 occurred in a dolicho-cephalic race, we should expect the children to have an average nearly 72, but if the same index occurred in a brachy-cephalic race whose average index was 86, we should expect the average of the children to be between 72 and 86.

So far as I know the laws of the hereditary transmission of cephalic index have not yet been examined, so that these expectations have not been directly tested. But it has been found that the average height of sons lies between the average height of their fathers and the average height of the community to which they belong. More conclusive results are obtained for plants which can be self-fertilized so that the complication of two parents is avoided. It has been shown that the exceptional qualities of parents are only in part transmitted to their descendants. Hence species cannot be indefinitely modified by the repeated selec-

tion of individuals as the older Darwinists supposed:

"The conception of Evolution as proceeding through the gradual transformation of masses of individuals by the accumulation of impalpable changes is one that the study of genetics shows immediately to be false."*

Since the researches of Bateson and De Vries most biologists believe species to have arisen by discontinuous changes. They distinguish between the "Mutations" through which species have arisen, and the "Fluctuations" among individuals within the same species. De Vries states five laws as characteristic of mutations, and two of these may be quoted here:—

"New elementary species appear suddenly without intermediate steps."

"New elementary species obtain their full constancy at once."†

Clearly this last point can only be decided by breeding experiments, and it is in the institution of systematic breeding experiments that the work of Bateson and De Vries and their followers chiefly differs from that of the older biologists. In the words of De Vries "the origin of species is an object of experimental investigation." An American naturalist Mr. Tower has shewn in the potato-beetle that a mutation may be produced artificially by exposing the parents to special conditions during the time of development and fertilisation of the area. When the new species was crossed with the old, the result was according to Mendel's laws, the parent species being dominant. It may be conjectured that mutations in man arise in a similar way from change of climate. All the sporadic instances of fair hair and blue eye which occur in such countries as Kulu and Afghanistan ought to be studied by some medical man.

Obviously experiments cannot be carried out in human beings. But a partial equivalent may be found by collecting pedigrees and noting the resemblances between parents and children. To some extent this has been done empirically from the earliest times. It is a matter of common knowledge that the features of the Jew and the woolly

* Bateson, "Mendelism", p. 289.

† De Vries, "Species and Varieties, their Origin by Mutation." The word "elementary" is used because these species are in general smaller groups than the species of the systematic botanist.

hair and thick lips of the Negro are transmitted from father to son. But cephalic index has never fallen under popular observation, and the laws of its transmission are, I believe, entirely unknown. Before this index is used as a test of race, we ought to know its range of fluctuation in a pure race. Then, for a mixture of races, we ought to know if there is any dominance, and if so, whether brachy-cephalism or dolicho-cephalism is dominant. The effects of climate too must be considered. We meet with typical Jews in all countries, so that his peculiarities of feature are not much affected by climate. But it is doubtful if this is the case with cephalic index. Observations by an American Anthropologist, Professor Boas, seem to prove the contrary. The children found in America of long-headed Europeans are less long-headed and the children of broad-headed Europeans less broad-headed than their parents. In both cases there is an approach to an intermediate type. Until these points are cleared up, there is no satisfactory scientific basis for the use of the cephalic index.

According to Dr. Haddon, "in a race as pure as possible there may be a range in the cephalic index of 13 units." The Bahhans of Behar, who form a single endogamous group, are found on consulting the tables of the "People of India" to have cephalic indices varying from 70 to 90. But it is not easy to ascertain the purity, or to speak more strictly the cephalic-index purity, of a race. If Mendelian segregation takes place, a group which has been endogamous for centuries may still be mixed. For the sake of definiteness let us take an imaginary illustration. The Romans were, the old story tells us, the issue of marriages between the followers of Romulus and Sabine women. Let us assume that the fathers belonged to a dolicho-cephalic and the mothers to a brachy-cephalic race. If either of the type was dominant the first generation of hybrids will all belong to that type. But the second generation and all subsequent generations would contain both dolicho-cephals and brachy-cephals. The race would always be mixed even if there were the strictest laws against marriage with foreigners. Now from the earliest times men of one tribe have

carried off women of another tribe and to this extent the old legend corresponds with actual fact. It seems then that the possibility of mixture can never be excluded. Some indication might be obtained by finding the curve of frequencies of the cephalic index. On our assumption this would probably break up into two normal curves. But, as has already been said, parents and children ought to be compared. If we suppose brachy-cephalism to be recessive, then the children of two brachy-cephals would themselves be brachy-cephals. We may note again that a politically homogeneous people might by anthropometrical tests be proved to consist of two races.

In the absence of all knowledge of its hereditary transmission some idea of the value of the cephalic index as a test of race may be obtained from its correspondence with other race characters. As a matter of fact, it does not correspond at all.

"If we compare the maps of the distribution of the cephalic index, with those of colour and stature we find that there is absolutely not a shadow of relation between them."

The cephalic index separates races closely allied and is almost identical for races widely different. Judged by this index the Frenchman of Hante-Vienne is nearer akin to the Bengali Brahman than to his brother Frenchman of the adjoining department Correze. Bengali Brahman readers may be interested to learn that their average cephalic index, coincides with those of the English and Chinese. All three are intermediate in value between those of the Swedes and the Germans and also between those of the North Italians and the South Italians.* Panjabis, Arabs, Esquimaux, Scandinavians, Negroes, South Italians are dolicho-cephalic. North Italians, Burmese, Frenchmen, Koreans, Germans, North American Indians are brachy-cephalic. Parsees, English, Bengalis, Chinese, are mesati-cephalic. Should, however, any reader feel dissatisfied with his racial affinities he may reflect that these statements only refer to averages. In almost every nation we find almost every cephalic index so that whatever the individual cephalic index of the reader may be, he may claim on the strength of it to belong to the race which pleases him best.

* Haddon, p. 147.

The nasal index does not give any better results. This is an index which requires peculiar care, since owing to the smallness of the quantities measured slight errors in measurement will give rise to a large error in the value obtained. Sometimes the height of the nose is very difficult to determine. The opinion of anthropologists as to this index has changed, for while M. Broca estimated its value very highly, M. Collignon after elaborate researches thinks it of minor importance. Sir Herbert Risley however relies on the nasal index to prove that "community of race and not, as has frequently been argued, community of function, is the real determining principle of the caste system." This theory is founded on (1) the assertion that the nasal index of a caste corresponds with its social position; (2) the hypothesis that the varying nasal indices of the different castes correspond to the varying proportions in which two races have been mixed to form the caste. As an illustration of the "mixed race" theory of caste Sir Herbert Risley takes the Southern States of America where, he says, "Negroes intermarry with negroes and the various mixed races, mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons, each have a sharply restricted *jus connubii* of their own, and are absolutely cut off from legal unions with the white races." No evidence is offered in support of these statements. In the United Provinces the two races are the Aryans and Dravidians corresponding respectively to the whites and negroes of America. The Aryans have fine and the Dravidians coarse noses. But in the Panjab, it seems, there is only one race, the Aryan, and the inhabitants present a great uniformity of type, so that there is the closest physical resemblance between the Rajput and the Chuhra in spite of the social gulf which divides them. Why then, on Sir Herbert Risley's theory, there should be castes in the Panjab is not obvious and is not explained. Even if it were true that the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons, of the Southern States formed distinct castes, that would hardly give rise to castes in Canada. Nor is it any easier to see why there should be castes among the pure Dravidians who are said to occupy "the whole of Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chutia Nagpur." Yet

it is in Southern India that the caste system is strictest. If, as Sir Herbert Risley says, "representatives of the Indo-Aryan type" have passed down south to Madras, we can understand their forming a separate caste from the Dravidians, but this would not account for the Dravidians having castes among themselves. However "even in the provinces farthest removed from the Indo-Aryan settlements in North-Western India, members of the upper castes are still readily distinguishable by their features and complexion from the mass of the population" and these upper castes are, we suppose, Aryans. The Bengalis, however, are only credited "with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups" and are said to be "a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements." We are not told in what proportions the Mongols and Dravidians are blended in the different castes. But among the Scytho-Dravidians of Western India, the Scythians predominate in the higher groups and the Dravidians in the lower.

This is, so far as I understand it, Sir Herbert Risley's theory of caste. To put it shortly, caste arose in the United Provinces, Bengal and Madras owing to the refusal of Aryan half-breeds to marry Dravidian women, and in Western India owing to the refusal of Scythian half-breeds to marry Dravidian women. How caste arose in the Panjab is left unexplained. The theory of heredity implied is somewhat antiquated and it is doubtful whether hybrid races such as Aryo-Dravidians, Mongolo-Dravidians, Scytho-Dravidians could exist. But without further discussions of questions of heredity, we will examine how far caste and nasal index correspond. It is said that this correspondence is particularly close in the United Provinces so that there the castes rank substantially in the orders of their nasal indices. Now if we turn to the table for the United Provinces we find that the difference between two consecutive indices is generally less than a unit and is hardly ever much greater. But the probable error of random sampling is sometimes a little under and sometimes over a unit. Before we can feel confident that a difference is significant it ought to be three or four times the probable error. But this is not the case for any one of the differences between consecutive

indices. We may then be practically certain that the actual order of the indices is largely a matter of chance, so that the alleged correspondence with the order of social precedence is of no importance whatever. Let us then consider only the really significant differences such as that between Brahmans and Chamars. The Brahmans have an average index of 74.6 and the Chamars of 86. This is a considerable difference, and the higher caste has, as it ought to have, the lower nasal index. But unfortunately for the theory, the Kanjars, a caste even lower than the Chamars, have a nasal index of 78, an index not much greater than that of the Brahmans and almost identical with that of the Chattris and Khattris, two of the best castes in the provinces. Further the Chamar or Muchi of Bengal has a nasal index of 74.9, which, within the limits of error, is the same as that of the Brahman of the United Provinces. It seems then that if a low nasal index is a sign of Aryan blood, Sir Herbert Risley is wrong in attributing to the Bengalis merely a "strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups." He ought rather to have said that even the Chamars of Bengal have as pure Aryan blood as the Brahmans of Hindustan.

In the "People of India" the indices for the castes are given in different tables and sometimes arranged in order of nasal index, sometimes in order of cephalic index. It seems to us fairer to follow always the order of nasal index and not to make any artificial divisions between the different parts of India. As we cannot give all the castes, since this would exceed the space at our disposal, we select some from each province. The theory to be tested is, we remind the reader, that the higher castes have lower nasal indices because of their purer Aryan blood. Decimals are omitted as of no significance.

- Index of 67. The Gujar, a low though not untouchable caste of the Panjab.
- Index of 69. The Sikh of the Panjab; the Lambadi, an untouchable caste of Southern India.
- Index of 70. Brahman and Kayasth of Eastern Bengal.
- Index of 72. The Rajput of the Panjab; the Coorg; the Brahman of Western Bengal.
- Index of 73. The Khatri of the Panjab; the Nagar Brahman of Ahmedabad; the Vellala, a low caste in Southern India.

- Index of 74. The Bhumihar Brahman (or Babhan) of Bihar; the Chandal, the most degraded caste of Bengal.
- Index of 75. The Chuhra (or sweeper) of the Panjab; the Shenvi Brahman of Bombay; the Brahman of the United Provinces; the Muchi (or Chamar) of Bengal.
- Index of 76. The Brahman of Bellary; the Koli (a low caste) of Bombay.
- Index of 77. The Chitpawan Brahman; the Goala of Behar.
- Index of 78. The Chhattri; the Kanjar; and the Khatri of the United Provinces.
- Index of 79. The Brahman of Puri in Orissa; the Dom, the lowest of all castes, of Lohardaga in Chota Nagpur; the Kurmi of the United Provinces; the Deshasth Brahman of Poona.
- Index of 80. The Bania and Kahar of the United Provinces, the Maratha of Poona; the Pariah of Southern India.

It will be seen, I think, from the above table that nasal index has no relation either to caste or to race. The Rajputs of the Panjab are said to be pure Aryans, while the Coorgs of Southern India speak a Dravidian language and practise polyandry. Yet the two races have the same nasal index. This example would alone be sufficient to refute the assertion that a low index is connected with Aryan blood. The utmost that can be said is that the highest nasal indices occur among low castes. But this has no special connection with race, for in Japan too, where there is no caste system, the lower classes have coarser noses than the higher. I have seen an ingenious explanation of this fact by a member of the Indian Medical Service, but I do not mention it here, as I believe it will before long be published. Whatever the explanation, the fact shews that differences in feature may arise through occupation and intellectual culture even in countries where there is no caste. The converse proposition that the lowest nasal indices occur among the high castes is not true, for the Chandal of Bengal has a lower nasal index than the Brahman of the United Provinces.

We have seen then that neither cephalic nor nasal index is of much use in determining race. The truth is, the method of indices has been thoroughly discredited among anthropologists, and were it not employed in the "People of India", a book published in 1908, we should have supposed it had no longer any followers. Sergi

the eminent professor of anthropology at Rome, says:

"A method which is only in appearance a method inevitably leads to errors and can produce no results; if the archaeologists have had no faith in anthropology they have been justified."

For this "old and irrational method" he would substitute the natural method which consists in judging by the form of the skull. "Indices," he says, "may serve to approximate the most diverse forms, and to separate the most homogeneous." "An index of 74 is in its ethnic significance the same as one of 76 or 77."

Sergi's method has led him to the conclusion that there is a human species with "four characteristic and constant cranial forms, always found together in every region and in every clime, with whatever variations in external characters; these are the pentagonal, the ellipsoidal, the ovoid and the arrow-shaped."* The species Sergi calls Eurafrican "because, having had its origin in Africa, where it is still represented by many peoples, has been diffused from pre-historic times in Europe, and has formed the basis of the most primitive population." It is divided according to the pigmentation of the skin, hair and eyes into three races, the African, the Mediterranean and the Nordic, found in Scandinavia, North Germany and England. In Central Europe another species is found called by Sergi, Eurasiatic, because he supposes it to have originally come from Asia. It is characterised by broad skulls of four different forms cuboid, cuneiform, spheroid and platycephalic. We may call the Eurasiatic race, brachycephalic, as the mean index is about 83; and the Eurafrican race with a mean index about 72, dolichocephalic. But it must be remembered that in individual cases importance is attached not to the precise value of an index but to the shape of the skull. The Eurasiatic race was the original Aryan race, that is to say, the race which spoke the parent language from which Indo-European languages are descended. Sergi writes:—

"I am also convinced that this Eurasiatic species has yielded those populations called Aryan, and today represented by three chief branches, the Celts, the Germans, and the Slavs; while the populations, outside these three branches, which have been called Aryan on linguistic grounds, i.e., the Latins, Hellenes,

* "Mediterranean Race," p. 256.

and Germans of the Reihengraber, are not Aryans though Aryanised in language. I am finally convinced that these Aryans when they invaded Europe were savages, very inferior in civilisation to the neolithic Eurafricans, and hence that they were not the imposers of a new and superior civilisation as has been stated by those who were in ignorance of the real facts."

If we look at a physical map of Europe and Asia, we shall see that there is an almost unbroken plain north of the Alps, the Carpathians, the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian. In this plain we may, if Sergi's theory be correct, suppose the primitive Aryans to have lived. They were a nomad people with scarcely any knowledge of agriculture. In physical type, they were of moderate height and markedly brachycephalic. They burned their dead and reckoned descent through the father. Scholars approaching the question from the philological side have come to substantially the same conclusion as Sergi. Thus Schroeder, the Professor of Sanskrit at Vienna, writes:

"There can no longer be any doubt that the Aryans once lived, still undivided, diffused over Central Europe as far as South Russia, before the Asiatic branches of the family, Indians and Persians, separated themselves from it; before Greeks and Romans penetrated into the southern peninsulas of Europe."*

When the layman thinks how often learned philologists have applied the words "there can be no doubt" to theories now abandoned, he may be excused some scepticism. In any case Professor Schroeder must be assumed to give the opinion of scholars at the present time.

Projecting towards the south, there are three peninsulas, separated from the central portion of Europe by mountainous ranges. These peninsulas were, and still for the most part are, according to Sergi, inhabited by a different race, the Mediterranean race. It is markedly dolichocephalic, somewhat short, and of darker complexion than the Aryans. In the northern peninsula of Europe we meet with a people that is also dolichocephalic but of very fair complexion and tall stature. These people, says Sergi, also belong to the Mediterranean race, and differences in height and complexion are the effects of climate, but in this opinion he is not followed by all ethnologists. In the west of Europe, we find the earliest inhabi-

* Schroeder, "Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda," p ix, preface.

tants of Britain were of the Mediterranean race. They had long skulls with an average index of 72 and by a coincidence fortunate for the memory buried their dead in long barrows. Later came Aryan invaders who buried their dead in round barrows and had round skulls. Still later, in historic times, came the Saxons, a dolicho-cephalic people belonging to the nordic branch of the Mediterranean race. We may then sum up Sergi's results, roughly but conveniently, by saying that Central Europe is inhabited by Aryans, while the outlying portions—Spain, Italy, the Balkan peninsula, Scandinavia and the British isles are inhabited by the Mediterranean race or its nordic variety. The high civilisation which in very early times grew up round the Mediterranean sea, with Crete for its centre, was the work of this race, and is non-Aryan. In this opinion he is followed by many eminent archæologists.

One very distinguished archæologist, however, Professor Ridgeway, is of an entirely opposite opinion. He maintains that the whole of Europe, excepting only the country of the Basques, has from the earliest neolithic period been inhabited by Aryans. Professor Ridgeway does not believe in pigmentation or in cephalic index as a test of race, and so far he agrees with Professor Sergi. But he goes much further, and, unless I have misunderstood him, rejects the methods of physical anthropology altogether. All anthropometry depends on an assumption which is thus stated by Broca :

"Man, transplanted into a new climate, and subjected to a new mode of life, conserves and transmits to posterity all the essential characters of his race, and his descendants do not acquire the character of the indigenous race or races.—*Cœlum non corpus mutant qui trans mare currunt.*"

This assumption Professor Ridgeway denies. According to him—

"Osteological differences may be but foundations of sand, because it is certain that such variations take place within very short periods, not only in the case of the lower animals, as in the horse family, but in man himself."*

The difference, of course, turns on "short periods," for if we take long enough periods, all the varieties of mankind have, no doubt, had a common origin. But we are only looking back some five or six thousand

* Opening Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1908.

years, not one or two hundred thousand years. Professor Ridgeway goes on to maintain the rather strange doctrine that language is a better test of race than physical appearance is. It is impossible to summarize an argument already condensed, and we must refer the reader to the address itself.

Let us put on one side questions about which scholars disagree and note the points which may be regarded as fairly established. First, the belief that race can be determined by means of an average index is generally discredited. "The methods of the old anthropometry," Professor Burrow says, "are at present out of fashion." Next, the countries of Europe and Asia are inhabited for the most part by the same races as four or five thousand years ago. All the many invasions have not substantially altered the character of the populations. The conquerors pass away, the conquered survive. As Mr. Collignon says, it is not *vae victis* but *vae victoribus*. We may suppose that among human beings as among other animals, the different species and varieties are restricted to their own portion of the earth's surface. Species may be transplanted to a country with a similar climate, as European species have been transplanted to North America, Southern Australia and New Zealand. But in general a species or variety adapted to a temperate climate cannot live in a tropical climate, nor a species adapted to a tropical climate in a temperate. Often the invaders are destroyed by diseases from which the conquered population is comparatively immune. Even if they escape disease they lose their fecundity. Volney in the 18th century had already noted this with reference to the Mamluks in Egypt.*

It makes no difference whether the invaders marry with women of their own race, as the Mamluks did, or with women of the conquered population. Whichever happens the foreign race gradually becomes extinct.

This has been forcibly expressed by Professor Ridgeway :

"Where are the hosts of fair-haired warriors who streamed into the Balkan and the Mediterranean basin under the Roman empire? Where are the Goths of Mædia for whom Velfilas translated the Bible? Where are the posterity of the stalwart Norsemen, who formed the Varangian guard of the Emperors of the East? Where are the Normans who once carved out kingdoms,

*Quoted by Broca, "Human Hybridity."

marquisates and countries in Sicily, Italy and the Levant? These children of the North have all melted away beneath the southern sun as inevitably as does the glacier when it descends into the heat of the valley."[†]

But Egypt, as M. Collignon points out, furnishes the most striking example of the permanence of the original race. Egypt has been ruled by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs. Several millions of negroes have been brought into the country as slaves. Yet the Egyptian peasant of to-day is exactly like the peasant of the oldest dynasties. It is well known that one of the statues of the old kingdom is called "Sheikh-el-Beled" because the workmen who excavated it found a close resemblance to the Sheikh of their village.

Three factors tend to bring about the gradual extinction of an invading race. First, there is the relative infertility of hybrids between widely differing races. Next, even if the invaders are accompanied by women of their own race, there is infertility due to climate. Lastly apart from hybridity and climate, the invaders die out from the fact that they in general form an aristocracy. We will quote Professor Ridgeway again:—

"It is a known fact that the upper classes in all countries have an inevitable tendency to die out. As has long ago been pointed out by Sir Henry Maine, an admirable example of this sociological law is to be found in the peerage of England. How few families are there whose patent of nobility dates before 1700! What a small number are those who have had a title before 1600! While those whose nobility dates from before the Wars of the Roses are a mere handful. The House of Lords is therefore only kept going by the constant creation of new peers. We may therefore conclude that the dwindling of the master races in the Mediterranean, whether they were Achaeans, Goths, Celts, Norsemen, or Turks, must be in part accounted for by the mere fact that they formed in each case, the upper and ruling class, and could therefore afford to lead a life of luxury, which was the bane of their race."

It is true, not only of men, but of animals and plants generally, that excessive nutrition diminishes fecundity.

Another point to be considered is the comparatively small numbers of the invaders in all those invasions of which we have historical accounts. Gibbon notes this for the Teutonic invaders of the Roman empire in the 8th century, the Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostrogoths. There is a similar

or even greater disproportion of numbers in the Arab conquest of Syria, Persia and Egypt, or the Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily. We need not suppose that the conquests of which historical record is lost differed in this respect. Indeed, from the nature of the case, an invading host, even when accompanied by women and children, must be fewer in numbers than a settled population. The invaders, even if they had the power, would not have the wish to exterminate the peaceful original inhabitants, any more than they would wish to exterminate the domestic animals of the country. At all times men have preferred making others work for them to working for themselves. The only exception is when the two races are so different in character that they cannot live together, as when, for instance one race wants for hunting land which the other wants for agriculture.

This exception does not apply to India, for agriculture seems to have been known in India from very early times. In all the historic invasions of India the invaders have been few in number and we may suppose this to have been the case in the pre-historic invasions also. If the climate of southern Europe is fatal to the northern conqueror, much more so is that of India. Foreigners coming from the north can only live in India as rulers and administrators, not as colonizers doing the work of the field. This is not a matter of conjecture, for at the present time the hillmen cannot stay in the plains during the hot weather. These foreigners, for the reasons already given, have gradually died out. They may have changed the language of some parts of the country, as the Arabs did that of Egypt, but the character of the population has remained unchanged. In all probability the Indian of to-day is the same as the Indian of five thousand years ago.

If this is true we must reject the theory that India is inhabited by several distinct races, for the most part hybrid. In spite of all the differences to be met with in different parts there is a common Indian type distinguishing the Indian from the European or Chinaman or Arab. The stranger coming to India first notices the likeness of Indians to one another, and if the resident of many years overlooks this

[†] Ridgeway, "Early Age of Greece," p. 397.

likeness, it is only another example of the common mistake of not seeing the forest because of the trees. There are differences no doubt between the Panjabi and the Madrasi, but they are not greater, perhaps not so great as, the differences between the Swede and the Sicilian. Yet Professor Sergi and Professor Ridgeway are agreed in thinking that the Swede and the Sicilian are only two varieties of the same race. India must have been inhabited for as long as Europe, indeed for much longer, since it is a matter of obvious common sense that the countries in or near the tropics were inhabited before those of more northern latitudes. There is then ample time for the differences of local type we meet with in India to have been produced by climate. In the horse, Professor Ridgeway points out in his address, differences as great have been produced in a shorter time. As he remarks, we need "a rigid application of zoological laws in studying the evolution of the various races of man," otherwise the problem is insoluble.

The theory of the "unity of the Indian race" which Mr. Nesfield put forward twenty-five years ago is then that which fits in best with the whole of the known facts.

"It presupposes an unbroken continuity in the national life from one stage of culture to another, analogous to what has taken place in every other country in the world whose inhabitants have emerged from the savage state."*

We may imagine then that a single race, undergoing local modifications from climate, spread from the south of India to the Himalayas. They spoke Dravidian languages. Even now there is an isolated Dravidian language, Brahui, spoken in Baluchistan, pointing back to the time when Dravidian languages were spoken throughout the whole of India, as Gaelic and the recently extinct Cornish point back to the time when Celtic languages were spoken throughout the whole of England and Scotland. Invaders imposed Aryan languages on the people of Northern India, as the Romans and Arabs imposed their

languages on the people of Gaul and Egypt. But these invaders did not alter the racial character of the population.

Even if this theory has not been proved yet, it is more probable than a theory which assumes that two, or perhaps three, races can be mixed in different proportions as an American bar-keeper mixes drinks.

"From the evidence already to hand there is high probability that intermarriage can do little to form a new race unless the parents on both sides are of races evolved in similar environments."*

An "Aryo-Dravidian" race will, we may believe, come to be held as absurd in anthropology as the hippogriff in zoology. Nor again, is it likely that the Panjab is inhabited by a race of foreign conquerors. These conquerors, the "Indo-Aryans," came, we are told by Sir Herbert Risley, from the now desolate but once fertile regions of Eastern Persia and Baluchistan. They brought their own women with them and consequently felt "no need and no temptation (!)" to form unions with the women of the country. But though models of chastity and conjugal fidelity, the "Indo-Aryans" were somewhat lacking in humanity, for they appear to have destroyed all the original inhabitants of the Panjab, men, women and children. It need hardly be said that an invasion of such a character is purely fictitious. We may be sure, that to use Gibbon's words, "the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour" in the invasions of India, as it was in Alaric's invasion of Greece. Further, if Sergi be right, the markedly brachy-cephalic Aryan of Central Europe, is altogether different from the tall and hyperdolichocephalic Panjabi, so that even according to the methods of physical anthropology, there is no reason why the Panjabis more than other Indians should be called Aryans.

We have come to the end of our discussion and the only conclusion at which we have arrived is purely negative. Until experts are better agreed among themselves the layman will be wise to distrust the inferences of anthropometry.

* Nesfield, "Brief View of the Caste System," p. 3, par. 10.

* Ridgeway, Address to the British Association, 1908.

THE CATHOLIC MISSION IN CHOTANAGPUR

II.

IT is a relief to turn from this sickening narrative of the unsatisfactory relations between the aborigines of the Ranchi District and their landlords, to an account of the expansion of the Catholic Mission in that district. Wonderfully rapid, indeed, has this expansion been! The Chotanagpur Catholic Mission has not only attracted to its fold the unconverted by the thousands, but have drawn in many aboriginal converts from the Protestant Missions working in their country. An idea of the rapid expansion of the Mission may be gathered from the following statistics:—The number of Catholic converts rose from 15,000 in the year 1887 to 39,507 in 1897. Of this number, 22,728 were baptized converts and 16,839 were neophytes. The figures for the next three years are 53,908 (including 17,602 neophytes) in 1898, 58,311 (including 20,838 neophytes) in 1899, and 71,270 (including 29,658 neophytes) in 1900. In another five years the number swelled to 101,630, including 43,350 neophytes. At the end of the year 1909, the Chotanagpur Catholic Mission counted as many as 147,366 converts, of whom 74,943 were neophytes. Out of this total number as many as 91,345 belong to the Ranchi District alone, 1,763 persons to the Singbhum District, 6,230 to the Palamau District, 35,791 and 18,222 respectively to the two Tributary States of Jashpur and Gangpur. The number of Catholic Mundas alone now exceeds 30,000, as against 2,092 in the year 1885. The Catholic Mission centres in the Ranchi District are now 16 in number and are located at Ranchi (established in 1887), at Sarwada (1882), at Torpa (1885), at Mandar (1893, when it took the place of the older centre at Dighia, established in 1886), at Noatoli (1890, when it took the place of the centre at Basia, established in 1888), at Karra (1888), at Khunti (1891), at Katkahi (1892), at Rengarih (1901), at Soso (1901), at Kurdeg (1903), at Samtoli (1903), at

Nawadih (1907), and at Majhatoli (1907). The Mohuadand mission station in the Palamau District was opened in 1896.

There are, at present, as many as 53 European priests, over 500 aboriginal catechists, and more than 200 school-masters employed in the Chotanagpur Catholic Mission. Fifteen solid brick-built churches and over 400 chapels have been already erected in Chotanagpur and some others are in course of construction. Of these Catholic Churches, not a few are very fine specimens of ecclesiastical architecture, as the splendid Cathedral at Ranchi known as St. John's Cathedral, and the fine Church at Sarwada in the heart of the Munda country.

We shall now proceed to describe some of the educational and other institutions organised by this Mission. Besides the central School at Ranchi known as St. John's School of which we shall presently give a short account, the Catholic Mission has established no less than 140 Boys' Schools all over Chotanagpur in which as many as 7,683 pupils are now receiving education. The majority of these schools are located within the Ranchi District. Sixteen of these schools teach up to the Lower Primary Standard, and 4 up to the Upper Primary Standard. The Mission maintains in Chotanagpur 21 Girls' Schools with a total of 4,766 girls on their rolls. Of these four are big Convent Schools each with a strong staff of European 'nuns' and aboriginal 'Sisters.'

Of the educational institutions of the Chotanagpur Catholic Mission, the most important is the St. John's School. This School was started in the year 1887 by Father Motet as a Lower Primary School; and was originally meant to impart elementary education to the children of the Catholic converts in Ranchi and its suburbs. It was soon deemed necessary to admit into this school, boys from the

Catholic Mission centres in the interior of the District with a view to training them for the posts of Catechists and Schoolmasters. In the year 1903, the St. John's School was raised to a Middle English School, and in 1905 to a High English School. This institution has from its commencement, been a boarding-school for Catholic boys. Since 1904, however, non-Christian boys are also being admitted as day-scholars. At present the number of boarders,—mainly Munda and Uraon Christian boys, is 170, and of day-scholars, mainly

In connection with the St. John's School, we must not omit to mention the theatrical performances of its aboriginal boys. It was in 1890, that the theatre was started. In those days, there were very few aboriginal converts who could read or write. And it was with a view to instruct the converts and their children in the elements of religion that these dramatic performances in imitation of the mystery-plays of the Middle Ages in Europe, were inaugurated. It is mainly biblical incidents and parables that are dramatised in Hindi by competent



PASSION PLAY BY CHRISTIAN MUNDAS. JESUS CARRYING HIS CROSS.

Hindu and Mahomedan students, is about 70. The boarders each pay only a nominal fee which represents but a small fraction of the expenses incurred by the Mission for their boarding, lodging and tuition. A Government grant-in-aid as well as private donations and the school-fees paid by the non-Christian pupils help the Mission in meeting the current expenses of this school. The St. John's School was affiliated to the Calcutta University in 1908, and in that very year one Munda boy successfully passed the Matriculation examination.

missionary gentlemen for this theatre. Among these plays may be mentioned those of "the Birth of Christ," "the Death of Christ," "Cain and Abel," "Joseph," "Daniel," and "The Prodigal Son." Incidents of the lives of the Saints, such as St. Clement and St. Nicolas, have also been dramatised and played. Occasionally the Catholic boys play, on their school stage, some farce specially translated for them into English or into Hindi from the works of eminent French dramatists like Racine and Moliere. In these plays, the Catholic

Fathers have introduced some imitations of the choral songs of ancient Greece. The airs of the songs are either Chotanagpurian or European. An excellent musical band has also been organised by the boys of the Ranchi Roman Catholic Schools. St. John's School has also a hospital of its own. Besides these School Hospitals every Missionary centre has a Dispensary of its own where the clergyman in charge distributes medicines to Christians as well as non-Christians.

The same year in which St. John's School was raised to the Middle English Standard, a more ambitious institution was started by the Rev. Father Grosjean, then Rector of the Mission. This was the Apostolic School of Ranchi. Originally housed in a small building by the side of the St. John's School, it was removed two years later to a fine building constructed to accommodate the pupils and the Principal. Besides a large hall, several class-rooms, dormitories, and Principal's quarters, it has a nice chapel and an infirmary attached to it. This school aims at preparing for the priesthood such of the comparatively more intelligent boys amongst the Christians as feel spontaneously called to it. It began with nine boys and now counts twenty pupils on its rolls. And it is worthy of note that the institution is now so popular amongst the Mundas and Uraons that several applications for admission had to be recently rejected for want of accommodation. The majority of its *alumni* are Munda and Uraon boys of the Ranchi District, and only a few are Eurasian boys from the Calcutta and Darjeeling Mission Schools. After a five years' course in Latin, English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Declamation, Music, Solfeccio, Gymnastics, etc., in the Ranchi Apostolic School, the successful students are sent to the Mission House at Kandy in Ceylon for a further seven years' course - namely, a three-years' course in Philosophy and a four-years' course in Theology. It is reported that the Munda and Uraon students of the school generally show great aptitude for these studies and are very hardworking. The success of this school will be watched with great interest by all well-wishers of the aborigines.

The central Girls' Schools of the Chotanagpur Catholic Mission are those at

Ranchi, Khunti, Rengari in Pargana Biru and Tongo in Pargana Borway. These are all excellent institutions under the efficient management of European nuns who are assisted in their work by a band of Munda, Uraon, and Kharia 'Sisters.' Of these schools we shall only describe the one at Ranchi which may be taken as typical of the rest. The Ranchi Catholic Girls' School was started in the year 1890 by an Irish congregation of nuns called the Loretine nuns well-known in Calcutta for the great boarding house and Loretto School in Chowringhee and the excellent Orphanage at Entally. In January, 1903, a second congregation of nuns known as the Ursuline nuns came out from Europe and took charge of the Catholic Girls' School and boarding house at Ranchi. This school is divided into three departments. The first department is conducted in accordance with Government regulations and is attended by about two hundred girls who receive education up to the Upper Primary standard. The second department counts over four hundred girls on its rolls during the cold season (from November to February) when the girls are no longer required to assist their parents in agricultural work. These girls receive only an elementary education. All the girls in these two departments are aboriginals and free-boarders. The third and lowest department is attended by native Christian children of ages varying from two to seven years. The parents of these children are generally day-labourers in the town of Ranchi. Instruction is given to these children on the Kindergarten method. The number on the rolls of this Kindergarten department is now sixty.

The next institution we shall describe is the first as also the best of its kind in Chotanagpur. This is the Ranchi Catholic Mission Lace School, which was started in the year 1905. This school is meant for Indian Catholic women living in the town of Ranchi and its suburbs. At present more than one hundred aboriginal women daily attend this Lace School. Most of these pupils are married women with children to look after. To suit their convenience, the hours of work are so arranged that they can go home and attend to their domestic duties twice in the day and finally return home in

the evening. Nor is daily attendance compulsory. It is reported that these aboriginal women learn the art of lace-making in an incredibly short time. And the excellent laces they turn out are said to be in great demand in Calcutta and even in far away Europe. Every pupil of the Lace School is paid by the school authorities at a fixed rate for every yard of lace she turns out in the week. And thus, these poor women who could formerly earn but a few pice a day by cutting and selling grass or by working as day-labourers in the town of Ranchi and its suburbs, now earn a decent livelihood by attending the Lace School. And a visit to the Ranchi Catholic Lace School will convince you that it will be hard to find anywhere else a happier and more contented group of hundred women than those who find work there.

From the very commencement of their work in Chotanagpur, the Catholic Fathers perceived that unless effective means were devised to improve the material condition of their converts, religion will have very little hold on their minds. Agriculture has formed the main, and practically the sole, occupation of the aborigines of the Ranchi District. But the lands of the district are not particularly fertile, and about a quarter of the entire area of the district is unculturable. The Munda or Uraon has generally a large family to maintain, and the agricultural holding of the aboriginal ryots hardly yields produce sufficient for the consumption of himself and his family even for six months in the year. And, as a consequence, many an aboriginal ryot of the district lives in a state of chronic indebtedness. With a view to the amelioration of the economic condition of the Christian converts of the Mission and to train them for some other occupation besides agriculture, the Catholic Mission Industrial School was opened at Ranchi in the year 1894. It was intended to turn out good carpenters and masons. This institution which did good work in its time was discontinued after a few years when a more ambitious Industrial School was started by this Mission at Khunti in the centre of the Munda country. At Ranchi, however, a large Tile Factory was opened by the Rev. Father Hoffmann in the year 1908, which now trains a large

number of Munda and Uraon boys and young men in the manufacture of roofing and flooring tiles with cement and sand. The secrets of the art of polishing, colouring and enamelling tiles and making floral decorations on them are also being taught in the factory.

The Khunti Roman Catholic Industrial School to which we referred in the last paragraph, was started by the late Rev. Father Vandaele who was himself proficient in Mechanics. This institution consists of four principal departments, *viz.*, the weaving and dyeing department, the carpentry department, the iron-works department, and the silk-worm-rearing department. Of these four departments the first deserves special mention. The proud and conservative Mundas have a strong prejudice against weaving, which is done in a Munda village by a caste called *Penrais* or *Panrs*. A Munda who weaves cloth with his own hands loses his caste. Father Vandaele cast about for some means to break this prejudice and a happy idea struck him. He thought of the Japanese improved handlooms which are worked by the feet alone, and inquired of a number of Mundas if they would have any objection to weaving with a machine in which the hands would not have to be used. On the Mundas agreeing to handle such machines, he procured a number of them, and all the looms were soon occupied. Under Father Vandaele's directions, a few more looms of the same pattern as the imported Japanese looms, were also kept in his own Industrial School. On the sudden death of the Rev. Father Vandaele, the school was placed under the Rev. Father De Staercke who had once been at the head of a big factory of weaving and spinning looms in Europe. Father De Staercke effected great improvements in the weaving department as also in the carpentry and iron-works departments. He procured another dozen Japanese looms, and had six plain looms of European pattern made in the Khunti school work-shop. He also began giving practical instructions in the art of dyeing both cotton and silk. For the iron-works department, a big engine was brought over from Europe about two years ago. The silk-worm-rearing department was added only last year, and already thousands of mulberry trees have

been grown to rear silk-worm cocoons. This industry is a very profitable one and is now in great favour in England, France, Italy, Russia, Turkey and Japan. It has been an old industry in Lower Bengal and in various other parts of India. Although this industry has been known in the adjoining districts of Singbhum and Manbhum, it does not seem to have ever before been introduced in the Ranchi district. And this department of the Khunti Catholic Industrial School promises a bright future for the Catholic Munda youth.

If the Khunti Industrial School is calculated to effect a great improvement in the material condition of Catholic Mundas, by far the grandest philanthropic organisation of the Catholic Mission is the Chotanagpur Catholic Co-operative Credit Society, started by the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann. Of this institution, the Government Report on the working of the Co-operative Societies in Bengal for 1909-1910, writes,—

"The scheme cannot fail of ultimate success, and it is bound sooner or later to effect an economic revolution in Chotanagpur. It is doubtful, however, whether such an ambitious scheme will succeed anywhere else or under any other circumstances. To carry through a scheme like this requires Father Hoffmann's singleness of purpose and devotion, and an organisation such as that possessed by the Roman Catholic Mission in Chotanagpur."

In fact, Father Hoffmann's scheme is an unique experiment, for it reverses the method of organising co-operative societies as isolated autonomous societies, and begins with the formation of a Central Banking Union and then seeks gradually to evolve autonomous rural units out of it. With regard to the constitution of this society, the same Government Report writes,—

"To make any impression on the aboriginal tribes by means of work on ordinary lines would be a slow and tedious process. And the problem before us is how to give the aboriginal tribes the full advantages of co-operation in order to prevent their further exploitation by their more advanced and pushful neighbours and to enable them to hold their own in the economic struggle. Father Hoffmann's Society in Ranchi... offers a practical solution of the problem. It is a large centralized society embracing the whole Roman Catholic population of Ranchi and formed with the object of enabling the members of the Mission to constitute themselves into a system of federated and autonomous societies within the central institution. The Society is managed by a Central Committee of Management which sits in Ranchi town and conducts all its affairs. The area of

operation is divided into some sixteen circles corresponding to missionary circles, each in charge of a Missionary. The circles again are divided into villages or groups of villages, each of which forms a rural unit. The unit is in form practically a small Raiffeisen Society. It has its own punchayat and supervisors, and keeps its own accounts and administers its own loans. For the present, each rural unit conducts all business on behalf of the Central Society."

The Chotanagpur Catholic Co-operative Credit Society was registered under Act X of 1904, on the 2nd December, 1909. By the end of June 1910, as many as 229 Rural units were constituted and the society had realised a capital of Rs. 22,845 3as, and every succeeding month is bringing in additions to this capital. For the Society's headquarters at Ranchi, a fine two-storied building with a strong-room, rooms for the stores department, the banking department, the Director's office, the accountant's office, and so forth, was erected last year. Tracts in Hindi and Mundari written by Father Hoffmann to explain the system and its advantages have been printed and circulated amongst the Catholic population of Chotanagpur. Again and again, Father Hoffmann has been making long tours throughout the Ranchi District to preach to his Christians the advantages of Co-operative Banks. In these preaching tours he himself practises what he advised other members of the Co-operative Credit Societies Conference that sat at Calcutta last year to do. He then said,

"You must yourself be imbued as it were with the inner spirit and the high aims and the enthusiasm of a Raiffeisen and then, in a language and a style adapted to the present mental condition of the Indian cultivator write, so to say, on his mind in clear lines and vivid colours the deeply human beauty of the Raiffeisen system and its palpable and immense advantages."

We have written at comparative length about this Society, because to us it appears to hold out the brightest promise for the future social and economic regeneration of the Mundas, Uraons and Kharias of Chotanagpur who form a considerable portion of the population of the Ranchi District.

When one thinks of the ever-increasing and splendidly organised educational and benevolent institutions of the Catholic Mission, the self-sacrificing zeal with which each Missionary devotes himself, heart and soul, to the work entrusted to him, the

obviously simple and even ascetic habits of life of the Catholic Fathers and Brothers, approximating to Oriental ideals of a religious life and the picturesque forms and ceremonials connected with Catholic worship, which are calculated to appeal to the Oriental mind,—one is inclined to believe that by degrees the Catholic Mission may not improbably draw into its fold the majority of the aboriginal population of the Ranchi District. An eminent Church-of-England Divine, the Venerable H. B. Hyde, Arch-deacon of Madras, in a recent article in the *Guardian*, traces the expansion of the Catholic Mission in India to almost the same causes that we have indicated above. Writes he,

"The majority of Christians in India thus belong to the Roman Communion. The Roman Catholic community in India is now elaborately organized, is in command of immense resources in money, and is administered with admirable ability and always with a view to its expansion by means of missionary enterprise and the absorption of Christians of other confessions through the influence of ever-multiplying and ever-improving educational institutions. * * * *

"The treasury of the Propaganda and those of the great Missionary Associations of Paris, and Milan, of the Society of Jesus, and of several missionary Orders pour funds into the country; while convents of foreign nuns, admirably equipped as seminaries

of female education, are becoming numerous everywhere. Roman Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods carry on also other benevolent works by means of hospitals, charity homes, dispensaries, orphanages and refuges of all kinds. But the main streams of influence are connected with education, both primary and secondary, and also academic of the highest standard. * * * The influence quickly established over their pupils, particularly by the nuns, is profound and life-long. The influence of the Irish Christian Brothers and that of the Jesuit teachers is scarcely less penetrating. The authority exercised over the heart and imagination of an impressionable boy by a teacher (even though he be a foreigner and an indifferent athlete), who has obviously no other aim in life than to be a school-master for the sake of the cause of Christ, is naturally far greater than that even of an English graduate who is teaching for the sake of a salary.

"With regard to the evangelization of the heathen and the harvest of converts from Protestantism,, Roman missionaries rely much more than ours do upon the natural instincts of Oriental races. Our missions undoubtedly hold up a high and strict standard of morals and devotion, but we for the most part provide for religious expression by even more austere forms of the already austere forms of public worship approved by puritanized English taste. On the other hand the Roman missionary system provides the Oriental with something to see and to do as well as something to say and to hear; and full advantage is taken of all that can be made picturesque in the Church Festivals, particularly by public processions."

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

HORACE GREELEY, THE GREATEST OF AMERICAN EDITORS

A CENTENNIAL TRIBUTE.

By REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

WE in America have recently passed the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Horace Greeley, the most widely known and the most influential newspaper editor that this country has produced. Much public attention has been given to the anniversary. I wonder if the readers of the *Modern Review* would be interested in a very short sketch of this remarkable man to whom the cause of liberty and progress in America owes so much.

Mr. Greeley died in the year 1872, seven years after the close of the great Civil

War which put an end to slavery on the American Continent. I never had any personal acquaintance with him, but I saw him and heard him lecture several times in my early life; and what was more important, I was a regular reader of his widely circulated and very powerful paper, the *New York Weekly Tribune*, during all the later years of my boyhood and the earlier years of my manhood; so that, looking back now over my life, I can see that my political thinking was probably moulded by him more than by any other influence.

Nor am I able to regret that this was so;

because he early taught me to carry moral judgments into politics, and made me understand and realize that political questions involving moral principles can never be settled permanently until they are settled right, until they are settled in harmony with justice to all parties concerned, whether white or black, rich or poor.

Mr. Greeley was, above all else, a journalist. He lived in a time when it was possible for a great editor to make himself a personal power through his pen, to a degree which now, in this day of impersonal journalism, when commercial and other money considerations weigh so much even on the editorial page, is quite impossible.

His great influence as a journalist was probably due primarily to two causes. One was his unquestioned ability and power as a writer. He had every intellectual and moral quality necessary to make a great editor. He had extraordinary breadth and grasp of mind; marvelous quickness and sureness in getting hold of facts, and tenacity of memory in retaining them; a style of writing as clear as sunlight; great vigour and terseness of statement; logic as strong as iron; humor in its place; withering sarcasm in its place; great coolness where coolness was needed; fervour and passion where warmth was required; moral indignation against wrong; political foresight and judgment, and the keenest possible instinct as to the wants of the people and the things that they really cared for.

The second cause of his great influence as a journalist was undoubtedly his disinterestedness, his honesty, his transparency of character, his unselfish devotion to the public good. The people very early came to feel that he could be trusted. His paper was his own; there was no moneyed syndicate controlling it and dictating what should be its editorial policy. His pen was his own; he was in the world to say the things that he believed to be true and needed, no matter who objected. He hated cant and lies and deceit. When he spoke through his paper to his vast constituency, every man knew he meant what he said. There was no sham, no beating about the bush, no apology; he had no axe to grind. He cared for the country and for the good of all the people, and the people soon found it out. He believed

in the people, and as a consequence the people soon believed in him. He did not always tell them smooth things, or flattering things, or things that they liked. On the contrary he often said things that they did not like. But they knew his words were the words of an honest man, and of a friend, and they liked him the better for his fearlessness.

Horace Greeley reminds one of Benjamin Franklin. By his own efforts he worked his way up from poverty and obscurity to fame and great influence as Franklin did. He had much of Franklin's shrewd common sense; much of his simplicity of character; much of his keenness of observation, humor, command of the clearest and most vigorous Anglo-Saxon, power to say things in a way to arrest attention and to make them stick in men's mind "like a nail in a sure place."

Greeley also reminds one of Abraham Lincoln. It is easy to think of him as a sort of New England Lincoln. He came as straight from the people as Lincoln did and he cared as much for them all his life. He could reach the hearts of the people as surely by his pen as Lincoln by his speech. He was as incorruptible as Lincoln.

Greeley rendered several great and signal services to the American people which should not be forgotten.

It was he who caused the nomination of Lincoln to the presidency. In the light of history we to-day can see that this was a service to the country of the highest possible importance.

Probably it is true to say that Greeley was more influential than any other man, not even excepting John Brown or Charles Sumner, in saving Kansas from the "border ruffians" and making it a free instead of a slave state.

Greeley did a great service to the West in stimulating emigration from the East to the new states of the Mississippi valley. His advice, "Go West, young man," was the bugle call that aroused thousands of the most vigorous and competent young men of the East and sent them into the then western wilderness, to become prime factors in building up that great, rich and powerful new empire which now stretches from the Allegheny Mountains to the Missouri River.

In another way Mr. Greeley rendered a

very great service to the American people. It was in stimulating an interest in intelligent and improved agriculture. He bought a farm outside of New York and during his later years made his home there. This farm he endeavored to manage scientifically. He published a book entitled "What I Know of Farming." The book and his farm operations were often laughed at; but the book was widely read and had a large influence among the rural population of the whole north. And what was still more important, Mr. Greeley made the *Weekly Tribune*, which had a large circulation among farmers, a constant medium through which to convey valuable information regarding improved methods of farming. When the *Tribune* began its work there were in the United States no agricultural colleges. If we were to single out the man who could most truthfully be called the father of the great number of agricultural colleges now existing in this country, probably it would be Horace Greeley.

Still another thing of great service to the country he did. He made the *Tribune* an ever alert and most efficient agency all the while for the diffusion of general knowledge and the promotion of general culture. As an editor he always kept himself surrounded by writers who could instruct the people and interest them in literature and science, and who had skill to give them the best that was being thought and said in the world.

Thus he made the *Tribune* a sort of general People's University, which brought its treasures of new thought and new knowledge every week to men's own doors in tens of thousands of homes.

No paper had ever rendered so valuable a service of this kind to the people of the country before; and it is doubtful if any has since.

Mr. Greeley's service to the anti-slavery cause was very great, hardly less than that of William Lloyd Garrison. He was not so extreme an abolitionist as Garrison, and therefore his word was listened to in many places where Garrison could get no hearing. Moreover Greeley possessed the advantage of having a great and powerful paper, that went from one end of the north to the other, as a vehicle to carry his anti-slavery word. Probably at no other time in the

history of the American nation has any periodical exerted such an influence for political and moral reform as that wielded by Mr. Greeley's *Tribune* for twenty years and more before and during the Civil War. To hundreds of thousands of earnest thinking men, particularly in the middle states and the West, the *Weekly Tribune* was a veritable Bible. They watched for the coming of each number with an eagerness which we in these days can hardly imagine. Horace Greeley was not only their political teacher and leader, but their conscience, their prophet of public and political righteousness. They felt that the battle which he was fighting, and to which he summoned them, was not merely a political battle, but deepest of all moral battles, a battle for human justice, for the rights of man. For it should be borne in mind that the *Tribune* was not simply and only on the side of anti slavery, but it was on the side of humanity generally. As was declared by Dr. James Freeman Clarke at the time of Greeley's death:

"For a quarter of a century the *New York Tribune* was the most conspicuous platform in this country from which any distinct word on behalf of universal justice and freedom and humanity could get itself heard by the nation."

The moral and political value of such a paper was inestimable. The moral service it rendered to the country was beyond price.

Of course Horace Greeley had his defects. He had some striking defects. None knew them better than his warmest friends and admirers. But men almost loved him for his very defects, because they were the defects of his splendid qualities—defects that grew out of his heroism, his mighty will, his almost fanatical love of justice, his un-sleeping care for the interests of the people, his scorn of wrong, his hatred of all cant, deceit, and meanness.

It is of interest to us here to-day to bear in mind that Horace Greeley, in his religious faith, was a liberal. During all the later years of his New York life he was a regular attendant and supporter of the Church of the Divine Paternity, the Universalist Church on Fifth Avenue, whose pastor was the distinguished and honored Dr. Edwin H. Chapin. Though Mr. Greeley seldom or never discussed theological questions in

the *Tribune*, he steadily shaped the influence of his paper in the direction of a broad, reasonable and humane interpretation of religion.

Said one who knew Mr. Greeley well:

"Whatever were his eccentricities or errors of judgment, he could always be depended on to speak and act uprightly. He was a true, pure, noble man,

more admirable in what he was than in what he did, even though he did more than any other man of his time to mould the public press, and to educate the American people."

The memory and influence of such a man is a priceless heritage not only to his own nation, but to the world.

THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT: CRITICISM, AND PARALLEL TO INDIAN UNREST

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

SURVEYING the suffrage movement from a distance, the most striking fact which emerges is that it is not a feminist movement, but a demand for political rights. As such it is, of course, 'absolutely justified'; but as such, its success will have just as small revolutionary consequences as other extensions of political rights have had in the past. Men who are afraid have no occasion to fear: they would be well-advised to grant the vote and all other equalities of opportunity to women as soon as possible, thereby saving all further trouble and waste of time. Only a small proportion of women will take advantage of the new powers: and most of these will be so much like men in purpose and intention as to make but little difference. They will, of course, make some difference, and probably an advantageous one: but political power will not enable them to alter the structure of society, because they do not want to. Patriarchy and exploitation will continue unabated. The main factor in the enslavement of woman is economic; the other factor is social convention. Only a microscopic proportion of suffragists are either socialists or feminists: therefore, although they have every right to the vote, we shall not be surprised, pleasantly or painfully, by any remarkable consequences of the extended suffrage.

Politics, particularly party politics as now established, are a poor affair. Laws merely follow and do not create public

opinion. If women as a whole were convinced feminists, they could get any desirable thing, such as the endowment of motherhood, established at once. Nothing is ever obtainable unless it is badly wanted: and I do not think most women consciously want economic independence yet. They are much too enamoured of the 'male' ideal of woman an economically dependent being.

The Indian unrest presents an exactly analogous situation. The most prominent workers demand political rights and economic redress; and their demand is abundantly justified. But the securing of these things will involve no revolution in anything essential—the 'educated' classes will still remain intellectually, morally and aesthetically parasitic upon Europe almost to the same extent as now. But just as women could get what they wanted if they really wanted it, so could Indians. If they really wanted national education, they have only to boycott Government and mission schools, and set about the real work of teaching: instead of this, when 'national colleges' are founded, they become at once merely second-rate copies of Government Colleges. So also, Indians could do a great deal to restore to their country economic prosperity, if they would only employ their own builders, craftsmen, artists and musicians, and neglect European upholstery and gramophones: but all they wish to do is to make European upholstery and gramophones in India instead of importing them.

Few 'Swadeshists' care how much the workers may be exploited or degraded, so long as it is only done in India and the profits are retained by an Indian. Indians, and their English friends for them, do not claim political freedom, for India as a nation, on the solid ground of their fundamentally different temperament and inherited culture: but, forsooth, on the ground that they are now sufficiently anglicised and educated to manage their own affairs—in the English way.

Just so women and their male supporters do not claim political rights because they are different from men and wish to turn the world upside down. They want a share in the inestimable privilege of maintaining the *status quo*. They spend breath and paper and ink and statistics to prove that their brains are just like men's—that is to say, that nothing particular will come of it if any power is given to them. Two heads, however, are only better than one if the contents of the heads are *not* exactly alike. No woman whose mind is like a man's is of so much value as a real man just as no Indian whose mind is like an Englishman's is of so much value as a real Englishman.

A remarkable book, 'The Psychology of Sex', was written some years ago by a young German named Weininger. This misogynistic work as a rule infuriates women, and not without reason. It declares that, as women, they have no souls: but they have souls only insofar as they rise above sex, insofar, that is, as their mentality is essentially masculine. This also is the

standpoint of religious asceticism, and we find Buddhist nuns two thousand years ago rejoicing in their escape from their feminine, and realisation of their human nature, in language almost identical with (though more exalted than) that of the neutral, motherhood-dreading, sex that is beginning to be conspicuous today. I do not say that this religious standpoint is not philosophically sound, that is to say, *ultimately* true: but it is true, or valid, at any given time only for a very few (those who are 'ripe' for emancipation—*moksha*) and applied to the majority has merely a deadening and decolourising effect. For the distinction between Purusha and Sakti must remain for each individual a distinction, until determination (*ahamkara*, the illusion of individual existence) for that individual ceases. Moreover, there is salvation by devotion as well as by wisdom. Meanwhile it cannot be denied that suffragettes who base their claim to status entirely on the ground of humanity and not of sex are misogynists in exactly the same sense as Weininger, or the Buddhist nuns. Similarly the Indian who ignores his own culture and by desperate imitation shows a real belief in the superiority of Western civilisation, is not a nationalist, however much he may wish for political and economic freedom. It is this profound self-distrust which is the most essential weakness in the English woman's movement, as well as in the Indian nationalist movement. Neither women nor Indians really want to be themselves.

FRUITLESS CRY*

Fruitless our cry
Fruitless the rebel longing of our souls !

The day is dying !
Darkness holds th'earth and light the
sky,

While noiseless creeps behind
With downcast eyes
Weary eve with her mourning sigh.

I hold thy hands in mine
My hungry eyes
Look deep into thine
And seek for thee !
Thee ! The real thee !
Thy self ! Thy essence ! The sweetness
veiled

Behind that mortal frame !

* Translated from the Bengali of Babu Rabindranath Tagore.

In the dark depth of thy eyes,
 Quiver the soul's mysterious beams,
 As th'infinite mystery of heavenly light
 Through star-set darkness tremulous
 gleams.

Thus, ever I gaze.
 A quenchless thirst, like the sandy flood
 Of fierce simoon,
 Drowns my soul and being,
 In thy eyes.

Behind thy smile,
 In thy melodious speech,
 Or in the calm peace that radiates from
 thee,
 Where shall I find the true, th'immor-
 tal thee !
 I seek and weep.

In vain ! In vain !
 In vain the cry,
 The mad presumptuous hope !
 Not for thee this fullest rapture,
 Holy and hidden.
 Be thine the spoken word,
 The fleeting smile,
 And love shadowed in a passing glance ;
 Let this suffice.

What hast thou ?
 Hast infinite Love ?
 Canst meet Life's infinite want ?
 That seekest the whole human being
 In perfect completion !
 Alone and helpless thou !
 Canst thread thy path

Amid the throng of worlds,
 Through ignorance and error,
 The chequered maze of light and shade,
 Or the labyrinth of daily change ?
 And lead thy chosen partner,
 Thy eternal companion,
 Thro' all eternity ?
 Thou fearful, tired, and weak,
 Bent with the weight of thy own soul,
 Darest thou seek
 The burden of another charge ?

Not food for thy hunger
 Is the human soul ;
 Nor aught that with greedy clutch
 Thou may'st grasp and hold !
 Wouldst thou with keen desire
 Pluck the Lily in its bloom,
 That with tender care
 From the subtlest essence
 Of Beauty, Time, and Space
 God fashioned for his own shrine,
 And universal joy.
 Be thou content,
 That for thee
 Is its sweetest perfume ;
 That thou may'st love,
 And thy soul bathe itself pure
 In that loveliness sublime ;
 Nor stretch thy impious covetous hand.
 The breath of calm and gentle peace
 Hath stilled all sound in th'evening air.
 Cool with tears thy hot desire.
 Away ! This cry of hunger cease.

L. PALIT.

THE CENSUS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY NORENDRA NATH LAW, M.A.

IT is interesting to know that there was some form of census current in India over two thousand years ago in the age of Chandragupta. Megasthenes hints at this in the following extract we make from his account :—

"The third body of superintendents consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur with the view not only of levying a tax but also

in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of government."*

The testimony of Megasthenes is amply confirmed by the details of census and similar operations preserved in the famous Arthasastra of Kautilya. The necessity to Government of an intimate knowledge of

* Megasthenes Bk. III, Fragm. XXXII.

the places and people under it goes without saying and it is no wonder that in the effective administrative organization of Chandragupta there was found a place for census operations, the scope and aims of which were however necessarily different from those of similar operations in modern times.

The distinguishing feature of Chandragupta's census seems to be that it was not periodical but a permanent institution—a department of the state run by permanent officials. The department was a large one, manned by several officers. The head of the department was called *समाहर्तृ*, i.e., Collector-General, who combined in himself, besides those connected with the census, various other functions such as collection of revenue, checking accounts, land-survey and the like. The area under his administration was in the first instance divided into four districts and each district into a number of villages. Each district was placed under an officer (*स्थानिक*) and under him was appointed a number of subordinate village officers (*गोप*) whose work was supervised by their superiors, the district officers. The village officer was put in charge of five or ten villages according to the directions of the Collector-General.* Besides these, inspectors (*प्रदेष्टार*) were appointed who checked both the work and the methods of the village and district officers. But this inspection was not enough. Over and above the inspectors, a special batch of officers was appointed by the Collector-General who worked as spies and 'overseers' under various disguises on their own independent lines and supplied information on their own account. The sphere of work of the spies was not identical with that of the village officers; for it included certain points of enquiry to which the village officers had to attend and included a few independent heads of enquiry, as will be seen below.

The functions of the village officers (excluding those in connection with the land

* *समाहर्ता* चतुर्धा जनपदं विभज्य ज्येष्ठ-मध्यम-कनिष्ठ-विभाजिन यामास्यं परिहृष्टमायुधीयं धान्यपद्मद्विरक्ष्यकृष्यविटिकर प्रदिकर-सिद्धमेतावदिति निबन्धयेत् । तन्प्रदिष्टः पञ्चयानीं दशयानीं वा गोपयिष्येत् । एवं च जनपदचतुर्भागं स्थानिक विभजयेत् । गोप-स्थानिक-स्थानिषु प्रदेष्टारः कार्यकरणं वलिप्रयङ्गं च कुर्युः ।

survey) were these †:—To number the inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, to number the cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, slaves; to number the young and old men and women of each house and ascertain their character (*चरित्र*), occupation (*कार्य*), income (*आजीव*) and expenditure (*व्यय*)†; to count the biped and quadruped animals in each house; to number the tax-paying and non-taxpaying houses and to determine the amounts of gold, free labour, tolls and fines collected from each house.

The functions of the spies besides their duties in connection with the land survey and revenue collection were‡:—To number the total number of inhabitants in each village, to number the houses and families in it, to ascertain the caste and profession of each family; to determine which house was tax-free; to determine the occupiers of houses; to ascertain the income and expenditure of each family; to count the number of domesticated animals (*जङ्घाय*) of each house. It will be seen that these points of enquiry are in common with those of the village officers; over and above these, there were a few independent heads of enquiry, § viz., to find out the causes of emigration and immigration, to ascertain the number of men arriving and departing and to watch the movements of men and women of suspicious character. It should be remarked that the above duties they had to perform under the guise of house-holders (*गृहपतिकवञ्चनाः*). While disguised as ascetics (*तापसवञ्चनाः*), they watched the movement of cultivators, cowherds,

* तेषु चैतावन्नातुर्वर्षंमेतावन्तः कर्षक गोरजकं वैदिहकादकर्म-कारदासाश्चैतावच्च विपदचतुष्टयमिदं चैव द्विरक्ष्य-विटि-शुल्कदक्ष-श्चतुस्तिष्ठतीति ।

गृहस्थां च कारदाकारदसङ्गानि ।

—(Bk. II. *समाहर्तृप्रचारः*.) ।

† कुलानां च स्त्रीपुरुषाणां बालहृद्वर्कचरित्राजीवव्यय परिमाणां विद्यात् ।—(*समाहर्तृप्रचारः*.) ।

‡ समाहर्तृप्रदिष्टाश्च गृहपतिकवञ्चना येषु यामिषं प्रविहिताः तेषां यामाणां ज्येष्ठगृहकुलायं विद्युः । मानसङ्गाताभ्यां शेषाणि, भोग-परिहाराभ्यां गृहस्थाणि वर्य-कर्कभ्यां कुलाणि च । तेषां जङ्घायं चायव्ययी च विद्युः ।

§ प्रस्थितागतानां च प्रवासावासकारणमनर्थाणां च स्त्रीपुरुषाणां चारप्रचारं च विद्युः ।

merchants, and superintendents of Government Departments.* Sometimes also under the guise of thieves (चोरबन्धनाः) these spies with all their followers would frequent places of pilgrimage, bathing places, deserted tracts, mountains, ancient ruins, etc.,† to detect thieves, enemies and wicked persons.‡

§ The census of the metropolis† was the work of a separate department placed under an officer called नागरक. The capital like the province was divided into four quarters each administered by an officer known as स्थानिक. Under him worked the minor officers called Gopas (गोप) who had to keep the account of ten, twenty or forty households as the case might be. They had not only to ascertain the caste, गोत्रा, name and occupation of both men and women of those households but also to ascertain their income and expenditure. To minimize the difficulty of keeping account of travellers and other non-residents,§ managers of charitable institutions were required to send information to the census offices in case any such arrived to reside therein.|| Masters of households were also similarly required to send reports of the arrival and departure of strangers. If they failed to make such reports they were fined. Merchants, artisans, physicians, &c., under the city rules, had to make reports to the officer in charge of the capital regarding people violating the laws of commerce, sanitation, &c., for better management of the city affairs; but as these fall outside the scope of the census, we need not take note of them.

It has been already pointed out that the work of land survey was entrusted to those

* एषः समाहृतं प्रदिष्टाक्षापसवञ्जनाः कर्षकगोरचकवैदेहकानाम-
ध्यानां च शीचाशीच विदुः ।

† पुराण-चोरबन्धनाशान्नेवासिनैव-चतुपथ-युष्मापदोदपान-नदी-
निपानतीर्थायतनाश्रमारण्य-शैलवनगहनैव सो नामिवप्रवीरपुरुषाणां च
प्रवेशनस्थानगमनप्रयोजनान्युपलभिरन् ।—(समाहृतं प्रचारः) ।

‡ समाहृतं वज्रागरको नगरं चिन्तयेत् । दशकुलीं गोपी, विंशति-
कुलीं चत्वारिंशत् कुलीं वा । स तस्यां स्त्रीपुरुषाणां जातिगोत्रनाम-
कर्त्तृभिः जङ्गमनायव्ययी च विद्यात् । एषः दुर्गचतुर्भागे स्थानिक-
चिन्तयेत् ।—Bk. II. नागरकप्रधिधिः ।

§ धर्मावस्थितः पादस्थि-पथिकानावेववासयेयुः ।

—(नागरकप्रधिधिः) ।

|| प्रखितागतौ च निवैद्येत् । अन्यथा रावदोषं भजेत् । जैन-
रात्रिषु निपथं दद्यात् ।—(नागरकप्रधिधिः) ।

very officers who conducted the census operations. The duties of the officers in regard to land survey were mainly those of setting and fixing the boundaries of villages, classification and numbering of plots of land as cultivated and uncultivated, plain and upland, wet and dry lands, &c. An account was also kept of gardens and forests; temples and places of pilgrimage, feeding houses, irrigation works and water, roads and cremation grounds, storages for travellers, pasture grounds.* The supplementary body of officers or "overseers" had also to examine the accounts of this department regarding the fields, houses and families of such village.

In conclusion a few words should be said in regard to the scope and aims of the census operations in ancient India. The necessity of them appears to have rested on political as well as economic grounds. Politically, they were of great advantage to a government like Chandragupta's, surrounded as he was by quite a number of independent hostile kingdoms. The census system kept him and his officers fully informed of those facts that were necessary for the security of the empire. We find it laid down as one of the duties of the census officials that they should watch the movements of suspicious people, of foreign spies, the emigration and immigration of men and women of doubtful characters, and ascertain the causes thereof. These are facts, of which an accurate knowledge is indispensable for the security of the state.

The census helped them politically in another way. We see in this passage already quoted in another connection,—† that villages were classified not only as of first, middle, and lowest rank but also as those that were free from taxation (परिहारक), those that supplied soldiers (चातुधीय), those that paid taxes in grains, cattle, gold, forest

* सोमावरोधिन यामायं कृष्टाकृष्ट-स्थलकीदारारामपक्ष-वाट-वन-
वासु-चैत्यदेवगृह-सिन्धुवन्धश्रानसच-प्रपायुषस्थानविहीतपथि सङ्ग्रामिन्
चेवायः; तेन सीकां चेवाणां च मर्यादारण्य-पथि-प्रमाथ सम्प्रदान
विक्रयानुयङ्ग परिहार निवन्धान् कारयेत् ।—(समाहृतं प्रचारः) ।

† समाहृतं प्रचारः ।

"समाहर्ता ज्येष्ठ-मध्यम-कनिष्ठ-विभागेन यामायं परिहारक-
मायुधीयं धान्यपशुहिरण्यकुप्यवित्तिकार प्रतिकारमिदमेतावदिति निवन्धा
येत्" ।

produce (কৃষ), &c., and those that supplied free labour (বিহি), so the census was of help to them by supplying information as to which villages formed the most convenient recruiting grounds for the imperial army.

Economically, the importance of the

classification of villages, and of the information as to the occupations of the people, their income and expenditure, &c., goes without saying, forming as it did a valuable aid to taxation and a most reliable index to the material condition of the people.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF RAJNARAIN BOSE

THE exact time when I was introduced to the late Babu Rajnarain Bose, latterly the president of the Adi Brahma Samaj, I do not recollect. It must have been before 1868. For in 1867 the late Babu Nabagopal Mitra, the editor of the *National Paper*, organised the Hindu or National Mela, which began to meet once a year in the Bengali month of Chaitra, where poems expressive of national sentiment were recited, lectures laying before the public schemes of national improvement were delivered, exhibitions of native industry were held and games and acrobatic feats were performed. As far as I remember I took part in the gathering held in 1868 by reciting a piece of poetry, recounting the military exploits of a Bengali prince named Bijay, who in ancient times invaded Ceylon. I derived my first nationalistic impetus from Babu Rajnarain and he put into my hands the story of the conquest of Ceylon by Bijay. A truer and more sincere patriot than Rajnarain Bose I have never seen; and when the National Mela was started he hailed it with his whole heart, and enthusiastically backed Nabagopal Mitra in his endeavours, and inspired us young men with a passionate love for our country and our people.

Properly speaking Babu Nabagopal Mitra had derived his idea of the National Mela from Rajnarain Bose. A pamphlet written by the latter, added to the report of what he was doing at Midnapore to awaken the sentiment of patriotism in the hearts of men, first opened the mind of Nabagopal Mitra to the idea of an annual National Exhibition:

But Babu Rajnarain was known pretty well to us, members of the Brahma Samaj,

from 1865 when we read and admired his Bengali sermons preached at Midnapore, and known at that time as "*Rajnarain Boser baktrita*." These sermons, now grown obsolete, moved us wonderfully at that time. And it is a memorable fact of history that no less a person than Keshub Chunder Sen, was won over to the cause of Brahmoism by reading those sermons. One must speak very highly of these sermons, specially those preached on *Gop-giri* or the Gopa hills, where he would take his friends of the Midnapore Samaj, in excursion parties during the spring season, and hold special festival there. These sermons are attractive, both from a spiritual point of view and as also from that of the great love of nature that we find in them.

When Babu Rajnarain retired from his work at Midnapore and came to dwell in Calcutta in 1867, I was drawn to him like iron to a loadstone. I became a regular visitor to his house, and hung on his inspiring words. Such sweet, sincere, modest and unassuming piety I have seldom seen in men. Rajnarain Babu knew that I did not accept all his views, specially on religious and social questions, yet he drew me into his embrace and began to unfold to me the experiences of his life. Those experiences were wonderful. During the pretty long course of my life, I do not remember having seen many men with that free, open and generous heart, that sincere desire for his country's good, that reverence for everything good and great, that ardent love of knowledge and that childlike simplicity in trusting others. Indeed, his very laugh was characteristic. It showed the purity of the soul from which it proceeded.

"Incidentally let me relate something about that laugh. In the year 1877, I was the Sanskrit teacher in the Hare School. There amongst my fellow-teachers was a revered old man named Nilmani Chakravarty who was known amongst us as a model teacher, for his great ability and his dutifulness as a teacher. One day when talking of Rajnarain Bose, whom he had known in life, the old Brahmin joined his hands and said,—“Oh! You speak of Rajnarain Bose, he is no man, he is a *devata* or angel!” I was taken by surprise on hearing such a remark falling from his lips, for I had known him as a man of conservative views and not very friendly to the Brahmo Samaj. Then followed the following conversation:—

Myself—How is it Sir, you speak so highly of Rajnarain Bose, who is a member of the Brahmo Samaj?

Nilmani Babu—I say nothing about his being a member of the Brahmo Samaj, but he is a man of exceptionally pure mind, the like of him I have seldom come across.

Myself—What led you to think so?

Nilmani Babu—None but a man of heavenly purity of mind can laugh so. His very laugh shows he is not of this world.

Myself—Was there any special occasion when you observed him so laughing?

Nilmani Babu—I have seen him laughing and admired the simplicity and purity of his mind on many occasions, but one occasion I specially remember. It was in the house of the late Pandit Raj Krishna Banerji of Sukea's Street, the well-known friend of Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar. On that occasion Babu Rajnarain was stretched on an arm-chair reading a newspaper, and Raj Krishna Babu and myself were, at a little distance, engaged in conversation. In the midst of our talk Raj Krishna Babu looked up to the wall and found a lizard chasing a spider. The latter was soon within the jaws of its pursuer; when Raj Krishna Babu cried out—“Look here, Raj Narain Babu, you speak so often of the goodness of your God, will you tell me what goodness is there in making that poor spider fall into the jaws of that lizard?” Whereupon Raj Narain Babu looked up, laughed heartily, making that house ring with his laughter, and said—“Ah poor God, he must establish his goodness, after giving

satisfactory answers to all the questions that may arise in the minds of doubters, a harder lot surely than is generally meted out to mortal men! My friend, Divine goodness is established on another basis than that. Ha! ha! you think you have got a crushing argument! Not a bit of it. I believe God is good even if thousands of lizards eat up thousands of spiders.”

I shall never forget that occasion and that laughter: said Babu Nilmani Chakravarti.

Now I must say something about those wonderful experiences of his life that he related to me. As one effect of these relations he made me a strong advocate of temperance as a social duty. Born in a Brahmin family, who for generations had never seen any kind of wine, nursed in the lap of parents who hated intemperance from the bottom of their hearts, and early brought into contact with Peary Charan Sircar and Keshub Chunder Sen, the great temperance reformers of Bengal, temperance grew with me as I grew up. But there is no doubt about the fact, that as the result of my personal contact with Raj Narain Bose, I imbibed a great horror of intemperance in every form and became an earnest advocate of the temperance cause.

Let me relate the bit of personal experience in that respect that he spoke to me of.

His father Nanda Kisore Bose, of Boral, was a beloved disciple of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. It was the custom with the Rajah to take his breakfast in the morning, in native Indian fashion, seated on the floor on a wooden plank seat, and taking his food directly with his fingers out of dishes served by a Brahmin cook; but in the evening he used to dine in European fashion, seated at the table with his friends and disciples when wine would form an article of diet. Of course he took care to see that none exceeded the limits of temperance. He was so rigorously careful about this part of his duty that on one occasion, a friend, out of fun, craftily made the Rajah take one glass of wine more than his usual allowance. The latter took so much offence at this violation of his rule, that he did not see the face of that friend for months. “He is no friend of mine”, said the Rajah, “who delights to see me intemperate.”

From Ram Mohun Roy's table the habit of drinking came to the first generation of educated Bengalis, specially to the reformers. Nanda Kisore Bose, the father of Rajnarain Bose, having been a reformer himself was given to drinking, of course, within temperate limits. Many of the advanced students of the Hindu College, with whom Rajnarain Bose read, amongst whom Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt was one, were also given to drinking. From classmates and associates, Rajnarain Bose acquired a drinking habit in early boyhood. But drinking amongst these college students was at times carried to excess. Finding him running to excess at times his father became afraid and one day calling him to his presence opened a chest of drawers and taking out a wine-bottle and a glass, poured a glassful of wine and offered it to his son, with an injunction never to attend drinking parties amongst his fellow-students, but always to drink with his father. He did not object to drinking, he said, but he hated intemperance. The warning of his father was of no avail; through the influence of class friends, the drinking habit went on developing itself; till Babu Rajnarain became a habitual and hard drinker. He kept to the drinking habit, even when employed as Headmaster of the Midnapore High School. His constitution, which was naturally feeble, was further weakened by indulgence in liquor which, added to heavy mental work, served to break that constitution down altogether, and he had to retire from his work rather prematurely. But by the time he left that post he was a strong temperance man. As soon as he discovered the injury that his drinking habit was doing to his constitution and to his pecuniary and other interests, he gave up the habit, and formed an earnest resolution to dissuade others from such a course. His temperance work was an important work towards the latter end of his connection with Midnapore. Pointing to his prematurely old and decrepit constitution, he would often say, "Look here! this wretched body of mine is the relic of the havoc done by that cursed poison. Oh! in what an evil hour were we led into that path." When listening to all he had done and suffered my temperance sentiment greatly increased, and I always left

him with a strong desire to combat that evil.

His love of the Bengali language and his desire for the improvement of Bengali literature also inspired me with that desire and I began to cultivate it in addition to my Sanskrit studies. There was a characteristic incident which marked his desire for cultivating the Bengali language. It occurred so early as soon after the death of Mr. David Hare, the philanthropist. After his death Mr. Hare's pupils, friends and admirers formed a Society in his memory, where they used to deliver lectures on social, educational and philanthropic topics. As one of the pupils and admirers of David Hare Babu Rajnarain belonged to this Society and was naturally asked by his friends to deliver one of those lectures. He agreed to do so but only on one condition; namely, if his friends would allow him to read his paper in Bengali: not because he was a bad writer of English; for his English compositions have won universal applause, but because he wanted to show the way to his English-educated countrymen of honoring their mother tongue. This novel proposal of his was hailed with ridicule by his English-educated friends, for they had very great contempt for the language of the people. This may sound strange in the ears of the present generation of Bengalis; but it is a fact, that the first three or four generations of our educated men had quite a passion for speaking and writing English and despised their mother tongue, as fit only for women and the ignorant poor. Rajnarain Bose was certainly one of those who rescued the mother tongue from that contempt. When therefore he proposed to read his paper in Bengali, his friends were taken by surprise. "What! write your address in Bengali! what a strange fellow you must be to court popular contempt!" said they. But Babu Rajnarain remained firm and his address came on in due course. Many educated men kept away from the meeting for fear of meeting a contemptible exhibition. That only shows what a change have men like Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Akshay Kumar Datta, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Maharshi Debendra Nath, Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, effected in the habits and tastes of the people, by speaking to them in their own language. In our boyhood a

public lecture in Bengali was a curiosity and whoever wanted to address their countrymen publicly were obliged to do so in English. Public addresses in Bengali were so unusual that even in the ministrations of the Brahmo Samaj, the language used by the preachers in those days was high flown and figurative, full of alliteration and cumbrous. Fortunately there has come a change. Now we have speakers who can fluently and eloquently address the people in their own homely language.

During the Brahmo Marriage Bill controversy of 1871 and 1872, Babu Rajnarain, as the President of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, took a side opposite to that of the progressive section of the Samaj and did not see the necessity of a new law for legalizing the reformed marriages. We who belonged to the progressive side and were under Keshub Chunder Sen, were earnestly struggling to have a law passed. So there was a conflict with him; I carried on warm private discussions with him, and also publicly opposed him in a lecture delivered at a meeting held in opposition to him. Yet in our private meetings I never observed for a single day any lack of affection on his part. He always accorded to me a warm reception whenever I approached him.

Latterly he settled down at Deoghur and spent his last days there. But though retired he knew no rest. His mind was busy working on those subjects in which he had been taking interest almost from his early youth. Here he composed some of his most remarkable books. One of those books indirectly gave an impetus to the organisers of the Hindu Dharma Mahamandal.

I called on him at Deoghur, more than once, and was struck to find the rapid development of his spiritual life. He always lived in an atmosphere of spirituality as it were, generated by his studies of the Upanishads, of Hafiz, of Madame Guyon, and many other mystical writers. His absorption in these writers was extreme. I remember one instance. On that occasion, I was on my way to the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab accompanied by three or four young men. We decided to pay a visit to Rajnarain Babu at Deoghur on our way. We had intimated our desire to him and received a cordial invitation. On the day of our arrival at Deoghur

we were rather late for breakfast, on account of the appointed hour of the train. Upon our arrival as soon as our name was announced to the old sage by the servant he issued out of his room with open arms and gave me a hearty embrace. Within a few minutes our conversation turned upon some spiritual topic, which so much absorbed Rajnarain Babu, that he lost all sense of time, and of the needs of his guests, and went on quoting the *rishis* and Hafiz, and other favourite authors; till he suddenly left the drawing room, where we were seated, and brought a commonplace book, where he had extracted some sayings of one of these masters, and began to read them to me, full of enthusiasm. All the time I was feeling a little uneasy, for the thought of attending to the needs of my companions was present in my mind, but I was feeling all the time a sort of delicacy also in checking his growing enthusiasm. At this point his eldest son Jogin came to my rescue, by timely coming in and calling them away for their bath. The advent of his son roused him from his absorption. He sprang to his feet with a hearty laugh, saying—"Ha! ha! what a fool I must be in detaining people from their necessary refreshment at such an hour! All right; of all these things afterwards."

In fact his stay at Deoghur made that place a place of pilgrimage for his friends and for educated Bengalis in general: for whosoever amongst our educated men went to that station was sure to call on him and to cultivate his society. Why educated men alone, his name was honoured even by the ignorant poor of the station, even by the professional priests of the famous temple of Vaidyanath of that place. One incident I remember which illustrated that fact very forcibly. On that occasion I was on my way to Deoghur. When our train arrived at Madhupur, a number of *pandas* or priests attached to the temple of Vaidyanath invaded our carriage, as their usual practice is, to see if there were any pilgrims, bound for the temple, needing the services of officiating priests. A *Panda* came to the door of my carriage and enquired of me if I was a pilgrim bound for the temple of Vaidyanath and if I wanted a *panda*. Then took place the following conversation.

Myself—Yes, I am bound for that place of pilgrimage, but I have a *panda* of my own.

Panda—Who, Sir, is your *panda*?

Myself—Rajnarain Bose.

Panda—Oh, that is our second Vaidyanath.

Myself—What do you mean by that? He does not believe in your idolatry; he observes no caste; he is a member of the Brahmo Samaj; how do you call him your second Vaidyanath?

Panda—Whatever he may do, he is not a man, he is a heavenly being.

The last occasion when I met Babu Rajnarain was also characteristic. Receiving the news in Calcutta that he had a stroke of paralysis and was very seriously ill, I went to Deoghur to see him and found him laid up and unable to speak. That was the last interview, for he passed away a few days after. At Deoghur I found the whole town on tiptoe with anxiety. I saw a Christian gentleman, a retired high Government official who had settled down there, spending his days and nights by his bed-side, looking after his treatment and nursing; and I also noticed men attached to the temple of Vaidyanath calling morning and evening to inquire about the state of his health. When leaving Vaidyanath after two days, I travelled back to Calcutta, in the same train with a well-known Bengali writer belonging to the party of retrogressive Hinduism, who was also returning from Deoghur, whither he had gone to spend a few days with his spiritual preceptor, a Hindu mendicant who lived on the hill called *Tapopahar*. His *guru*, he said, had told him to return home, because he, the *guru*, wanted to run to Deoghur to see Rajnarain Bose, who was seriously ill.

Thus there was some such thing in that remarkable man which attracted all classes; and in his presence people forgot all their sectarian differences. There runs a story in educated Bengali circles that on one occasion Babu Bhudev Mukerji, the famous Bengali writer and leader, who was also Rajnarain Babu's class-fellow in the old Hindu College, took off from his own person his sacred Brahminical thread and wanted to put it on the latter's shoulders, saying—"Rajnarain, Rajnarain, though born a *Sudra*, you are

a better Brahmin than myself. I wish I had that piety and spirituality in me."

Midnapur people still cherish his memory with fond reverence. When ill health compelled him to resign his post there and come away, they held a meeting in his honor, purchased a piece of land, built a house upon it, and presented it to him with a request that he would settle down amongst them and spend his last days there, which, however, he could not do.

One fact in connection with the reverence cherished for his name by his Midnapur friends seems to be worthy of mention. Amongst his old friends was a man, the father of a local pleader, who had scant regard for the Brahmo reformers. But he had personally known Rajnarain Babu and so great was his regard for him, that as soon as the latter's name was mentioned in his presence, he would join his hands in humble reverence and declare—"He is no man, he is one of the heavenly beings." And when the reason was asked he would say, "None but a heavenly being can laugh so heartily before friend and foe; he does not live in the atmosphere in which ordinary men live; his mind soars up high in the upper air and the little things of life do not touch him." What a correct estimate of his character was made by an orthodox Hindu!

One striking trait of Babu Rajnarain's character was his inexhaustible fund of humour. He had a keen sense of the funny side of human life. His memory was full of comic stories, which he delighted to repeat to his friends, making the place ring with laughter. One incident in this connection I still remember. A number of Brahmos had gathered at Harinabhi, a few miles to the south-east of Calcutta, in connection with the anniversary of the local Samaj. Babu Rajnarain Bose was one of them. On the day of the festival our joy was great. After our evening meals we sat together talking and laughing and enjoying each others' company. My presence opened up the heart of Rajnarain Babu, as it were, and he went on entertaining the company with his droll stories. Spurred on by a sort of competition I too went on matching story with story, till a late hour of the night. In fact the excessive strain of that night told upon my constitution and made me ill. Rajnarain Babu laughed and said to me,—

"There must be something in you that draws out the comic in me." I said, "It is because I have a zest for the comic side of life." He had a stock of stories from all races,—principally from the Persian, the English and the French.

Let me conclude by noticing a remarkable feature of his character. His desire for using his powers for the good of others was so great that during all stages of his life, that kind of work engaged his uppermost thoughts. I have already stated how one of his books suggested the idea of the National Mela to Babu Nabagopal Mitra and how another book composed in his last days suggested the idea of the Hindu Dharma Mahamandal. But that habitual propensity of his mind manifested itself in strongest relief at Midnapur during his residence there. He brought into existence so many Societies

for promoting so many objects, that a man one day observed, "There is no respite from Rajnarain Babu's new objects and new associations; it seems necessary that a Society should be established, with the declared object of putting down societies. Its name should be *Sabha-Nibarini Sabha* or a Society for preventing the foundation of Societies, and its members should bind themselves to rush with arms and sticks into all places where members of any Society meet and disperse them by force."

Thus loved and honoured by all and highly esteemed by those who knew him by nearer contact Rajnarain Bose passed away leaving behind him a memory that will never perish. Certainly he was one of the makers of Modern Bengal.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

THE INTRODUCTION OF STEAM NAVIGATION IN BENGAL

IN the early part of the nineteenth century it could be well said of the Ganges that there was no river in the world on which there was so large a navigation. Even so far back as 1780 it was estimated that no less than 30,000 boatmen found their living from this source; and that was a time when Hindustan was in a state of anarchy and produced little or nothing for external commerce. Therefore it could be safely assumed that about the third decade of the nineteenth century the number of boatmen must have been double that in 1780. Every one then living on the banks of the great Ganges must have been struck by the constant succession of boats plying up and down the river which never appeared even for a moment altogether clear. The extent to which this noble river ministered to the wants of trade and travelling must have been really wonderful. But it was not the Ganges alone that conferred these benefits. Almost all the rivers that flowed into it from the north were navigable to the very foot of the first range of the Himalayas. In short, Hindustan was intersected by

many navigable rivers and trade and travel in this part of India were mainly done by water.

The boats used in those days for carrying on such a big traffic were of many different kinds and the build of each kind of boat corresponded to the local needs and circumstances of the district in which it was constructed. The patella or baggage boat of Hindustan was "of sal wood, clinker built and flat-bottomed." Though not easily manageable, it was admirably suited, on account of its great breadth, to bring down the cotton and other products of Hindustan, which needed "little better than a dry and secure raft to float them down the stream." Another kind of boat was the oolak. It was the common baggage boat of the Hooghly river and of Central Bengal. Its bow was sharp and its side round and smooth; and in sailing before the wind it had no equal. A third kind of boat was the Dacca pulwar. Like the rest it was flat-bottomed, that is, without keel and was altogether the swiftest and most handy boat in use at that time. Besides these chief kinds of boats there were many others

of a different construction used for carrying particular articles, as the salt boats, and the wood boats of the Sunderbund.

In those days navigation by means of these common river boats was made use of largely for the conveyance of cargo, the transportation of the Company's treasure, the carrying of European troops and stores to the western provinces, the conveyance of the letter-mails and Government Stamped Paper to different district stations and also for general travelling. But this kind of navigation, especially up the stream, was dilatory and therefore expensive. The voyage from Calcutta to Allahabad took nearly two months and a half. Apart from its dilatory nature the navigation in the main river was not free from danger. That the voyage was attended with great risks to merchandise and treasure would be evident from the fact that the rate of the River Insurance Company from Calcutta to Allahabad was three and a half per cent.—the same as that upon a voyage from Calcutta to England. The principal sources of danger were the rapidity of the river current (on an average five miles per hour in the rainy season), the shallows and concealed sandbanks which were rapidly being formed so as to preclude any accurate surveying, the falling in of the banks and lastly sunken trees 'on which boats striking were staved in.'

It was the great risks to which the Company's treasures and merchandise were exposed by this navigation in country-boats, the delay in travel and above all the prohibitive cost of the voyage (rupees ten to twelve for a small boat from Calcutta to Allahabad), that first suggested to the authorities concerned the idea of introducing steam navigation in the rivers of Bengal. It was confidently asserted that the use of river steamers of a certain build would result in a very large saving of money to the Company in the transport of goods, treasures, or public stores and that, besides adding to the comfort and convenience of travelling, it would reduce the cost of travel to a great extent. The time required for doing the voyage would, it was maintained, be cut short to about a quarter of the period then taken by the country-boats to sail from Calcutta to Allahabad. The successful introduction

of steam navigation in the Mississippi where the conditions and difficulties were nearly the same as those on the Ganges lent great weight to the new proposal of introducing steam navigation in the Ganges.

The only questions to be considered were the depth of the river and the supply of coal to the steamers *en route* from Calcutta to Allahabad. But the simple fact, that the river Ganges was nowhere fordable for an elephant below Allahabad even in the driest season, made it clear that there was sufficient depth of water for any description of steam boat. In the opinion of Major Rennel, a competent authority, the average depth of the river in the driest season was about thirty feet. The absence of any coal field anywhere on the banks of the river appeared at first to present some difficulty. But it was suggested that a few depots of coal might be established on the way from Calcutta to Allahabad and that the steam boats might be regularly supplied with coal from these depots.

The case for the introduction of steam navigation was so strongly made out that the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, resolved to make some experiments with one or two river steamers that were then available. Soon after the conquest of Assam, the want of any ready means of communication by land with the upper parts of the valley of the Brahmaputra suggested to the political agent in Assam, the idea that upper Assam could be made easily accessible by water and accordingly two river steamers, the *Burhampootar* and the *Hooghly* were built for service in the Assam valley. But before their departure to their destination the question of steam navigation upon the rivers of India generally was taken up by the Government and the Governor-General ordered an experimental voyage to Allahabad with one of the two river steamers newly built.

The *Hooghly* steamer was selected for this purpose. It made the voyage in twenty days of twelve hours steaming. Four days were allowed for stoppages and on the whole the voyage was completed in twenty-four days. No great obstacle was met with in the course of the voyage and in the opinion of the officers employed, the upward voyage might with more knowledge and experience of the river be completed in about a fort-

night and the return journey in ten days. Another experiment resulted in equally satisfactory success. In the end the Governor-General himself made a short excursion towards Benares in the steamer Hooghly and was convinced of the success of the experiments made. The success of all these attempts placed the question of the introduction of steam navigation on a larger scale beyond doubt, and the Governor-General in Council reported in 1830 to the Court of Directors about the success of the experiments. They begged the Court to cause intelligent professional men to be consulted as to the most proper engines that could combine power with lightness and a comparatively small consumption of fuel.

In a letter addressed to the Court of Directors towards the end of 1830 the Governor-General in Council begged permission to depute Captain Johnston to superintend the preparation of steam engines in England, with plans of vessels to be used as tugs, adapted to river navigation in this country. This permission was granted and three steam engines appear to have been sent out from England in compliance with the Governor-General's request. Such is the brief history of the beginnings of the introduction of steam navigation in the rivers of Bengal in the early part of the nineteenth century.

N. R. SUBBAIYA.

AUSTRALIA

BY PROF. J. NELSON FRASER, M.A.

THE beginning of Australian history, like the beginnings of all things mortal, lies concealed in mystery. Strabo and Ptolemy write of a great Southern Land, and such a region is shown on some mediæval maps. The Spaniards or Portuguese may have sighted it; our first certain knowledge comes from the Dutch. Dutch explorers landed on the North and West, and Tasman in 1650 sailed round the whole country. He discovered Tasmania, New Zealand and Tonga, but he avoided the coast of Australia and brought no attractive report of it. Indeed the districts which he saw, like those which the Dutch had already seen, were unfriendly to ships and unpromising to traders; the best parts of Australia were the last to be explored. In 1688 Dampier visited the North-West, to which he afterwards returned; he too gave a bad account of the country. He was the first English explorer; in 1770 came Captain Cook. The last great names amongst the mariners are those of Bass and Flinders, who completed our knowledge of the Australian shores.

This is a cold recital of many heroic deeds, performed for the most part by men

who were scantily rewarded, even by Fame, and perished miserably. Flinders was a young surgeon who set off with six men in a ship's boat to chart the coast of South Australia, a coast as savage and washed by a sea as stormy as any in the world. He was made a prisoner by the French for many years, and died at last on the day when his book was published. His name is now forgotten. Even the name of Tasman is forgotten; that of Cook alone survives. Here at least the verdict of Fame is just; Cook was the greatest of English seamen, in some ways the greatest seaman of all time. To the virtues of a captain he added the acute eye of true science; the accuracy of his charts is marvellous, and his accounts of savage life admirably faithful. As a leader he was just and humane beyond his age; it is a typical freak of history that he, one of the few friends of the Polynesians, should have perished by their hands at Hawaii.

The land of Australia is so large that no visitor sees more than a corner of it: I write only of the corner which I saw, the South-East. It confronts the sea with glorious cliffs, that please the artist better than the sailor.

The few openings are usually guarded by majestic heads, rising like bastions from the water;* Sydney Heads form the noblest portal of the noblest harbour in the world. Against their rocky bases the sea thunders with restless fury; there is no grander sea than the coastal waters of Australia. I recall a long day watching the rollers at Newcastle. There was little wind, and only a slight swell off the shore; but as that swell approached, how it gathered volume, till the crest of each lifted wave with a grave irresistible motion fell straight down before the advancing wall of water. What a fall! A deafening crash, and the wall of water was a seething world of foam, racing towards the shore, as though it would swallow up all Australia. Yet a few moments and the water was racing back and the next roller was poising itself for a descent. Tennyson, who cannot have seen such a thing, with prophetic insight realised its grandeur: the "league long" roller in his poems is almost the mark of the Southern Seas. But Australians know and love it well; surf bathing is one of their summer joys, not without its dangers as many a tale testifies, but Australians are bold swimmers, and hold many swimming records of the world.

The land near the sea is a sandy waste, attractive only to the botanist. Who knows not Botany Bay? But how many really know its history? How Cook spent a week; here "Mr. Banks" gathered his specimens, and here a few years later, the first convicts were sent to found the Commonwealth. But not here did they make their habitation; few days passed ere they discovered the thing that Cook missed—Sydney harbour. Strange, but true, Cook sailed past Sydney harbour without noticing it. So Sydney has become a city, while Botany Bay, but a few miles away, is still as Cook saw it, a sheet of water with untenanted shores. Most of these shores are now a public domain, and will be for ever, as they are now, specimens of old Australia. They are covered with heathery shrubs, rich in flowers, the new and brilliant flowers of the southern cross. I saw them first at Albany, where I landed in the west, and said

* The shores of Western India must have looked like those of Australia before the sea left the Ghats.

to myself, if this was once a land of exile it cannot long have been a land of exile if it bears flowers like these. Not at least for English people.* And the flowers of Australia has as much a place in English hearts there as the daisies of the north. Every state has its symbol flower, from the Boronia of the west to the Waratah of New South Wales; I wonder the old world has not borrowed more of them. They were the more striking to me, as I came from Africa, a flowerless land, and all through my Australian visit I found new flowers showing themselves. In Melbourne there is a great botanical garden, where they are marshalled in beds together; elsewhere, on the heath by the sea or inland in the plains they are scattered by Nature with her own random hand.

Of the scrub and bush of Australia much has been written. Almost every one knows the blue gum tree, its lean trunk and sparse metallic foliage; assuredly there is nothing of the merry green wood in its sombre monotonous groves. We know too that much of Australia is clothed with it, and still more with "scrub." I saw little of this, and would rather write of those brighter scenes which I did visit and which are less known to the world. In the South-East of the country there is a large pastoral district, part of which is known as Liverpool plains. Here you may enjoy the very perfection of pastoral scenery. Rolling hills, clusters of trees, pellucid streams and miles of nobler pastures; England can show you nothing better. I saw it in the spring, for there is a spring in the far South; a spring that makes all things new, when the "faint fresh flame" of the young year transforms even the blue gum trees. Millions of flowers—red, yellow and blue—sparkled in the grass; there was nothing wanting to satisfy the farmer or the poet or the philosopher.

Australia however has wilder scenes than these. Journey up towards Queensland, voyaging over the Miall Lake, and you will find yourself in the virgin forest. Here the immigrant Papuan vegetation meets that of Australia; the forest is subtropical. I esteem it the finest forest I have seen. The trees are all evergreen, with glossy leaves that twinkle in the sun, and the foliage is of witching beauty. It is not the drowsy verdure of the tropics, but a lighter and

more graceful drapery; there are no heavy creepers, and you can look far into the heart of the forest. Ferns abound, especially epiphytes on the trees; they encircle the trunks with crowns of natural jewels.

The spoiler has not yet invaded these glorious retreats. No trust has exploited them; a few settlers live upon them; they are not yet ruined. Their day no doubt is coming; but meanwhile they have no other enemy than the sturdy woodman. He indeed make short work of them, when once he swings his axe, and I watched more than veteran of the forest fall. I saw him carried off in primeval fashion by teams of patient oxen, whose sagacious work was a delight to behold. Much of the timber so obtained is the best and most beautiful in the world; what will posterity do without it? One would like to see precious woods reserved for the higher purposes of art; and one would like to see some true reserves of primeval nature in every part of the world. Could not Australia spare a few square miles of her forests to show future ages what civilisation has destroyed? I grant, some fine public domains she has set apart, but not exactly this, *viz.*, a great block of untouched virgin forest. If Nature is really a sacred name with English people, why do they not create for the spirits of the woods a sanctuary? It is scarcely realised by us yet how little virgin forest is now left in the world.

It may be asked, do I forget the state reserves in the Blue Mountains? I do not; who that has ever seen them could forget them? The Blue Mountains rise some few miles from Sydney and are easily reached from that city. Their summits form a series of plateaux, covered with blue gum trees. It is not these however that bring visitors to the Blue Mountains, but the gorges that intersect them. These gorges are the crowning glory of Australian scenery, and they compare with all that is most famous in the old historic North. They are deep and winding chasms in the plateau, with walls of precipitous rock. No element of grandeur is wanting in their outlines, escarpments, cliffs and boulders confront each other in profuse variety, streams of water, pools and cascades relieve their gloom and fill their silence with music. The vegetation displays the hand of a

demiurgic artist; criticism becomes merely a search for the most exacting demands, which in a moment are supplied. Here rises a wall of many acres crowded with moss and ferns; there it is challenged by an iron cliff without a lichen on it. Sometimes the valley widens and we see height upon height receding above us; sometimes it narrows to a dark cleft, where slender trees, immeasurably tall, aspire vainly to the distant skies.

The State of New South Wales has laid out walks amid these scenes with great judgment, and the more remote of them may be visited with unqualified pleasure. Rodriguez Pass I shall remember along with Cashmir, as one of the few perfect spots on earth. But other places, even a little more accessible, are beginning to lose their charm. Accessibility brings the crowd of vandals, whose pleasure it is to damage and pollute scenes like these, and who must needs be defeated by precautions almost as vexatious as the injuries they inflict. Will "education" ever teach these people better? I know not; education has not taught the vulgarian to cease scratching his name on conspicuous places; the only person who will not do this is the gentleman,—whatever a gentleman may be. Even in Rodriguez Pass I came across one foolish woman scratching her name on a boulder; very tired she looked and much I wondered what miserable instinct inspired her action. Perhaps the same instinct that led the souls in hell to enquire if they were remembered in the upper world, the horror of oblivion, as much an infirmity of ignoble as of noble minds.

Not far from these regions are the Jenolan caves. Caves in lime-stone rocks—such things are common enough, but every common thing, somewhere in the world, attains a size that makes it a glory of nature's works. Such are the Jenolan caves. Their full extent is yet unknown, but you may spend a week exploring them, several hours a day, without revisiting the same scene. The interiors are sometimes narrow and winding, sometimes vaster than any created by man, and merely as caverns they would be interesting. The material of the rocks is strangely impressive, and the ages of geologic history rise dimly on the mind. A few quiet streams

that glide along the floors of the caverns, these are the agents of the change before us; how long has it taken them?

The following is from an Australian paper:—

A most interesting and little known geological explanation of the Jenolan Caves was given at the opening of the "Temple of Baal" Cave on Saturday. Over an old continent that once lay somewhere near where Australia is to-day there grew a forest, it was said, and on the fallen forest trees dripped the rain, and absorbed carbonic acid gas that rose from the rotting leaves. The acid water passing over rocks, especially limestone, dissolved the lime out of them, and flowed off, carrying the lime with it to the sea. Off the coast of that continent, in the sea where the Blue Mountains are now, was a coral reef, whose coral insects absorbed the lime that got into the sea, and made more coral of it. The bottom of the sea was sinking, and the coral always building up to it until for some reason they died. The mud slime of the ocean for aeons flowed over their reef, and crushed it into hard rock. Then at last the bed of the sea began to rise again. Here may have been a fissure along that part of the earth's crust. Any way the coral reef and the land around it rose till it became the high mountains we see from Sydney to-day. Another forest grew and decayed over it—and grows and decays there still. More acid water dissolved out the lime from the rock that once was coral, and left—the Jenolan Caves. The lime it carried to the sea where the coral insects about Lord Howe Island are eating it at this day.

But how long has it taken to form the great wonder of the caves, the stalactites? And how shall we write of them? Descending from the roofs, ascending from the floors, through all the caves, are crowded millions of stalactites, if millions be a strong word to use, where it is really as feeble as "dozens." Their mere number however escapes observation, for the mind is fully occupied with their variety and their amazing, inexpressible beauty. In every cave, in almost every chamber the type varies. Sometimes we have pillars, smooth or fluted, sometimes filaments descending from the roof as thin as wires or many yards in circumference, and yet again long shawls with graceful folds, or pavements fretted with millions of tiny bristles. The imagination can suggest nothing that is wanting. Sometimes the formation resembles that of a tree, with a trunk springing from the soil and branches running in every direction; such formations often stand in little caves of their own and look like triumphs of the jeweller's art. The colours vary from that of snow to rich browns and reds in the shawls, which are viewed by transmitted light.

Electricity and magnesium lamps are freely used.

These luxuries are due to the N. S. Wales Government which has taken over the caves, and manages them. The management is excellent. The arrangements are all admirable and perfect in their good taste. The charges are moderate, and I have only to complain that they do not supply either in print or through the guides any scientific information about the caves. This of course is not supplied because it is not wanted. The crowds of tourists who visit Jenolan, good humoured Philistines on their holidays, desire no such thing as serious words from the guide. He marshals them in a flock as they enter, and admonishes them not to break the stalactites or write their names upon them. Forgetting (or perhaps remembering) that this is what they would be apt to do, the tourists reprehend such practices and the train proceeds. In tempting places their principles are not tried, for a suspicious Government encloses the party in a cage of netting. The guide as they proceed points out resemblances, such as may please the party, Jews being gratified with the sight of a Jew's nose, Catholics with that of a Madonna. A hole is indicated where a certain Ridley fell and damaged himself through neglecting the guide's instructions. Fifty feet he fell; "was he killed?" enquire the ladies; "no," replies the guide, "he was a Civil Servant; they're 'ard to kill." (In the democracy of Australia, Civil Servants are not popular.) The male birds of the party, encouraged by the guide make their own experiments in similes:—

That is like a piece of bacon.

That is like a piece of tripe.

That is like a turkey in a poulterer's shop.

The ladies less inventive, exhaust themselves in continual praises, (like the elect spirits in Paradise,)

Is n't it lovely?

How lovely!

There's a lovely one!

The inanity of the crowd is a comment on Education scarcely favourable. In mitigation one may urge that mixed crowds of men and women are never in a serious humour. Women indeed are never serious where things beautiful or intellectual are

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concerned, and men lay aside serious thoughts in their company.

The close resemblance of the caves to architecture raises many curious thoughts, like those other resemblances, so often found, between contrivances of nature and contrivances of man. The mystery of design is raised once more. For what purpose were these marvels created and treasured up in the earth? Countless millions of years have passed over them; no eye has seen their beauty till yesterday,* was it for this they have waited? Or is their beauty but an accident, and our mortal sight of it an accident? Then what more important end, if any, do they serve or what deeper reality belongs to them?

I know not; to be practical once more, let me say that amongst all the natural wonders of the world there is none that surpasses, hardly one that equals, these caves. Similar caves in America and Europe can not be named along with them. Other caves in Australia (and New Zealand) may deserve the comparison; I did not myself visit them.

In the neighbourhood of Jenolan you may still see a few wallabies, little kangaroos, that skip full blithely over the rocks. I am thus prompted to speak here of the wild animals of Australia, though it is little indeed I can say of them. Why should I copy out of books curious details about kangaroos and wombats and the duck-billed platypus? What I have chiefly to say about these animals is that they are all dead and gone; civilisation has killed them. The kangaroo, so edible, so flayable and so tannable, could hardly expect to live among white settlers; and even had they spared him, they were not prepared to spare the tall grass which he needs for his sustenance. The duck-billed platypus might have hoped something from his unique form; but his fur was too much of a temptation. In Messrs. Tost and Rohu's shop there are three thousand skins of his awaiting sale. The emu struggles on in a few barren districts; you can still buy emu eggs in the shops. His day is coming however. A few reserves have been for the wild creatures, and in the

zoos a few tame specimens may survive; their native wilds know them no more.

Cockatoos and parrots still exist—mischievous tribes of *graminivora*. I did not see any, nor did I see a snake, though snakes are common, also cases of snake bite. I met an idiot girl who had never recovered from a snake bite, and bethought myself of Ruskin's notion of the colonies, as places where people "got bitten by rattle snakes and died of fever."

The death of Australia's native fauna has been in a measure avenged by that humble instrument of destiny, the rabbit. Some years ago a settler thought he would like to see a few rabbits frisking about his fields and sent for some; with what results, the world knows. Rabbits became the chief question of Australia. Having no natural enemies, no cold winter to face and endless plains of grass before them, the rabbits stepped forward to enjoy those gifts of Ceres and Venus which the settlers intended for themselves. They ruined millions of acres of land, and even costly and careful fencing failed to check them. Poison scarcely thinned their numbers, and only closer settlement really gets rid of them.

One device against them, it is said, has succeeded. As many rabbits as possible having been caught in a certain area, the does are killed and the bucks released. The sexual equilibrium of the community is thus disturbed; the surviving does are harassed by the bucks and all the symptoms of race suicide present themselves. Thus perhaps man triumphs again. As not always nor everywhere; in Bombay we are openly flouted by the vermin; crows, sparrows, rats and bugs use as they will. And even in the heart of Melbourne, in the University Gardens, vanishing amid the bushes, I saw a rabbit.

The aborigines of Australia were the "blackfellows," by which name I shall write of them, for they had no name by which they called themselves. I saw little of them myself, for in the settled parts of Australia they are almost extinct. At Albany one wretched old man was begging in the street, the last blackfellow in that district; near Sydney I saw a few, chiefly half-castes, in a mission at Botany Bay. But this is what I have learned

* Nevertheless, skeleton of a "blackfellow" was found in one of the caves. It was a bushranger who discovered them.

about the blackfellow from those who knew him :—

He was a very lowly savage. Something like a negro, yet not a negro, nor a Melanesian, his affinities are unknown, so are those of his many languages. Unlike the islanders, he had no agriculture—there is hardly a native plant in Australia worth cultivating for food. He lived by the chase, or on casual berries of the jungle, shifting his quarters according to the seasons. He had no houses; even in the cold latitudes of the South he put up nothing more than a shelter of boughs and strips of bark.

Social groups were small, for food was scarce; the scarcity of food and the difficulties of travel required the systematic slaughter of children. Chiefs were either unknown or enjoyed little power. The various tribes were constantly at war, chiefly over hunting rights. There were however many reunions, and heralds—mostly women—were respected. Religion, chaotic and fragmentary; they had some belief in a future world and some in a Supreme Being, but for the most part were concerned with ghosts. It is asserted by one good authority that some tribes in the centre believed in re-incarnation; evidence of this however is needed, for the doctrine is a pre-Aryan invention of India and does not seem to be met with outside that country.

We have thus before us a people on a low level of culture. I will not say of happiness, for I have no doubt they were as happy as ourselves, enjoyed their feasts and "corroborees"* and battled through their days of want much as we do. But some remarkable gifts they had and some of their inventions will live for ever. The old "black trackers" are renowned in literature; they could pick up the desert trail of man or beast with a skill which no other savage seems to have equalled. And the black fellow invented that most curious of weapons,

* Dances.

the boomerang. Volumes have been written on it, and the cases of Australian museums exhibit countless boomerangs of every shape. Not all of them returned in their flight; indeed the returning boomerang were more a toy than a weapon, but the flight of a boomerang was always puzzling and it was a dangerous weapon in attack. I have seen myself a boomerang meant to be thrown at fish leaping out of water. Whether boomerangs were known to other races has been debated by savants; there is an Egyptian fowler on one of the monuments who seems to be hunting ducks with a boomerang, and the German *cateia*, mentioned by Virgil, is claimed by some as a boomerang. I know not; ideas and inventions spring up in many places and culminate in one; so it was with the boomerang. I saw it thrown by a blackfellow on a Melbourne football field; it looked like a tumbler pigeon circling in the air. The blackfellows were also skilled in the use of spears and by the use of their "throwing sticks" could hurl them with prodigious force and accuracy.

They were moreover humorous and musical people. It was a blackfellow who refused to believe in Hell, "where get 'em wood make 'em that big fellow fire?" And I saw one of the race, at the mission, take a gum-tree leaf, and placing it between his thumbs blow upon it, eliciting notes as sweet as those of a flute and rendering our own melodies in perfect tune.

Such then was the blackfellow, before we invaded his land; what have we done for him? There is a picture in the gallery at Medlow Bath with a sad suggestiveness about it; a blackfellow lying on the cliff near Sydney, watching a portent on the sea, a white-winged bark sailing past his shore. He is wondering what it means. This the blackfellows soon learned when the strangers stepped ashore.

(To be continued.)

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES IN CEYLON

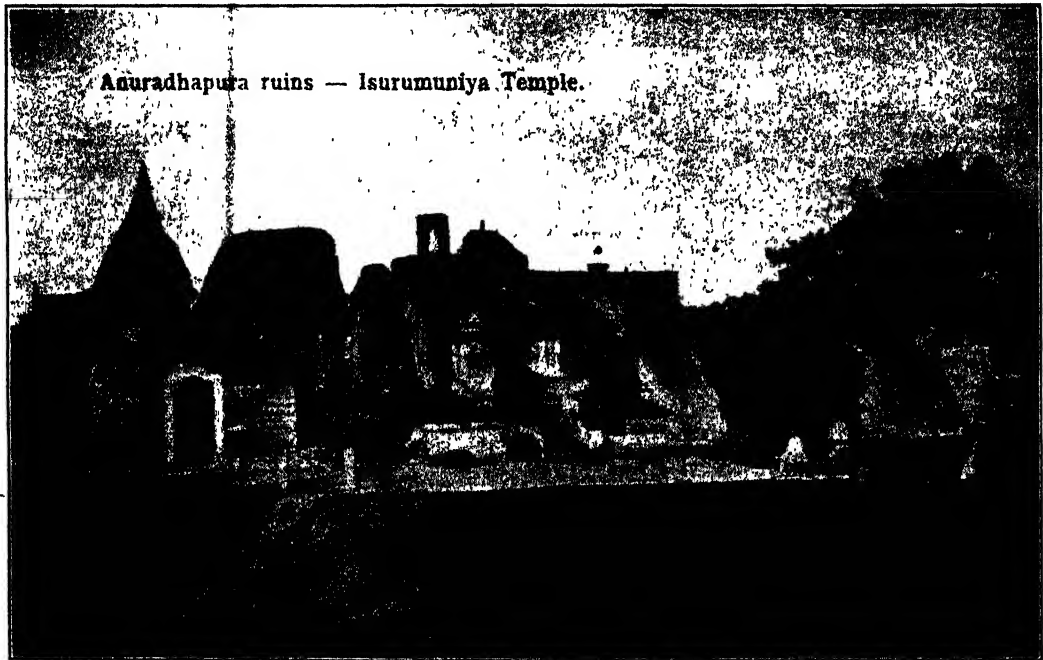
AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. SATISH CHANDRA VIDYABHUSHANA, M.A., PH. D.

IT was in July, 1909, that we started from Calcutta. We had to travel by rail up to Tuticorin where we availed ourselves of a steamer bound for Ceylon.

There is a big Dharmasala or Pilgrim's Rest-house at Tuticorin. Every one is welcome to halt there. It is enjoined that

to a rush of *Sadhus* in the other part of the building. But, as ill luck would have it, at nightfall hordes of houseless beggars and petty tradesmen began to pour in there; over and above this, the rule of leaving all doors open during the night allowed us no opportunity to close our eyelids.

Next day, a steamlaunch carried us towards Ceylon, but the tiny boat rocking on the huge billow of the rolling sea exerted



Anuradhapura ruins — Isurumuniya Temple.

THE ISURMUNIYA TEMPLE.

the main gate of that palatial building should remain wide open throughout the day and night as a mark of hospitality. We left our heavy luggage under the care of the Station Master and repaired to the Dharmasala with only the necessary bedding and the valuables. Of the two divisions of the house, for pilgrims from the Deccan and Northern India respectively, we occupied a room in the Deccan Section owing

a chilling influence over our enthusiasm. A few hour's sailing brought us near a big vessel bound for Ceylon. The difficulty of reaching the upper deck of the big vessel at a great height above us was overcome in a rather curious manner, when, as soon as a large wave raised our boat to a level with the deck, the crew from both sides imperceptibly transferred us to the upper vessel to our great surprise and relief. We had

wholly forgotten our bags and baggage and had given up all hopes of their recovery after this embarrassment, but we were now astonished to see that they were all carried there under the safe custody of the captain without the loss of even a single umbrella.

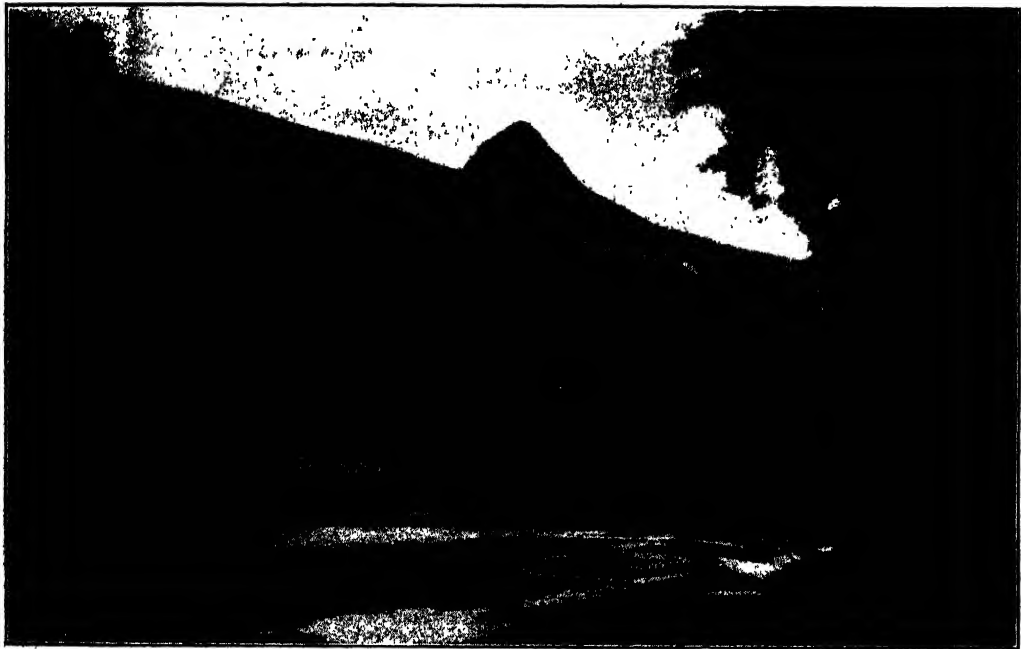
After a voyage of about fifteen hours we landed on the soil of Ceylon.

Besides the route *via* Tuticorin there is another route from Rameswar by the coast line Service.

In all respects Ceylon seems to have been a part of India, and there are indications by which the bridge of Ram Chandra may

Ceylonese, a remnant of the Asoka garden of ancient ages; the temple of Bibhisana is still shown to be standing on the river Kalyani Ganga near Colombo.

The modern Tamils follow the faith of their legendary forefathers, the Yakshas, Rakshasas and Nagas of old, who were Saivas. The Saivas form a great part of the population of Ceylon and their number is almost as large as that of the Buddhists there. Temples dedicated to the worship of Siva, the third personage of the Hindu Trinity, are abundant in Ceylon, especially remarkable among which is the Isurmuniya



ADAM'S PEAK OR SAMANTA KUTA.

well be identified with the series of small islets that lie between Ceylon and the mainland.

Galle, the principal town in Southern Ceylon, is said to have been the winter resort of King Ravana, while Mt. Neuralia in the east is believed to have been his hill station for summer. One remarkable feature of Neuralia is the stratum of charcoal under the surface of its soil and this bears witness, according to many, to Hanumana's burning of the palace of Ravana as described in the Ramayana. The forest of Sitavaka near Galle is, according to the

temple at Anuradhapura, the unfathomable depositary of ancient relics.

Adam's Peak or Samanta Kuta, as it is popularly called, is the famous Malaya hill of poetry. The place has become an important place of pilgrimage for Hindus, Roman Catholics, Buddhists and Moslems, who jointly worship a foot print, which is believed to be that of Ramchandra or St. Thomas or Buddha or Adam respectively by each of these communities.

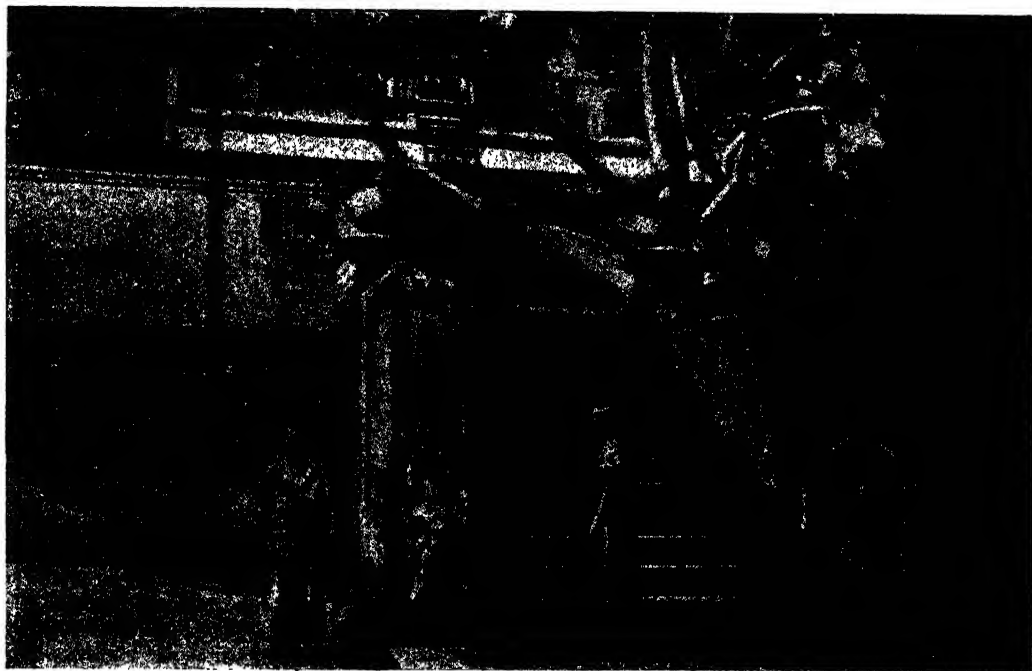
We shall now proceed with our description of the Buddhist Monasteries of Ceylon as indicated in the heading of the paper,

Our residence in Colombo offered us an opportunity of observing the manners and practices of Buddhist monks in a monastery on the other side of the street. The Bhikshus or Buddhist monks are habitual early risers, and have to obey strict rules of discipline. They are enjoined not to act in any manner that may bring them praise or blame, gain or loss, love or hatred, in short anything a worldly man hankers after.

They have to live by begging and no hoarding up for the future is permitted. They must have only one meal a day and receive as alms only so much as may suffice

second great feature of a monastery. It contains a relic of Buddha. The system arose out of the fact that the early Buddhist converts of Ceylon applied to King Asoka for a relic of their master, in reply to which Asoka sent a portion of Buddha's collar-bone, which now lies in minute fragments in the innumerable chaityas throughout the country.

The third feature is the temple containing Buddha's image. As the size of this image determines the amount of religious merit of the founder, the image generally represents Buddha in a reclining position, as an image



MONASTERY, MONK AND THE SACRED BO-TREE.

for that. There are many fruit trees adjacent to each monastery, but the Bhikshus never care to know what the servants do with the fruits. The monks are even forbidden to give away the fruits, as that would be regarded as a praiseworthy act. The only things they can distribute are images of Buddha and works on religion.

Of the seven essential elements of a Buddhist monastery, the first is the Bodhi-tree, sprung from the original tree under which the great Sakya Sinha attained the supreme knowledge.

The Chaitya, Stupa or Pagoda forms the

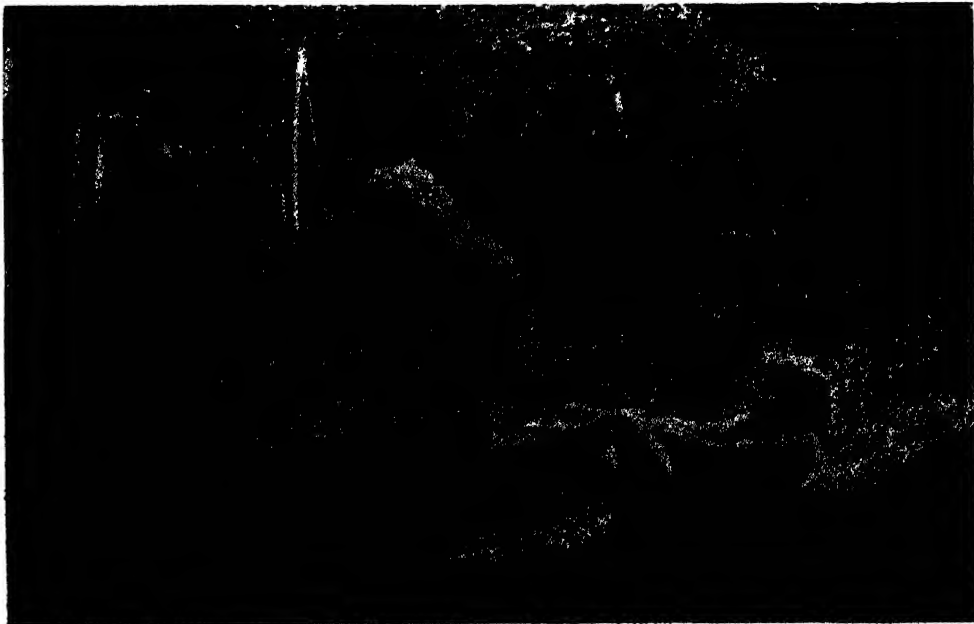
in that posture can be made as big as desired without great inconvenience.

The fourth element in the shape of an Ordination-house is an essential requisite for the equipment of a monastery. It is generally built on pillars in a sequestered lake, far from human habitation and hidden from the world outside by rows of palm trees on all sides. There the monks assemble every evening to confess before their chief any sinful act they may have committed during the day and atone for it by penance.

Dormitories for the residence of students, a house for the head priest and the Library



ORDINATION HOUSE.



THE VEDDAS.

complete the other requisites of a monastery.

The inhabitants of Ceylon may be broadly classified under three heads;—*viz.*, first,

the descendants of the ancient Yakshas, Rakshashas and Nagas, who are now known as Veddas; secondly, the Tamils whose forefathers emigrated from the Deccan; and

thirdly the descendants of the Bengalis who accompanied Prince Bijaya Sinha, after whom the island has been called *Sinhala*. They resemble the inhabitants of Bengal to a great extent, in appearance and habits,

the habit of eating rice not excluded. The influence of the Bengali language is also very evident on their literature.

HEMADA KANTA CHAUDHURI, B.A.

HERBERT SPENCER ON INTERMARRIAGE

NOW that the legal obstacles in the way of intermarriage are expected to be removed and that the social aspect of the question bids fair to be sifted to the bottom, it will not be out of place at the present juncture to raise a discussion on the biological aspect of the question. And according to Herbert Spencer it is at the bottom a question of biology and not of social philosophy. If we do not get the sanction of biology, no amount of proof in favour of the social utility of the measure, or the legal sanction of the Government would stand us in much good stead. There is no doubt that castes in India have now been stereotyped into so many marriage guilds. Castes as trade-guilds may yet render us some good if their rigour be minimised and room be found for individual aptitudes; but castes as marriage-guilds, should not be allowed to continue if we have a desire to rise in the scale of nations, socially or politically. Therefore it is time to critically examine the question from the standpoint of biology.

A great fuss was made when, on the death of Herbert Spencer, his letter to a Japanese statesman, Mr. Kentero Kaneko advising the latter to "keep other races at arm's length as much as possible," was published. Biologically Spencer was against the fusion of races. We find the following remark on the abovementioned letter published in D. Duncan's *Life of Herbert Spencer*. "There is abundant proof, alike furnished by intermarriages of human races, and by interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree the result is invariably a bad one in the long run". There is here an unmistakable reference to the undesirableness of the fusion of races, but we do not

find here the limit of divergence that must be observed in order to warrant a healthy growth of progeny. So unless we are able to ascertain the meaning of this "certain slight degree" we are not at liberty to definitely formulate a theory out of it. I have seen graduates of our Universities interpreting Spencer as not sanctioning intermarriages as we would have them among the different sections of the Hindu community, thus proving how sometimes our wish is father to our thought. So it behoves us to determine whether the passage really bears this interpretation or it is a perversion of its real meaning.

If we read the passage with reference to the context we shall find that necessarily much stress has been laid on the disqualifications of such unions. And no opportunity has offered itself in this context to discuss the question fully in all its bearings, as Spencer's object ostensibly was to show up the defects of interracial marriages. In the letter he did not at all refer to the benefits to be derived from such marriages, provided the prescribed degree of divergence were duly paid heed to. We find the point thoroughly elaborated in the first volume of his *Sociology*, where both the sides have been duly considered. Now let us see what has been the outcome of this elaborate discussion. When organisms widely different in kind are united, one working in one direction and the other in another, a new organism if produced at all will not be of the desired kind. That is the case with the social structures also. The conflicting tendencies instead of existing in different individuals now exist in the same individual. "The half-caste", continues the eminent philosopher, "inheriting from one line of ancestry proclivities adapted to one set of institutions,

and from the other line of ancestry proclivities adapted to another set of institutions is not fitted for either. He is a unit whose nature has not been moulded by any social type, and therefore cannot, with others like himself, evolve any social type." Perhaps the word half-caste has been a stumbling block in the way of many. However, in the case of small differences, *i.e.*, when the differences are not radical, the most wholesome results are produced. If nearly allied peoples are combined, a permanently fertile breed and usually vigorous growth would be the consequences. The superficial differences would be eliminated and the more radical virtues strengthened and perpetuated in the race. "From their fusion," Mr. Spencer informs us, "results a community which, determined in its leading traits by the character common to the two, is prevented by their differences of character from being determined in its minor traits—is left capable of taking on new arrangements determined by new influences: medium plasticity allows those changes of structure constituting advance in heterogeneity." From multifarious instances it has been found that such a society is comparatively well fitted for progress. The author of the synthetic philosophy has given us some examples from the landmarks of the history of human culture and civilization, the significance of which cannot be ignored by any right-thinking man who has the good of society at his heart. What Spencer means by the wide divergence which is detrimental to growth, and by near alliance which is conducive to human progress, has clearly come out in those examples. We cannot mistake their meaning. In all these cases, the alliance of different peoples and their fusion into one homogeneous nation have proved extremely beneficial to the race. The first reference is to the Hebrews. Though they boasted of the purity of their blood, that fine nation was the result of the amalgamation of the varieties of the Semitic race, effected either when they lived in the Nile Valley or wandered from place to place and finally after the conquest of Palestine. Secondly, all the greatness the Athenians achieved and the progress they made were due to and consequent upon their mingling with other Greek tribes from the neighbouring States. In the third place

the Roman civilisation was the consequence of the fusion of the several Aryan races, Sabini, Sabelli and Samnites, whom the Romans subjugated and incorporated into their own body. The last though not the least is the example of the Anglo-Saxon race that has conquered the world and is still in the ascendant. "Our own country", goes on the philosopher, "peopled by different divisions of the Aryan race, and mainly by varieties of Scandinavians, again illustrates that effect." On the other hand, if Spencer had the opportunity of critically examining Indian history, he would have found at least a negative verification of this theory. The Hindu Aryan race of old that worked wonders in one period of the world's history has now been reduced to its own shadow, devoid of all glory and greatness, by splitting itself into a hundred and one pieces and putting a stop to all channels for the mingling of blood among them, a most potent factor to enervate any social system. However, the above examples have made it sufficiently clear that Spencer favours the amalgamation of all the sub-sections of a race, Aryan or Semetic, Mongolian or Negrite, but is against the fusion of these races. This latter is the import of his advice to the Japanese statesman already referred to. But are we yet warranted in arriving at this conclusion? Does not the History of India at least belie such a conclusion? The Aryans came to India and settled there. They too were a wandering race. And they were here amalgamated with the original Negrite peoples—the Dravidians and Kolarians, giving birth to that Hindu Aryan race whose glories and achievements we still claim to be our greatest heritage. There was another period of greatness in Indian history when the Greeks conquered and settled, thereby pouring in a fresh quantity of pure Aryan blood into the Hindu Aryan constitution. Then the Kushans followed, to whom the great Kaniska belonged. And here was another period of activity in Indian history, due to the fusion of different races, because the Kushans seem to have been, though a blonde or semi-blonde people, not Aryan. The real depression in our history began when this fusion of blood stopped and the Hindu Aryans divided themselves into a great many sub-sections and by

partition walls kept one another at a distance.

In the next place it is incumbent on us to examine the data on the strength of which Spencer has forbidden interracial marriages. He has found his data in "the Eurasians in India, and the half-breeds in America"* who are said to be devoid of the virtues of both sides and in whom the vices are said to be strengthened. But the origin of these two classes is not good. They are originally the offsprings of unions due mainly to animal propensities. But even they

*Life of Herbert Spencer by D. Duncan.

have given rise to men like Derozio in India and Alexander Dumas in the West, who is said to be the most prolific great writer in the world. And the case of the great leader of the American Negroes, Mr. Booker T. Washington, should not be forgotten, as he, too, is a half-caste. This must make us stop to think before we jump to a hasty conclusion. These data will not warrant us in making such a sweeping generalisation. At least we must hold our judgment in suspense until we find a mixed race, the offspring of irreproachable social union, as was the case in ancient India.

D. N. CHOWDHURI.

THE FESTIVAL OF RAS

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

HIGH to the south shone Orion, as, a couple of hours before dawn, on the second day after the full moon of November, we opened the great doors of the house and went forth into the silent lane. About us was the quiet of midnight. The moon, so little waned, made the black sky seem blacker, and the bright stars brighter, and in the air was a touch of wintry cold. Now and then, as we pressed onward to the temple, a couple of women, veiled and muffled, would pass us hurriedly, their bare feet as they struck the earth, making still less sound than our own. The path was narrow, by which, at last, we must thread our way into the temple-precincts. The court formed a parallelogram, giving through an arch, at its further end, upon the street. To right and left, its sides were formed of long rows of buildings. The entrance to the temple itself, the hall of worship, was at some distance, in the wall upon our right. And here, at the approach, the near end was almost closed by a small circular building, a sort of domed arcade, lifted high above the level of the ground, and surrounded by a procession path, with stairs to the right and left.

This was, in fact, the chapel of the exposi-

tion, standing open, silent, and empty, the year round. This morning, however, it was not empty. This morning, thus, on the altar beneath its dome, stood the images, throned on flowers, of Radha and Krishna brought there in procession from the sanctuary, some time after midnight. And without on the stairs and terrace of the ambulatory, a line of quiet women circled it, their bowed heads and rapt faces, or the beads half hidden beneath their veils, telling of the worship in which they were absorbed. Even in the distance, outside the narrow precincts, the sight of these women doing *pradakshina* gave a feeling of unwonted stir. But nothing could have prepared us for the sight that greeted us, as we actually entered. The whole court was ablaze with light. Inside square enclosures made of rope, two separate choirs were seated on the ground chanting litanies to the accompaniment of stringed instruments. The walls right and left were lined with scores of little booths, where small religious images, household utensils, and a great assortment of baskets, were being bought and sold. And between the two, between devotees and traffickers, were coming and going hundreds of women. Here and there, in some corner in the

shadow, would be found one seated alone, and lost in prayer; and high on the plinth, on a level with our heads, the quiet procession of worshippers went on, ascending to join the line by one stair, and leaving it, to mingle with the crowd, by the other. But down here, on the floor of the court, one met widows and family-parties, mothers and their daughters, girls and their companions, threading their way, their worship done, from point to point, staying here and there to chat a moment with some friend, or passing at the stalls to chaffer over their wares, and perhaps to try a toy or a gift for some one at home. The crowd was constantly growing, by the addition of newcomers, and as constantly being depleted, by the loss of those who were drifting off for bathing to the Ganges side, or turning, to go simply home. Within half an hour of dawn, the precincts would be deserted. By sight, the images would be re-installed, amidst the shadows of their sanctuary. For the present, however, all was piety and gentle gaiety. Outside, the fading moon smiled down upon the sleeping city. Nothing seemed to be moving beneath the folds of darkness. Yet here, within the little space of brilliant lamplight, buzzed the crowd of graceful, well-born women. Here was day before daylight, in a world apart—a woman's world, whose very existence one sleeping a stone's throw off, might never have suspected.

How well has Hinduism understood how to provide opportunities, that each of her children, even her cloistered and secluded womanhood, may feast on the changing, circling beauties of the year! In all the round of months, no other full moon is held so beautiful as this, the first of the winter season. The rains are over; the great festival of Durga, the Mother, is past; and now begins the out-of-doors life, of forest and pasture. This was the time at which the Lord Krishna,—living amongst the cowherds on the banks of the Jumna—went forth, with the herdsmen and herdswomen of Gokool, taking their cattle to the meadows of Brindaban. At this time of year began that wondrous life, of play and conquest, of constant self-sacrifice and easy victory, that is, in fact, the idyll of the Indian peasant, the *epos* of the Indian Herakles. In every woodland, at this time of year,

may be heard, by the inner ear, the music of the Divine Flute-plays. Out of any bush might peep the laughing face of the Holy Child, beneath its crown of peacock's feathers, Mothers and maids! have a reverence for all play! For He, the Lord, plays, through these winter months, in the forests round Gokool!

Three evenings ago, when the moon was full, the images were carried, from temple to tabernacle at the hour of sunset with all the men of the village in procession behind them. Thus was dramatised the idea of the cowherds going forth. All night long, the priests watched and served, and at midnight began the women's worship. The Divine cowherd was dwelling, now, in the pasture-lands, and they came, as it were, to visit and adore. The next night the exposition began at two, and today it was opened at four. All these three dawns have been sacred to the women, and at eight o'clock this morning the festival will be over. But in rich men's gardens, along the Ganges-banks, a special devotion may prolong it to a week, a fortnight, or a month. Each day, long before sunrise, the images will be carried to their throne of flowers, and there, beneath the sky, their visitors will worship them and spend hours of prayer that is more like play, with the Herdsman of Souls, tending His cows, as in the forests of Brindaban.

A little while, and our feast will have vanished, for this year, into the past. But in truth, a note has been sounded, for pious souls, in whose key the winter will be pitched. To mother and wife, will not the thought of any one of her beloved be as a glimpse caught of the Divine Cowherd, now spouse of the soul, and again the laughing playing human babe? Is there any impulse or memory of sweetness, that is not like the sound of His flute, calling suddenly, across the meadows? Oh, when that note is heard, how eager should be the feet that haste to answer, along the forest paths in the secret places of the heart!

"When His flute calls," says a song of the people, "I must be ready! Early or late, easy or hard, no matter! I must go! and go—let the way through the forest be thorny, when it sounds—I spread thorn every day on the courtyard floor, that on them I may learn to walk. And lest in the

rains I should hear His call, I throw water where I am to step. For when He calls me, I must hasten and on the way I must not slip!"

How foolish are those who dream that Ras Mela comes but once a year, and

ends! To the eyes of the wise man, life itself is that forest on the banks of the Jumna, in which ever dwells the Lord, filling sweet days with mirthful labour, and calling the soul from height to height of hidden joy.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHTS AND EVENTS

I.

THE ITALIAN "RISORGIMENTO."

ITALY is celebrating the jubilee of her unity and emancipation this month. It was first fifty years ago, on March 27th, 1861, that the first Italian Parliament offered the crown of the new Italian Kingdom, to Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia. And the event marked the resurrection of Italy, her emergence, once more, into the council of free nations, the realisation of the dream of many generations of her long-suffering people. There was a time when the world looked upon Italy as dead, absolutely banished from modern life and history. It talked of Italy, as it talks today of India, as a mere "geographical expression," and the actualities of her condition to a large extent justified this estimate. There was in those days really no Italy but only a number of small principalities ruled by petty tyrants, oftentimes at war with one another. The first inspiration of unity and a new life, came to the Italian people, through the conquest of Napoleon. Himself an Italian by blood Napoleon "raised his mother Italy, still but half conscious,—not very tenderly, but most effectively,—out of the dust where she had lain for three centuries.

For half a generation he gave her rational and modern government. The old petty despotisms were swept away, and the greater part of the Peninsula was governed as if it were a nation—subject, indeed to the Napoleonic French Empire, but as an Italian province thereof. The Code Napoleon instead of mediæval laws; efficient bureaucracy instead of the arbitrary whims of decadent tyrants by right divine; modern education on military lines instead of clerical obscurantism; the encouragement of the professional and middle classes instead of caste privilege; such was the Napoleonic system by which Italians were educated to become capable in the next generation of

rebellion on their own behalf, and ultimately of self-government."

And looking back upon the history of Italy for the last hundred years, one is struck with the mysterious action and reaction of good and evil, through which Providence has worked out the national unity and independence of Italy. The first stage of the new movement was marked by unspeakable tyrannies on the one side and equally abhorrent and sicklied outbursts of periodic violence and rebellion on the other. The Austrian brute called out the brute in the Italian people, and for many years, it was a brutal struggle between the two. It was to young Mazzini that the revelation first came of the spiritual meaning and significance of this national struggle. He saw a new meaning in Italian history. Italy must live not for herself but for the world. The world had need of Italy, and the needs of the world are the needs of God, and they never fail of ultimate realisation. In the pursuit of divine ends there is no room for unholy intrigues and dubious endeavours. So he renounced the old insurrectionary methods with the old infidelities, and preached a "new gospel of nationalism, in the name of God and Humanity. He saw, as none of his people had seen before, that the chief weakness in the current movements for freedom in Italy, was want of faith. The leaders had no perception of the present, no assurance of the future. The following had neither inspiration from nor confidence in such leading. Summing up the general situation as he found it, about 1830—35, Mazzini wrote:—

"Now we have no definite religious idea, no profound belief in an obligation entailed by a mission, no consciousness of a supreme protecting power. Our actual apostolate is a mere analytical opposition; our

weapons are *interests*, and our chief instrument of action is a theory of rights. We are, all of us, notwithstanding our sublime presentiments, the sons of rebellion. We advance, like renegades, without a God, without a law, without a banner to lead us towards the future."

This, he declares, was no exaggeration. "I know there are exceptions, and I admire them. But the mass of our party is as I describe it. It is, therefore, incapable of success, and will remain so until it comprehends that the cry of "God wills it" must be the eternal watchword of every undertaking like our own, having sacrifice for its basis, the people for its instrument, and Humanity for its aim."

And Mazzini did, under Divine Providence, supply these wants. He communicated to the movement of Young Italy, this faith in God, this confidence in themselves, this cognition of the aim—Humanity. He recognised the inner weakness and insufficiency of the mere political idea.

"Politics merely accept man as he is, in his actual position and character; define his tendencies, and regulate his action in harmony with them. The religious idea alone has power to transform both."

And it was given to him to communicate this "religious idea" to the movement of Italian unity and emancipation, which had, before his time, been spending itself in futile and feeble imitations of the methods of the French Revolution. He declared himself against these methods. "The French Revolution crushes us"—he said. "It weighs, like an incubus, upon our hearts, and forbids them to beat." He recognised the work and worth of that great epoch-making movement, gave unto it what was its due; but refused to allow it to dominate a new epoch.

"Upon the soil rendered fruitful by the blood of fifty generations of martyrs, we stand with Lessing to hail the gigantic future, wherein the lever of action shall rest upon the Fatherland as its fulcrum, with Humanity for its scope and aim; wherein the peoples shall bind themselves in a common pact, and meet in brotherhood to define the future mission to each, the function of each in the general association, governed by one Law for all, one God for all."

This was Mazzini's message to Revolutionary Italy. It is in this conception of Law, God, and Humanity, this synthesis of the national and the universal, that we must look for the real forces which culminated, a full quarter of a century later, in the final liberation and unification of Italy,

under Victor Emmanuel. It was the victory not of brute force, but of faith, faith in God, in the people, and in Humanity. "When on the 18th of March, 1861,"—to quote a comment of a contemporary upon the present Jubilee celebrations—"the first Italian Parliament proclaimed the Italian Kingdom, Italy was incomplete, but Italians had an assured confidence that their great national work would be accomplished. Venice was still in the hands of Austria, to be recovered five years later. Rome was to remain in the hands of the Pope for another nine years, though the law which made the kingdom fixed its capital at Rome. Faith and imagination were needed to make the capital of a new State a city still unredeemed, but faith and imagination were the springs of the Italian uprising.

The Italians redeemed Italy because they believed that there is nothing more sacred in politics than nationality, and their faith and their imagination carried them in pursuit of the idea through death, defeat, and disaster to final victory. It is this supreme ideal quality which sets the making of Italy apart among the memorable passages of history. While it was enacting it drew men from every land to offer their lives in the cause, and it set the hearts and minds of the nations vibrating with an emotion of a purity rare enough when the impulse is given by politics.

The mere reading of the story sets the blood tingling and stirs the soul to noble passions. The kingdom of Italy is a monument to liberty, and the making of it is a school of liberty at which the true doctrine of freedom will be learnt till the end of time. It is natural that men should ask whether in the fifty years now past Italy has been true to herself. To say that there have been lapses or that there are dark spots upon Italian life would be to say that Italians are mortal; but though there are events to deplore and evils to put right, the path marked out by the makers of Italy has been followed with fair loyalty. If one names the Liberal States of Europe, Italy is named among them as surely as France or England—Italy which fifty years ago was divided out among a dozen mediæval tyrants. Other countries may boast greater wealth or greater power; but no country has swung so swiftly from the rear to the vanguard among the nations whose institutions are the sanctuary of liberty.

II.

ARMS AND ARBITRATION.

The recent debate on the Navy-Estimates, in the British House of Commons, has raised issues of world-wide interest. There is a large and increasing body of enlightened public opinion in these islands, that has been watching with the keenest apprehension, the rapid and ruinous growth of the army and navy expenditure of the kingdom. Even under a Liberal Government, whose traditional cry has

always been "Retrenchment and Reform," the Navy-expenditure alone has risen from 1906 by the huge sum of £13,000,000. The Navy-estimates for the financial year 1910-11 have reached the sum of £44,000,000, and the Army-estimates that of £28,000,000, making a total of £72,000,000. The incidence of taxation for maintaining the Army and the Navy in their present footing comes, thus, to nearly thirty to thirty-five shillings per head of the population. And these bloated Army and Navy-estimates mean, necessarily, the starving of many needful schemes of reform, economic, educational, and sanitary, for want of which the racial stock is visibly deteriorating.

THE ACTUALITIES OF EUROPEAN POLITICS.

It would hardly be fair to say that the extreme gravity of this situation is not realised by the responsible rulers of the country. Whatever party-prolificians might say for party purposes, both the Liberals and the Tories are alike anxious to see this ruinous increase in the military preparations of the nation put a stop to. But if the Liberals made the attempt their rivals would once more rouse the spectre of German invasion and exploit the panic caused by it, in their own party interest. This is what prevents the Liberal Government from boldly tackling this problem. Nor are the Tories alone in favour, under present circumstances, of maintaining, in an increasing state of efficiency the nation's military and naval strength; even the official Liberals share this view. It is, indeed, the view of the capitalist class in the country. It is needed not merely for home-defence; but far more for the protection of what are called Imperial, that is, capitalist-interests. Britain's overseas dominions and dependencies have to be protected against possible attacks and invasions. It means that her position as a sea-power must be kept up far above that of any of her rivals. All the great nations of Europe are rapidly developing their naval strength. England's naval supremacy is being threatened, thus from all sides; and more particularly by Germany. While Germany is building year after year new battleships of the most advanced patterns—the so-called Dreadnaughts—England cannot lag behind. For many years past therefore British naval policy has been

guided by what is called a two-power standard. The object of this policy has been to keep the naval strength of the country to a level which would allow one-half of the fleet to remain in home-waters for the defence of the home-land, even if the other half were seduced away to meet possible contingencies in other parts of the world. But even this two-power standard is now found to be insufficient. The new policy, as enunciated by the First Sea Lord, in course of the recent debate, is to provide for both imperial and home defence against any possible combination of sea-powers against Great Britain. And the official plea is that with a view to maintain this standard, England cannot possibly curtail her naval expenditure while Germany is yearly adding to the list of her Dreadnaughts.

Indeed, the principle that regulates military and naval expenditure, not only in Great Britain, but in almost all the greater countries of Europe, is not really the normal needs of home-defence, but the abnormal needs created by the ambitions and extravagances of one's neighbours and rivals. And it seems almost impossible that this militarism will ever be checked as long as these neighbourly rivalries continue to inflame national passions and feed that bastard patriotism which seeks fulfilment not in the legitimate advancement of one's own motherland, but in bringing into subjection or debasement of other peoples' motherland. The economic basis of European society being what it is at present, it is inevitable that what is one man's profit should mean another man's loss. Every man, here, eats as his own, bread that has, indirectly or directly, been snatched away from a brother man's mouth. This is the logic of all competitive and individualistic economics. And this competitive social, or more correctly speaking, socio-economic structure naturally generates greed and ambition in the individual, and reduces the terms of social evolution to the crude biological rule of what is popularly understood as the struggle for existence. Men here do not rise on their own dead selves, which is the law of real ethical evolution, but on the dead bodies of their neighbours, and feed upon the mangled manhoods of those who are weaker or less fortunate than themselves.

This competitive ideal has been transferred from the personal and social life, even to the larger domain of national and political existence. In the existing state of international life and relations, what is one nation's gain is inevitably another nation's loss. The secret of national advancement without the degradation or deprivation of some other nation, has not yet been discovered by civilisation. It has not even been discovered by individuals in this civilisation, either. It is the secret of the Simple Life. No individual in civilisation is content with what he has, even though that may be quite sufficient unto all his normal needs, but he must have what his neighbour has also; and to justify his claims to his neighbour's possessions or possibilities, he goes on increasing his wants, and raising his standard of living. So it is also with modern nations. No nation is content with what it has, even though this may be quite sufficient to its normal needs; but must emulate its neighbours and possess extra territories and capture new markets. And when people, whether individually or collectively, pursue with such inordinate desires, mere earthly possessions and pleasures, there must be mutual jealousies and competitions and conflicts. Society thus is reduced to an almost perpetual state of war. It is not a physical war, as it was of old when barbarians fought with one another with bows and spears and adorned themselves with the skulls of their rivals and enemies; but it is an economic war—but a war all the same—where people are not killed with generous blows, but where they are killed all the same, more cruelly perhaps,—slowly under the pressure of perpetual penury and starvation. And the larger life of Humanity at any particular time, is only a reflex of the general life and ideals of isolated societies of that time. So Humanity also, in our time, has been reduced to a state of war—not actual but possible. Nations are like armed camps, watching the movements of their rivals, and while talking the language of diplomatic suavity, all the time sharpening their bayonets and manufacturing their bombs.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ARMED PEACE.

And these actualities of the present European situation has given rise to the plausible

political philosophy that the world's peace is maintained not by neglecting the preparations of war, but rather by being always prepared for it. War is provoked, not by armed strength, but always by unarmed weakness. It is only the weak and unprotected householder who suffers from the burglar, not they who are strong, and always armed and protected. So it is also with nations. No nation, however greedy, would venture to lay its hands upon a strong and well-armed nation's possessions and privileges. If every nation were as strong as every other nation, there would be no war in this world. It is only because some are weak and some are strong, that there are all these breaches of international peace. The nation that does not keep up its fighting strength up to the point of its neighbours and rivals, commits a great international crime. This, in brief, is the political philosophy that has been at the back of the military policy of all the more powerful European nations, almost ever since the fall of Napoleon I.

It is needless to deny that at the back of these huge preparations for war, is the territorial and commercial greed of the European nations. There is, really, little fear of any serious disturbance of the territorial limits of the different European nations, from their mutual jealousies or enmities. The German invasion of England, having for its objective the conquest of the British Isles, is an exceedingly foolish fear. No sane politician ever seriously thinks of such a contingency. Germany tried the game once forty years ago, in France; and though she acquired two French provinces on her frontier, Alsace and Lorraine still continue to be a very sore point in European, and especially Franco-German relations. And it is absolutely sure that what is known as the European Concert, will not allow any repetition of that closing episode of the last Franco-German war. How extremely cautious the European powers are in regard to these territorial expansions of their neighbours, is proved by the fact that in the course of the last thirty years or less, the only dismemberment of any old State has taken place, not by foreign invasion or conquest, but by internal revolt and the successful assertion of absolute independence of a subject

province or nationality, against the power and authority of an enfeebled central or suzerain State. The history of Servia, Montenegro, and Greece, is a proof of it; while the latest evidence of this has been furnished within the last three years, by Bulgaria. With almost infinitely less effort, either of the two great Powers, Austria-Hungary and Russia that stand closest to Turkey, might have appropriated Servia and Montenegro to their own territories, than what Germany had to spend in appropriating Alsace and Lorraine. And yet they dared not do so. The general European policy is not to disturb the territorial limits of a neighbour, however weak that neighbour may be. Any attempt to override this policy or go against this tacit understanding, would involve a general European war, and how the European States, both large and small, would, in the end, come out of such a mortal conflict with one another, nobody can foresee. Possibly the map of Europe would, then, have to be absolutely remade. And it is this healthy dread of unforeseen contingencies that actually is the great preserver of peace in Europe of our day.

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THE FACT BEHIND EUROPEAN ARMAMENTS.

THE ASIATIC AND AFRICAN

"CARCASSES."

And if the political activities and ambitions of the European Powers had been confined to the limits of their own continent, there is little doubt that the problem of these huge and increasing armaments would not have arisen at all, not in any case, in its present acute form. All the perpetual sharpening of the beaks and claws of the European Powers is entirely prompted by the sight of the African and Asiatic carcasses. The helplessness of large tracts of Asia and of almost the whole of Africa, lies, really, at the back of these increased and daily increasing armaments of the European Powers. Had Asia been always as strong in all her parts,—strong, that is, in the modern European sense—strong in the capacity and organisation of slaughter—as Japan has recently proved herself to be, and if Africa had been able to protect herself, the need of this European

preparedness for war, would have been very largely removed. The rise of Japan and the awakening of China have removed, to a very large extent, this need for the European Powers, so far as Eastern Asia is concerned. Should Persia emerge out of her present troubles successfully, preserving her autonomy, and is able to build up a modern state for herself, this need would be removed also, to a very large extent, even in regard to Western Asia. The problem of national autonomies in Asia would, then, be left to be solved by the different peoples and their suzerain powers themselves, and all hands would be off during these trials. Asia is, thus, in a fair way to gradually remove her contribution from the causes of European rivalries and of the European problem of Armaments. The real cause is supplied just now, very largely, by the African carcass. The process of European exploitation in Asiatic territory has well-nigh come to its farthest limits. There is but little for its further expansion. It is, however, different with Africa. There are immense tracts of African territory which are, as yet, according to European estimates really no man's territory. More than one great European Power has got a foothold, and even more than a foothold, in Africa, but yet the entire continent has not as yet been completely cut up into spheres of European influence. The possibilities of Africa have not been exhausted. We know practically nothing of African culture, outside Egypt and the Moslem zone. What is the past of the Negro races, and what their future possibilities, not as Mullattos or as other any Europeanised blend and brand,—but in their original race-characteristic and race-culture, we do not know. What literature, what history, what culture and what civilisation the dark races have at their back, or if they have any at all, are absolutely unknown to the modern world; it is not sure if they are even known to themselves. And in view of it, the absolute appropriation of these African territories, beyond Egypt, by the European Powers seems almost an absolute certainty. And this is Europe's great temptation today. It is this that really stands at the back of these enormous and perpetually increasing military preparations of the larger European Powers.

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ARMAMENTS AND IMPERIALISM.

The question of Armaments is, thus, not at all, really, a question of national self-defence, but of imperial protection and expansion. And if these increased and ever-increasing armaments are a real menace to civilisation, as more than one eminent European and American politician have repeatedly declared—including Mr. Roosevelt—then, one must agree with Mr. Frederick Mackarness, and say that here, as well as in regard to many other matters of supreme ethical import to universal humanity,—Imperialism is the enemy.

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IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM.

And Imperialism, in our day, has really only one meaning. Capitalism. The modern Empire is essentially a capitalist organisation, built up and run by the great profit-making classes of the various European countries. Capitalism is, therefore, the real and insidious enemy; and the final solution of this problem of armaments will come from the dethronement of Capitalism as the ruling force in modern European politics, both national and international. The cure of this evil will ultimately come from the growth of true nationalism outside Europe, and the advance of socialism or Social Democracy in the different European countries. And both these movements are visibly making headway. This is the most hopeful sign of an otherwise hopeless situation.

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THE SOCIALIST UTOPIA.

The philosophy of socialism is yet in a state of fluidity. Socialism is, indeed, hardly a philosophy yet. There are various phases of socialist thought. To the vast majority of socialists it is only an economic idea. This excessive economic emphasis of present-day socialism is due to the teachings of Carl Marx, regarded, practically, as the founder of this new thought movement in Europe; for Marx made the strange attempt of reducing every form of social life and evolution, ultimately, to the results of economic life and organisation. This is, really, the application of pure biological formulas and generalisations to the interpretation of human evolution and social

phenomena. There is an elementary and basal biological plane in man; and so far as this biological plane is concerned, economic laws and institutions, which so vitally affect man's food and general animal existence, have undoubtedly a very substantial hold on human evolution. But man is a good deal more than an animal. This fact is, however, practically ignored by the materialistic schools of socialism. Fortunately, however, they are not the only schools of socialistic thought in our day. Side by side with this economic and materialistic socialism, there is also a large movement of what is called Christian Socialism, which while not ignoring the economic relations of social phenomena and social evolution, acknowledges and works upon higher moral and spiritual assumptions. It is from this branch of modern socialistic thought that, I think, the ultimate philosophy of socialism will come. In the mean time all schools of socialism, whether purely economic or properly ethical and spiritual, are ardent advocates of internationalism and peace and it seems very likely that the true and effective cure of the evil of modern armaments in Europe will come from them.

In the first place, every school of socialism, whether Marxian or Christian, whether economic or spiritual, materialistic or theistic, are agreed upon one thing, namely, that Capitalism is an enemy of social progress and humanity. And Capitalism is the real promoter of international jealousies and wars, and is consequently the actual creator of these ruinous armaments. Capitalism is the universal enemy. In the next place, every school of Socialism declares that Labour is international. The problems of labour in one country are essentially the same as those of another country. The brotherhood of the workers all the world over is a reality: they are brothers to-day in a common deprivation and dependency, they will be brothers in the future in a common possession and a common freedom. This is the vision of all schools of socialism. They differ in their world-outlook. They differ in their methods. But they are all united in this glorious vision of a social future where there shall be neither affluence nor penury, neither master nor slave, neither war nor

invasion, but every man shall work and live, and enjoy life, and grow to his own proper stature, in body and mind and morals, as the result of the coming social reconstruction, and all nations shall be united in a common bond of fellowship and mutual helpfulness, for the furtherance of a common humanity. This is the new Utopia.

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STRIKES AS THE CURE OF WAR.

And socialists think, and it seems not very wildly either, that in the gradual expansion and organisation of their Socialism or Social Democracy, they will find an effective way to put a stop to these warlike preparations, by making war altogether impossible in the coming Socialistic Era. Wars are mainly made by the Capitalists. That, at least, is the socialist view. The actualities of European history of our own times, largely support this view. The workers are not interested in these murderous conflicts between one nation and another. On the contrary while these wars are created by the capitalists, they have, actually to be paid for, both in money and in life and blood, by the proletariat. War taxes are not borne by the rich alone. Hitherto a war tax has very frequently meant a tax on tea or sugar or tobacco or beer, on the few simple luxuries accessible to the poor. A war tax is usually an indirect tax, and all indirect taxes are taxes more on the poor than on the rich. And the poor have also to supply the men who fight for the capitalist war-makers. This fact is being increasingly realised by the working classes all over Europe. The peace movement has therefore more ardent supporters among these classes than among any others. This was proved by the recent Peace Demonstration in the Albert Hall, London; which was a Demonstration of the world's workers against war and the perpetual preparedness for war of the larger European states. Spokesmen from almost all the European countries, representing the social democracy of their respective states were present at this Demonstration. And, if I remember aright, this great gathering of the representatives of Social Democracy from every European country, declared that it is the distinct duty of the world's workers

to make a determined resistance against war, by the labourers of belligerent countries going immediately on strike, upon the declaration of a war, and thereby paralysing their respective Governments and making them utterly unfit to conduct a successful campaign against another nation. The *recipe* looks splendid on paper; how far it will work in practice, remains yet to be seen. It will be effective, perhaps, if properly engineered and successfully organised, upon a very extensive scale, as long as the present conflict between capital and labour lasts. But after these issues are settled, what then? When the competition between rival profit-making classes are destroyed, with the destruction of the classes themselves, will or will there not be an equal competition between the workers of one nation and those of another? There is a Social Philosophy which has no place for the present systems of competitive economies but is a highly spiritual philosophy, at eternal war with both modern capitalism and modern materialism. It is based upon the highest ideals of Humanitarianism,—a conception of Humanity that has not as yet visibly dawned upon the European consciousness. Once more,—the only school of Socialism that has any glimpse of this larger ideal of Humanity are the Christian Socialists. If true Christian Socialism guides and controls the social revolution in Europe, the dream of the Socialists will be realised. If not, then, the present capitalist competitions that mainly cause wars, will be replaced by the fiercer competitions of rival communities of producers and workers, which instead of banishing them, will be likely to add to the bitterness and brutality of these international conflicts. In the meantime, however, as long as Socialism is fighting with Capitalism, it will make these international quarrels more and more rare. Even that is no small gain.

The immediate check upon the warlike propensities of the dominant European nations will come thus from two causes, first from the growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa—the present territorial carcasses that excite the cupidity of the European Powers; and second from the increasing strength and organisation of social democracy in Europe.

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III PROBLEMS OF CIVILISATION.

CIVILISATION ON ITS TRIAL.

Indeed, the rejuvenescence of the old and decadent Asiatic Cultures is needed not merely in the interest of world-peace, but it is necessary equally, if not even more, for the very life of what is known as modern civilisation. This civilisation is just now upon its trial. In politics, in economics, in sociology, in ethics, in art and religion, this civilisation has built itself upon theories that are being threatened on all sides with complete collapse. A new criticism is abroad. New doubts and new questions have been raised. In politics the civilised ideal is democracy. This noble ideal is Europe's heritage in the French Revolution. And, therefore, it has the taint of its heredity,—a lack of spiritual perception, and an overemphasis on the doctrine or dogma of Right, which is, after all merely a formula of resistance, and not a true principle of Association. Rights, therefore, are being claimed and even violently asserted, without any regard to the responsibilities that every right carries with it. The French Revolution thought that the Declaration of the Rights of Man, would bring in the Millenium. Thrones were overthrown, ancient aristocracies were made homeless and destitute, churches were robbed, the entire social and political fabric was torn up, without thought or care, so that the new order of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity might be established among men. Democracy came, in its own way; but the Millenium has not come, and shows no sign of coming either. Instead of liberty we have economic slavery. In place of equality we have new inequalities. Instead of fraternity we have an almost universal class-war. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,—are mere cant, the merest shadow of a shadow now.

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THE REIGN OF SHAMS.

In fact, with all our struggles of more than a century, we have only been able to establish a reign of glorious shams in our midst. Our representative government is a huge sham. Our social freedom is another huge sham. And the hugest of all

our current shams, is our claim of mastery over Nature, which we fancy we have so successfully established through scientific researches and discoveries. We have got the franchise, but franchise does not create freedom, it simply offers an instrument to freedom to realise itself in the life of the State. Freedom is not a political right, but a mental and moral quality. Political rights are necessary for its due development and fulfilment, but they cannot create the quality of freedom. True freedom can never grow in an atmosphere of perpetual subjection to the outer conditions and orderings of life. To the truly free man—

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron-bars a cage!"

but the secret of this freedom has not yet been discovered by modern civilisation. European democracy has, to a large extent, got the vote: but these votes are practically controlled not by the voters, but by their economic masters, and social superiors. At one time, votes were openly sold; now they are secretly influenced by the same means,—temptations of gain or threats of loss. Workers can hardly disregard the displeasure of their masters and vote against the candidates whom these masters support. The tenants cannot ignore the wishes of their landlords. Absolutely under subjection to the crying needs of their animal existence, how can these people be free from the control of those who hold in their hands all the means of satisfying these animal needs? True freedom grows through the curtailment, and not the continual expansion and multiplication, of the necessities of our outer life. But this is a secret which civilisation has yet to learn. It does not seem, as yet, to have any clear perception of this fundamental truth.

The actualities of our present civilisation have, to some extent, commenced to be realised. One hears, thus, on all sides, that the people, even in this country, do not really govern themselves, but are despotically ruled by a small class or clique, who occupy the two front benches in the British House of Commons. At almost every socialist gathering, one frequently hears this complaint. Not only the voters, but even those whom they return to Parliament, do not enjoy any real freedom. Hon'ble M. P.'s have to vote not according to the dicta-

tes of their own conscience or conviction, but to the direction of the official Whip of the Party to which they belong. Recent revelations have proved that members of Parliament do not, really, enjoy even the right of free discussion in the House: no member whose name is not on the list submitted to the Speaker by the Party-whips, has any great chance of having his say upon any matter, under the consideration of the House. These are notorious facts, openly acknowledged on all sides; though the socialists are the only body who publicly use them as evidence of the hollowness of popular freedom in this country. And they claim to have discovered a remedy to this crying sham, in their particular scheme of social and economic reconstruction.

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FROM THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE.

But will this socialistic scheme of political and economic reconstruction, further these ends? The demand of socialism is, mainly, for what is described as the "socialisation" or "nationalisation" of all means of production. These means of production are, at the present time, in the possession of the profit-making classes: land, the store-house of all agricultural and mineral wealth, is the private property of individuals and families. The agricultural labourer who actually produces all the wealth from the womb of mother earth, has to pay a price to the landlord for permission to till his land and get his and the community's food out of it. The socialists demand that this iniquitous state of things should be stopped. Land was originally tribal property, it was no man's own, but an instrument of production used by the producer himself. Once more the land should become the property of the nation; private ownership in land must cease. The other means of production—plants and machinery—all these also should be nationalised, no individual should be allowed to hold proprietary right over these, and draw a profit out of their use and working for his private and personal benefit. These are the main demands of modern socialism. It says that there shall be no profit-making classes in the community; but all men must work for their living, and contribute, according to

their endowments and equipments, to the general work of Society. There shall be no drone in the social hive; but all men shall be workers and brothers. The division of society into the aristocracy and the proletariat, into masters and men, landlords and tenants,—all these unjust and harmful distinctions shall be absolutely abolished. This is the Socialist Utopia. As a protest against the existing capitalist social arrangement, the Socialistic propaganda is doing excellent work. The protest is necessary. It is essential. But what may be an excellent and effective protest, may not, at the same time, be also an equally effective solution of the problem that evokes the angry protest. And it seems to me that Socialism, in its popular sense, which is emphatically economic and Marxian,—offers hardly any rational solution of the present economic problems of civilisation. Least of all is its *recipe* likely to emancipate modern humanity from its present soul-killing thralldom.

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SOCIALISM AND BUREAUCRACY.

The most fatal objection against the Socialistic reconstruction of the social and the political life is that it would call into being a Bureaucracy, the most powerful the world has as yet known. It is, in fact, already being recognised by thoughtful students of modern European history, that the transference of the modern means of production from private proprietary, to State-ownership, which is the only conceivable form that "socialisation" or "nationalisation" of these may take, would inevitably lead to the creation of a most powerful bureaucracy in the State, a Bureaucracy that would endanger popular freedom far more seriously than even the present capitalist and class rule have been able to do. The "means of production" will not produce of themselves. You want human labour to work these. Whatever may be said of the older methods of agriculture, it is inconceivable that we shall ever be able to work the huge plants and machinery that form the mightiest means of modern production, without the factory system, which will have, therefore, to be maintained, even in the Socialist Utopia, though under infinitely improved conditions both as regards the wealth and

happiness of the congregated operatives. Apart from these improved conditions, the only difference between the present capitalist factory system, and the future Socialist factory system will be that the works will be public property, worked under the supervision of public officials. Thus all the activities of the Socialist State will be controlled by a body of practically permanent officials. Machinery can not be run except by trained experts; and foremen of works cannot be changed with every General Election. The realisation of Socialism will, thus, mean the inevitable installation of an almost all-powerful Bureaucracy as the controlling and directing agency of the national life. Will the cure, then, be any way better than the disease?

The real difficulties of this "nationalisation," so far as the worker's freedom is concerned, will come from the general public support that this new Bureaucracy will almost always receive in their dealings with the nation's operatives. At present if the employer maltreats the workers they can go on strike and paralyse his works, and the fear of losing his profits and risking his capital operates as a strong healthy influence on him. But in the case of nationalised industries, the personal interests being eliminated, this healthy fear will also be inoperative. On the other hand, the general interests of the community being involved in the stoppage of work in nationalised factories, or State Departments, general public opinion, outside the particular class affected by or involved in the struggle, will naturally be on the side of the Bureaucracy, as against their employee. This is a real danger. It became clearly manifest a few months ago, in connection with the Railway workers' strike in France. It was seen then that public employees cannot expect to obtain redress of their grievances from their actual employers, the departmental officials of the State, by means which they could easily and effectively employ in the case of private proprietors. Strikes, regarded as quite legitimate in the inevitable disputes between a private proprietor of works and his men, are really acts of treason, when used against the State, even in its capacity as employer of labour. These considerations are clearly

brought out in a recent publication—"The New Social Democracy"—by Mr. F. H. Harley, who says—(as quoted by the *Nation*)

"The whole situation suggests that the economic evolution is not going to develop on the lines laid down by State Socialists, and that it is not in the interests of working men that it should. If the result of collectivist control is to bring forward proposals for depriving the men in State industries of some of the most important civic rights; if it is treason for the State railwaymen to propose a strike, or for the State match-box girls to be advised by the Women's Industrial Council, then the workers in these industries will begin seriously to ask whether these Socialist proposals really confirm them in any valuable measure of economic freedom."

MASTERY OF NATURE!

But it is not only in economics or politics, but in other departments of life also, modern civilisation is on its trial and evidences are accumulating on all sides, which, when duly sifted and considered, will be bound to lead to an unfavourable verdict. Failure is writ large upon all its achievements. Its so-called mastery over Nature, instead of freeing men has, on the contrary, increased and intensified his servitude. Under a similitude of nominal freedom, man's real bondage has enormously increased with the advancement of modern science. Scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions, that, under normal social conditions, should have lessened man's physical burdens, curtailed the necessities of labour and expanded the opportunities of leisure, have produced quite the opposite results. The modern working man in civilisation has to work harder and gets lesser leisure than his forbears. And the reason of it is not that he earns less for a definite amount of work today than his predecessors did for the same amount of work; often times, indeed, he earns much more, but that he wants much more than what he can easily earn. It is this abnormal expansion of wants, which is a sign of modern civilisation, that has made the modern man, despite all his pretensions to mastery over nature, more of a slave than any galley slaves ever were in the past. For, let us always bear this in mind that real slavery is not where the stronger brute in one person dominates and directs the feeble brute in another, but where one person, forgetting the indefeasible rights and dignities of his or her natal manhood

or womanhood, submits to the fashions and follies of the times, and allows the brute or the animal in him or her, to control and rule the true spirit within. Indeed there are far greater opportunities for real freedom and the development of true manhood and womanhood, in the simple life of Asia, than there are in all our modern western civilisation. And signs of a healthy reaction are already visible on all sides. The cry for the simple life has already been raised. As I write, a simple life conference and exhibition are in session at Westminster. The attempt is good; but we shall require a thorough overhauling of all our civilised institutions before the old ideal of plain living and high thinking can get any chance of realisation among us. But at this juncture, when our boasted civilisation has got the search light of a new criticism suddenly turned upon it, Asiatic, and more particularly Indian, experience is

likely to be of infinite value to modern humanity. It may be the salvation of Europe, and thereby the salvation of Asia too. For Asia is still under the spell of Europe. But the East in her present position will not be able to lead Europe into the new light. She must at first find herself: recover her own consciousness and strength; bring herself out of the dead past, into the living, moving present. For it is then, and only then, that she will be able to lead the new renaissance for which the dried up heart and soul of Europe is waiting. It will be a bad day for Asia, and bad for the world also, if the revived consciousness of her peoples were to be overcome by the casualties of the modern life and if the Asiatic peoples rise out of their age-long slumber simply to make Asia a second Europe—individualistic and capitalistic, materialistic and unspiritual.

London, March 24th, 1911.

THE IMPACT OF EUROPE ON INDIA

(FROM THE BENGALI OF RAVINDRA-NATH TAGORE).

I.

WE Indians are an old people—very ancient and very much worn out. I often feel in myself the immense antiquity of our race. Whenever I look carefully within, I find there only pensiveness, repose, and world-weariness,—as if there were a long holiday within me and without,—as if we had finished our office-work, in the morning of the world's history, so that now in this hot noon when all other nations are busy at their tasks, *we* are resting peacefully within closed doors. We have earned our wages to the full, retired from active life, and are now living on pension. What a tranquil life is ours!

But now all of a sudden we find our circumstances changed. The rent-free land we had got long long ago has been escheated to the State under the new regime, as we have failed to show a valid title-deed. We

have suddenly turned poor! We too must now toil and pay rent like the peasants of the world. This ancient race has been suddenly called upon to put forth new efforts.

Therefore, we must quit meditation, quit repose, quit the cosy nook of the home. It will no longer do for us to remain absorbed in Sanskrit Grammar and Logic, Hindu Theology and Law, or daily rites and domestic duties. We must break clods of earth, fertilise the soil, and pay the due revenue to the king of Modern Humanity;—we must study in colleges, dine at hotels, and work in offices.

Alas! who has demolished the city wall of India and dragged us out into this vast and unsheltered field of work? We had thrown up intellectual embankments round ourselves, dammed up the stream of Time, and were reposing quietly with all things arranged to our liking. Restless Change roared incessantly outside India like the encircling sea, but *we* sat rooted amidst unshaken tranquillity and forgot the exis-

tence of the moving changing universe outside. Just then through some loophole the ever-restless human stream poured into our country and tore up our social order, it mingled the new with our old, doubt with our belief, discontent with our prevailing content, and thereby threw all into confusion.

If the mountain and sea barriers round us had been more thoroughly impassable, a race of men could have found the means of attaining to a contracted development in peaceful stillness amidst their obscure and isolating barrier walls. They would have learnt little of what was happening in the world, their knowledge of Geography would have been very imperfect. Only their poetry, their social system, their theology, their philosophy would have gained matchless beauty, charm, and maturity. They would have seemed to be living in some smaller orb outside our earth; their history, arts, science, wealth and happiness would have been confined to themselves,—even as in time layers of earth cut off a part of the sea, and turn it into a lonely, peaceful and lovely lake which flushes with the varied colours of the dawn and the sunset without even being thrown into a ripple, and in the darkness of the night, under the winkless stars, broods in motionless abstraction over the eternal mystery.

True, we can learn a very strong lesson and win a hardy civilisation, by being tossed about in the swift current of Time, at the centre of tumultuous Change, in the battlefield of Nature's countless Forces. But can we say that no gem is to be acquired by diving within solitude, silence and profoundness?

No other race in this raging ocean of a world got the chance of that stillness. Methinks India alone in a far off age by good luck attained to that perfect isolation, and dived into the Unfathomable. The human soul is limitless like the material universe. It is sheer scepticism to say that those who had explored that undiscovered inner world did not gain any new truth or new bliss.

India was then like a secluded mysterious laboratory closed from within,—a wonderful moral civilisation has been secretly tested within her. As the alchemists of mediæval Europe buried themselves in their secret studies to search for the *elixir vitae*

with the help of many strange instruments,—so did our sages in secrecy and caution search for the means of eternal *spiritual* life. They asked themselves, 'What shall we do with things that cannot give us immortality?' (*Upanishads*) And so they sought within themselves for that elixir of immortality by the most difficult processes.

Who can say what such a quest would have gained [if it had not been interrupted]? Who can say what secret new power would have been discovered for man from their ascetic devotion, just as alchemy has gained chemistry for us?

But suddenly the doors have been forced; men of violence have entered that holy laboratory of India, and the result of that spiritual experiment has been lost to the public for ever. Who knows if we shall ever again have the same full opportunity of making this experiment, amidst the tumult of modern civilisation?

What did the men of the outer world see on entering this laboratory of ours? An age-worn hermit, without raiment, without ornament, ignorant of the world's history—who tried to speak of a subject which even now lacks an adequately expressive language, ocular proof, and tangible result.

Therefore, rise thou, pensive unworldly old man! Get up, and engage in political agitation, or lie in the bed of slothfulness, proclaim the valour of your long past youth, brandish your skeleton frame, and see if this conduct can hide your shame.

But such a course repels me. I cannot venture to steer into this vast world ocean with only a sail of newspaper sheets. When the wind is gentle and favourable, this sail will swell with pride; but suddenly a tempest may blow from the sea and tear into shreds our helpless pride.

If it had been so ordained that there was a safe harbour named Progress somewhere hard by, and we had only to reach it any how in order to have all cakes and no work,—then no doubt I might have tried to cleverly cross to it after carefully watching the sky for an easy voyage. But I know that there is no terminus in the road of progress, there is no harbour where we can anchor our boat and enjoy a sleep,—ever the unsetting Polestar over head and the shoreless sea in front,—the wind most often

adverse, and the sea always rough. Who in such a case would wish to spend his time merely in making toy-boats of foolscap paper?

Yet I long to launch a boat of my own, when I see the stream of humanity moving on, all around me the mingled din of many sounds, impetuous forces, swift advance, ceaseless labour;—then my heart too is roused, I too wish to cut off my old ties with home and set out in the wide wide world. But ah! the next moment I look at my empty hands, and ask myself, where have I the fare for the voyage? Where have I the boundless hope of heart, the tireless strength of vitality, the unconquerable vigour of confidence [of Europe]? Then it is better for me to live thus in obscurity in a corner of the world, it is enough if I can have this low content and lifeless repose.

Then in idle quiet I console myself by arguing, "We cannot manufacture machines, we cannot unravel the secrets of the universe, but we can *love*, we can *forgive*, we can *let live*. What's the good of roving restlessly in pursuit of ambition? What's the harm if we remain in an obscure corner, what's the harm if our names do not figure in the world's herald, *The Times* newspaper?"

But there is among us sorrow, there is poverty, oppression by the strong, insult of the helpless;—how would you remedy these by retiring to obscurity and practising the domestic virtues and charity to others?

Ah, that is the bitter TRAGEDY OF INDIA! Against what shall we fight? Against the eternal cruelty of the untamed human nature;—against that stone whose sterile hardness has not yet been softened by the pure blood of Christ! How shall we overcome the primitive animal instinct which makes Strength ever cruel to Weakness? By holding meetings? By submitting petitions? Receiving in reply a boon to-day and a reprimand to-morrow? No, never.

If not, we are to match the strong in strength, are we? That is possible no doubt. But when I reflect how very strong Europe is and in how many ways, when I fully realise within and without this impetuous strength of Europe, what hope of success is left in me? Then [my heart sinks and] I feel disposed to cry out, "Come, brothers, let us practise patience, let us love and do good

only. Let our little work in the world be genuine work and not sham. It is the chief danger of Incapacity that as it fails to achieve great works, it prefers great make-beliefs. It knows not that in attaining to humanity a small truth is more valuable than a big unreality."

But I have not come here to read a lecture to you. I have been only trying to examine for myself our real condition. For this purpose we should neither depict an imaginary age by quoting favourable texts from our ancient Vedas, Puranas, and Samhitas, nor should we erect a huge fort of ambition on the slender basis of our new modern education, by merging ourselves fancifully in the character and history of another race; we must see where we *really* stand now. From our present position we behold the mirages of the Past coming from the East and of the Future from the West. Without looking upon either of these two as reliable truths, let us examine the solid earth on which we stand.

We live in a decayed old town,—a town so old that its history is wellnigh lost, its monuments carved by the human hand are buried under moss. Hence we are apt to mistake this city for a thing outside human history, as an ancient capital of eternal Nature. Nature has effaced the marks of human history from India and spread her own green characters all over our land in diverse forms. A thousand years' rain has left its streak of tears here; a thousand years' spring has receded in verdure the date of its visit on every chink of its foundation. From one point of view it is a city, from another a forest. Here dwell only shade and repose, thought and sorrow. Amidst its forest resonant with the hum of the beetle, amidst its fantastic Banyan branches dropping long slender roots to the ground, and its mysterious old palace ruins, we are apt to mistake countless shades for bodied beings, and bodied beings for mere visions! Amidst this primeval all-embracing shade, Truth and Fancy live peacefully together like brother and sister, *i.e.*, the real handiwork of Nature and the subjective creation of the human Mind have thoroughly intertwined and built shady arbours of various shapes. Here boys and girls play the livelong day without knowing that it is play only. Here old people dream day-

dreams and believe it to be work! When the noontide rays of the sun from the outer world enter in at the crevices of our roof, we mistake them for bits of gem! The fierce storms of the outer world are so effectually barred out by our hundreds of closely interwoven branches that we hear them only as gentle sighings of the wind! Here Life and Death, Joy and Sorrow, Hope and Despair, have removed their dividing lines; here Fatalism and Activity, Indifference and Worldliness have marched arm in arm. The useful and the unnecessary, the Supreme Deity and clay idols, the uprooted withered Past and the newly budding living Present, have been equally valued. Our true scripture lies where it has fallen down, and in our indolent piety we have not tried to remove the thousand ceremonies which have covered our scripture as with an ant-hill. We venerate equally as our sacred lore the letters of the book and the holes, made by the book-worms in its pages! In our ruined temples, split by the roots of the Banyan tree, gods and goblins have taken shelter together.

Europe! is such a country a suitable place for pitching your cantonments for the Armageddon? Are our ruined foundations suitable for erecting your factories, and the workshops of your fire-spitting thousand-armed iron demons? The force of your restless energy can raze to the ground our old brick heaps; but where then will this very ancient bed-ridden race of men find shelter? If you destroy this motionless dense and vast forest of a city, its presiding old Dryad will be turned homeless after losing her intensely secluded abode of a thousand dead years!

Our subtlest thinkers declare it our greatest glory that for long ages we have not built any house with our own hands, we have not practised that art! This boast of theirs is very true, true beyond the possibility of contradiction. We had indeed never had occasion to quit the ancestral home of the very ancient primeval man. We have never, when troubled by any inconvenience, presumed to build a new house or repair our old one with our own hands! No, not even our enemies can accuse us of having displayed such activity or care for the material world!

In this dense forest deserted by its wood-

goddess, in this dilapidated city left onely of its tutelary deity, we clothe ourselves in loose thin robes, step about languidly, take a nap after our midday meal, play at cards or chess in the shade, very readily believe whatever is impossible and outside the range of the practical world, and can never fully conquer our scepticism about every thing that is practical or visible! And if any young man among us displays a feather-weight of unrest against this social order, we all gravely shake our heads and cry out together, "This is running to an extreme!"

So lived we, when Europe suddenly arrived, we know not whence, vigorously nudged our worn ribs once or twice and shouted, "Get up! We want to set up an office in this your bedroom. Don't imagine that the world was sleeping because you were sleeping. The world has greatly changed in the meantime. There goes the bell; it is the world's noonday, it is work time."

At this, some of us have started up and are fussing about the corners of the room in search of the work for themselves. But ~~the~~ fat and puffed up among us only turn in their beds and reply, "Hullo! who talks of work? Do you mean to say that we are not men of action? What a sad delusion! India has been the only field of action in the world's history.....If you will not believe us, dig up with your antiquarian spade the layers of oblivion accumulated by ages over India, and you will see the marks of our hand on the foundations of human civilisation. In the meantime, we shall take another nap.".....

But those of us who dream day-dreams, who waver between thought and action, who realise the rottenness of the old order and yet feel the imperfections of the new, --they repeatedly shake their heads and address Europe thus:

"O New Men of the West, the new work you have begun has not yet reached completion, the truth or falsity of the whole of it has not been yet ascertained, you have not yet solved any of the eternal problems of human destiny.

"You have known much, you have acquired much, but have you gained happiness? We sit down inertly regarding the material universe as a mere illusion, while you hold to it as an eternal verity and toil and moil for it; but are you therefore happier than

we? You are daily discovering new wants, which deepen the poverty of the poor; you are dragging your population away from the healthy refuge of the home to the whirl of incessant work; you have crowned Toil as the supreme lord of life, and seated Intoxication in the chair of Repose. But can you clearly foresee where your vaunted Progress is leading you?

"We know full well where *we* have arrived. We live at home, feeling few wants and deep affection, being mutually linked together, and performing our small daily social duties. What little of happiness and wealth we gained, we have distributed among our rich and poor, stranger and kinsmen, guests, servants and beggars. Our whole society is passing its days in as much happiness as is possible [under the circumstances]; none wishes to exclude others, and none is compelled by the struggle for existence [in such a "low standard" society] to exclude others.

"India never asked for pleasure. India asked for contentment, and that contentment she got and established in every department in all possible ways. So now

she has no work to do. She would rather sit down in her parlour and gaze on your mad life struggle and so feel a secret doubt about the final triumph of your civilisation. She may well doubt whether, when the day will at last arrive for you to stop your work, you will be able to retire to quiet as gently and easily as we have done. Will you be able to attain to a delicate and hearty maturity like ours? Will you succeed in gaining a sweet completion, such as comes when effort gradually loses itself in the thing aimed at, or when the hot day, clothing itself in the fulness of its beauty, dips in the darkness of sunset? Or, will your civilisation rather end in a violent and terrible catastrophe, as when a machine is suddenly thrown out of work, a boiler bursts after accumulating excessive steam and heat, or two railway trains running towards each other on the same track crash together in a sudden collision?

"Be that as it may, you have now set out to discover the unknown shore of an unexplored ocean. Go your own way, while we stay in our old home. That is best."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE PLAGUE IN INDIA AND THE DUTY OF THE STATE

IT is significant that though the plague has been in India for a far longer period and has killed a much larger number of men than in Manchuria, yet the British people seem to be more interested in investigating and putting an end to the epidemic in the latter country than in their own Indian possessions. Does it go against their grain to admit that there can be something wrong in their administration of India which may be a cause of the plague? Has their self-love produced an ingrained belief that whereas in other lands epidemics may be due to human causes over which man has control, in British India they must be due either to purely natural causes or to the perversity of Indian human nature? Or does it give them greater pleasure to find fault with others than with their own kinsmen in India? Anyhow, Professor Simpson,

the famous authority on plague, has been led to write that the rise of plague in India after a period of healing probably portends renewed activity, and to ask what is going to be done to prevent it. While 20,000 Chinese died of plague in three months, 20,000 Indians are dying weekly, says Professor Simpson, and he urges that British money be employed for the relief of India and not of China.*

* Dr. Simpson's figures for India are an underestimate, as will appear from the following telegram from the morning papers:—

PLAGUE MORTALITY.

LAST WEEK'S FIGURES.
(Associated Press of India.)

Simla, April 20th.

The plague mortality during the last week totalled 37,348 against 42,363 cases. The provincial figures are:—Bombay Presidency 1,640 deaths. Madras 48, Bengal 3,283, United Provinces 21,275, Punjab 8,990

But how can India be relieved? Will any superficial remedies do or must one go to the very root of the matter? The outstanding conclusions of the Scientific Commission which was appointed in 1905 to investigate the causation of plague related only to the agency by which plague spreads, the vehicle of contagion and the duration of life of the plague germ. *But what is the cause of plague?* Let us see.

The disease known as plague, which claims hundreds of thousands of victims every year in India, committed ravages also in many other countries in times past. It has been most associated with poverty. Not to go to the very remote past, we find it prevailing in Europe in the Middle Ages, when it was called the "Black Death." It is worthwhile knowing the condition of Europe which favoured its existence. Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his work on "Social Evolution" writes:—

"No glamor can hide the wretchedness of the masses of the people throughout the early stages of the history of the European peoples. Their position was, at best, but one of slavery slightly modified. The worse than animal conditions to which they were subject, the unwholesome food on which they lived, and the state of general destitution in which they lived, must, in all probability, be held to be associated with the general prevalence in Europe late into the middle ages of widely prevalent diseases that have since become extinct. The terrible "plague" epidemics periodically devastated Europe on a scale and to an extent which the modern world has no experience of, and which we can only very imperfectly realise. After the break-up of military feudalism the condition of things was little better. The people were crushed under the weight of rents, services, taxations and exactions of all kinds. Trade, commerce, industry and agriculture were harassed, restricted and impoverished by the multitude of burthens imposed on them—burthens which only during the last hundred years have been lightened or removed in most Western countries."—P. 222.

Is not the material condition of the people of India similar to that of the people of Europe in the Middle Ages?

In the Middle Ages, the Christian nations of Europe were sunk in ignorance and superstition, and they were also poverty-stricken. There were no industries worth speaking of in these Christian countries. As a consequence, plague was very prevalent in Europe. The Jews in Europe were better

educated and more opulent than their Christian neighbours, and hence they did not suffer from the disease to the same extent as the Christians. It was this fact which made the Christians believe that the Jews caused and propagated the disease by poisoning the wells and water-supply, and so the innocent Jews were tortured and burnt to death by Christians. In times of panic, there are always excesses and so no wonder that the panic-stricken Christians were guilty of oppressing and ill-treating their Jewish neighbours.

The Christian nations of Europe, as said above, were subject to plague in the Middle Ages. But why are they not so now? There is no racial or color immunity. The real explanation lies in the fact that within the last three centuries, European nations by the development of industries and the cultivation of the arts and sciences and by sending away their surplus poor population to other lands for the purpose of colonization, have grown rich, and so plague does not find a favourite soil in Christian countries now. Sanitary improvements can be fully carried out in wealthy communities alone. Plague being a disease of dirt and filth, and consequently of poverty, the real remedial measure for its eradication lies in improving the material condition of a community. In his Treatise on Plague, Dr. Simpson, the late Health Officer of Calcutta, who is a well-known authority on the subject, writes:—

"Plague commits its greatest ravages on people subject to depressing influences."

"It is on this hypothesis that the varying degrees of susceptibility of communities is explained, that the influence of race, age, sex, comes into play, and that social and political forces, so far as they affect the food, welfare and condition of the people, are important factors in the spread of plague. Plague has nearly always committed its greatest ravages on people whose vitality has been depressed by war, internecine conflicts, scarcity and famine.

"The ravages committed by the two great pandemics of plague in 543 and 1348, and the great prevalence of plague during the Mahomedan supremacy in the East and in Eastern Europe, have been attributed to social, economical, and political conditions, which at the time caused a decline in the general prosperity of the people affected, and rendered them more susceptible to the disease." Simpson's *Plague*, p. 172.

That plague is mainly a disease of the poor will appear from the following ex-

Burma 106, Central Provinces 397, Mysore 40, Hyderabad 75, Rajputana 1403, N. W. Frontier 18, Kashmere 69, and Eastern Bengal 4 (all imported cases, one in Dacca and two in Jalpaiguri).

tracts also from Dr. Simpson's work on that epidemic :—

"The plague, now as formerly, is largely a disease of the poor, and perhaps falls proportionately more heavily than any other infection on the lower strata of society. At one time, it acquired the name of the beggars' disease, at another the poor plague, and at another *miseriae morbus*.

"Dr. Cabiadis in contrasting the immunity of Kerbela with the prevalence of plague in Hillah attributes the difference to the prosperous condition of the inhabitants of the former place, even the poorest class enjoying a meat diet, and to the spacious and well-aired houses, though the streets are narrow and crooked. He points out that Hillah is the very reverse of this; its houses are low, confined, and very imperfectly ventilated; they are, moreover, generally encumbered with a horse, with poultry, and with two or three buffaloes. These animals constitute the resources whence the lower classes of Hillah derive a livelihood by selling milk and eggs to the wealthier inhabitants, while they themselves limit their own nourishment to barley bread, dates, and onions with sometimes fish in a putrescent state."

We cannot repeat it too often that plague is a poor man's disease. Unless the material condition of the people of India improves, armies of European and Indian doctors and inoculators with regiments of rat-killers will not be able to put a stop to its ravages. It will be out of place here to discuss whether our poverty is increasing, stationary or decreasing. The real fact to be recognised and attended to is that there is widespread and appalling poverty in the land. Here is the testimony of a competent and unbiassed observer:—

"India leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce."

Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, for they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are found against the light of the dawn, and move across the great red sun as it sets in the west, and one wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed, * *."

"The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre comfort, and a little above the nearest reach of starvation."

".....At night there is no dark alley without the sleeping figure of the homeless man."

"These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifice to cholera, famine, and plague. Plague will slay 20,000 in a week, cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year, and the famine of one well-remembered time accounted for five-and-a-quarter millions of dead people." *The Other Side of the Lantern*, by Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., Surgeon-in-ordinary to H. M. the King, Surgeon-in-ordinary to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

India has now become the home of the plague because the people are reduced to rank poverty by the economic causes which have been introduced since the establishment of British rule. All those industries which flourished in India about a century ago and which maintained millions of her population have been destroyed. Offices of the State which by their birth-right, the children of the soil are entitled to hold, are reserved for those who are birds of passage in India. To maintain this class of official bureaucracy in glory and dignity, there is, to quote the words of Herbert Spencer, "pitiless taxation which deprives a peasant of half his produce." But the official bureaucracy do not reside in India permanently, they do not make it their home. They come here for a time to shake the pagoda tree and take out of the country all their savings. Then India has to provide them with fat pensions. The resources of India are being thus drained away. The people are depressed, and famines have become of almost yearly occurrence. No wonder then that plague should find such a favourite soil to thrive in. The stamping out of plague, then, is more a socio-political and economical question than a medical one. Better the economical condition of the people, and they will be able to resist the inroads of the disease. More than a quarter of a century ago, the late Sir William Hunter calculated that one-fourth of the population of India do not get more than one meal a day. Is it not probable that, having regard to famines and other causes, at present one-third, if not more, of the Indian population remain hungry and underfed every day?

Says Prof. Ronald Ross :—

"The blame for this terrible visitation must be laid largely on those who govern the country." "Everywhere instead of the knowledge, organisation and discipline which are essential in such contingencies, we saw only nescience, confusion and vacillation." "Generals and civilians were made dictators in a matter of which they had no knowledge."

Every civilised country in the world possesses what is called the Poor Law, intended

to take care of its poor population. But in India there is no such law. In times past there was no need for such a law, because the people could afford to take care of their poor population. The people of India are of a very generous disposition, and so the State was not required to look after the poor. The caste organization and joint-family system of the Hindoos and the setting apart of one tenth of one's income which a Muhammadan is required by his religion to spend in charity, provided the poor and indigent with food and shelter and maintained them in decency and respectability, which one looks for in vain in Christian countries. But times are now changed. The people have become so poor that they cannot afford to take care of the poor members of their community. Hence it is the bounden duty of the State to afford relief to the poor of the country, by instituting a measure like the Poor Law of England. This should be the first step which ought to be taken with the least possible delay, in order to save the poor people of India from diseases which poverty always brings in its train.

In India whenever the people ask the State to do something for them, they are taunted by the Anglo Indians with want of self-help and self-respect. But these Anglo-Indians forget that the State exists for the people and not the people for the State. Why these good Christians should taunt Indians who ask for State-help in bettering their condition with want of self-help, is not understood. What are old age pensions? Are they not a form of State-aid? Do we not find the State doing everything to improve the lot of the British colonists? In his work on "National Life and Character," Mr. Pearson writes:—

"If the Englishman," said Fortescue, four hundred years ago, 'be poor, and see another man having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so.' The Englishman is a little less disposed now to right himself by violence, but he has a power of righting himself by law which he did not possess in Fortescue's days and which may be used with very notable consequences. His tendency in Australia, where he is carrying out modern ideas with great freedom, is to adopt a very extensive system of State Socialism. He goes to the State for Railway and irrigation works; the State in Victoria provides him with costless schooling for his children; the State in New Zealand insures him; the State everywhere provides work for him, if times are bad; * * *. In Victoria and more or less in all the colonies,

though least of all at present in New South Wales, the State tries to protect its citizens from foreign competition. These changes from English policy have been adopted gradually and are partially explained by the peculiar circumstances of a young country. What is noteworthy is that they entirely recommend themselves to public sentiment. It is difficult to suppose that if emigration from England suddenly received a great check, the mother-country confronted with the task of providing for its yearly surplus of population within its own boundaries, would not gradually and cautiously resort to a socialism like that of Australia." (P. 102)

So "the peculiar circumstances" of India demand that the State should at once take measures which are calculated to prevent the occurrence of plague. We have said above that the material condition of the people should be improved. How is it to be effected? That is a question which we leave to the economists to answer.

Regarding plague the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India writes in his Report for 1904, that

"it is one thing to deal with epidemic disease among Europeans who are sufficiently educated to understand the object of measures taken for their own advantage, and live surrounded by all the aids to such measures lent by modern sanitary appliances; it is quite another matter to deal with it among orientals whose terror of such measures leads them to oppose them in every way, and generally amid surroundings which could not be more favourable to the spread of the disease if they had been specially devised to that end. It is not easy to deal * * * with the ignorance that is convinced that plague is introduced and fostered by Government in order to reduce a redundant population, with suspicion that sees the disseminating agents in every disinfecting party, or with timidity that may be turned by an ill-considered action to fanatical frenzy."

The Sanitary Commissioner has pleaded, though not in so many words, the great necessity that exists for the diffusion of education amongst the masses of the Indian population. But will the Anglo-Indians with their policy of "enlightened selfishness" in governing India, help to spread education among the natives of India? Do not many of them cry without rhyme or reason that the spread of education is doing great harm to the proper administration of the country?

There is political danger in the belief "that plague is introduced and fostered by Government in order to reduce a redundant population." We have said that in the Middle Ages the Christians believed that the Jews introduced the plague in Europe by poisoning the wells and water-supply,

and it was this belief which led the Christians to persecute, torture and burn to death the innocent Jews. The people of India are mild and are not likely to take the step which the Christians did. But we should not close our eyes to the danger that exists in the aforesaid belief. Measures should be taken to eradicate this false belief from their mind. How can this be done? We see again the importance and necessity of diffusing education among the masses of the Indian population to gain the above object. Nothing short of widespread education in India will destroy the above belief. Sanitary measures, too, cannot succeed unless the people are educated.

It is of course untrue that the Government spread the plague by poisoning wells, tanks, and rivers. But may not a paragraph like the following, taken from Dr. Simpson's work on plague, furnish the authors of such baseless rumours with plausible grounds for what they said?

"Adverse critics are to be met with who view the ravages of plague as a blessing rather than as an evil to be overcome by every means possible, whose contention is that plagues are necessary and are Nature's methods of keeping down an enormous population that would otherwise perish of hunger. It is an easygoing doctrine and saves trouble to those unaffected."

One might be excused for being curious to know who these "adverse critics" could possibly be. They are certainly not of Indian extraction, for Indians are not among the "unaffected." But they certainly exist; otherwise Dr. Simpson would not have referred to them. However, as we have shown again and again in these pages that India is less densely populated than many Western countries where famine and epidemics of plague have been unknown for centuries, we beg most humbly to affirm that the services of plague for keeping down an overflowing population are not required in India. We would welcome the day when the transfer of that beneficent agent to some other planet would be gazetted.

When plague first broke out in the Bombay Presidency in 1896 and 1897, the agency employed in suppressing the disease consisted mainly of Englishmen, who were very highly paid for their services. The Indian papers of the Presidency began to ask the question, "Whom has the plague benefited?" They had no difficulty from what

they saw before their eyes in coming to the conclusion that it had benefited the Englishmen and English women, because it provided them with situations to which large emoluments were attached.

Again, when about nine years ago, plague broke out in the Punjab, Government brought out from England at great expense men whom they called Plague doctors. They were very highly paid, much more than they could have expected to gain from practising their profession in their own country. They were quite ignorant of the language, manners and customs of the people among whom they were required to work. The task which they had to perform could have been done as efficiently (we are inclined to believe *more efficiently*) by the employment of Indian medical men. It was a great political as well as economical blunder which the Government of India committed by importing these plague doctors. When the Mulkowal accident occurred, the ignorant people naturally concluded that plague was being introduced and fostered by Government in order to benefit men of their own race and creed. To destroy this false belief it is necessary not only to diffuse education among the masses of the Indian population, but also to employ very largely Indians—both medical and lay men—in carrying out plague suppression work. Unless the Government acts through the leaders of the people, its efforts will always arouse suspicion and fear, and therefore, end in failure, partial or complete, if not in disaster. That the efforts of the Government have failed utterly to exterminate plague, is shown by its recrudescence almost in all affected provinces and by the reduction of population which it (along with malaria, &c.) has brought about in the Panjab and the United Provinces.

It has been contended by many eminent medical men that infectious diseases, including plague, are caused by not taking a proper amount of salt. The salt-tax should be done away with altogether. It is a prime necessity of life, and taxing it cannot be justified on moral or any other considerations. Of late, the tax on it has been again reduced, but nothing short of its total abolition will benefit all classes of the Indian people sufficiently. In the Middle Ages, salt was very heavily taxed in Europe

and that also perhaps contributed to the propagation of the disease.

The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India in his Report for 1904 writes :—

The mud huts of the people favor the spread of plague, but they are built of mud because that is generally the only material the builder can obtain. The thorough disinfection of such houses is often impossible, * *."

The Sanitary Commissioner could not as a Government servant say explicitly that the people were too poor to pay for better building material, and that, therefore, the problem of stamping out plague was an economical problem; though the implication is quite clear.

By building model houses for the poor in towns and villages where plague has become almost endemic, the State can do much towards eradication of the disease. In many colonies, houses are built by the State for the accommodation of the poor and the indigent. The same should be done in India also.

The Sanitary Commissioner to whose report we have referred above, says :—

"The administrators are necessarily few in number and the subordinates, to whom much of the immediate dealing with the people must be entrusted are too often corrupt; venality is no monopoly of the Indian official underling, *but in this country venality has the peculiarity of being sanctioned by custom and, therefore, of being unresisted.* The difficulty of fathoming the motives of natives in abnormal circumstances of suspicion and terror is very great, and in the beginning of an outbreak of plague the people generally dread the preventive measures of Government far more than the disease."

We wish to protest in the strongest manner possible against the use or abuse of language wantonly indulged in by the Sanitary Commissioner in the passage which we have italicised in the above extract. We wonder how the Government of India have allowed such a libel on the Indian people to be published in their official Report. The Sanitary Commissioner writes that "in this country venality has the peculiarity of being sanctioned by custom and, therefore, of being unresisted." Will the Sanitary Commissioner be good enough to furnish us with his authority for the above statement? Does he not know what his highly educated co-religionists and compatriots placed in charge of stores during the last Boer war did? They were not all

underlings but officers and gentlemen. Is venality not widespread in English municipal institutions? Is there anywhere in India venality of such gigantic proportions as obtains in the United States of America?

But it is quite true that "the people generally dread the preventive measures of Government far more than the disease." Why this should be so, will be gathered from what we have already said before. We repeat that unless and until the agency employed in carrying out plague suppression work, is largely and, if possible, wholly Indian, the people must continue to "dread the preventive measures of Government far more than the disease."

We have indicated some of the measures which if adopted will do much to prevent the disease and mitigate its ravages. But all these are palliatives and do not reach the root of the evil. As long as India continues politically depressed and despondent, as long as she continues to be looked upon as the happy hunting ground of those who are failures in their own country, as long as India is made to exist for the services and not the services for India, and as long as the industries of India are not encouraged by Bounties, Protection or other measures, we for our own part, do not see how the plague can be stamped out of the country by inoculation or destruction of rats. Regarding the killing of rats, it is said in the Treatise on Plague (p. 111) by Drs. G. S. Thompson, I. M. S. and John Thompson that the "destruction of rats is a useful palliative measure of purely temporary benefit." This wholesale destruction of rats may produce some other calamity worse than the Bubonic Plague. In France where birds have been destroyed wholesale, the peasants are the great sufferers. Their crops are destroyed by insects and worms on which birds used to feed. In the economy of nature, Providence has assigned every creature its definite and proper part. The rat has been in existence since the very beginning of the world, and it is not meant to carry and propagate the germ of plague. Because we do not fully understand the part it plays in the economy of nature, that is no reason why we should destroy it wholesale.

We have said that the question of Plague prevention is more political, social and

economical than medical. And we conclude by saying that unless and until India is able to win the boon of self-government we do not see how else the plague can be totally stamped out of the country. Its converse may not be true, self-government may

not be, as in fact it is not, a panacea for all evils including the plague, but we do firmly believe and assert that self-government is an essential condition precedent to the total extermination of the plague in India.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH—VI

THE following is a simple case of triple coincidence,—

On August 6, 1906, Mrs. Holland in India wrote the word "Yellow" at the end of a long script referring to various topics and separated from the rest of the writing by considerable space. There was also a change in the hand-writing. On August 8, Mrs. Verrall in Cambridge wrote, "I have done it tonight. Yellow is the written word

Yellow
Yellow
Yellow"

The word "Yellow" is written large each time and is emphasised. It also occurs in Miss Verrall's script of the same day.

On October 24, 1906, Mrs. Holland, after a rough drawing of a flower, wrote in a somewhat peculiar hand the words, "the blue flower" in a separate line. On the same day Mrs. Verrall wrote,—

"The blue is to be preferred. Blue is her colour.

Love in a mist lay dying
His heart blood stained the earth
With cupid's arrows flying
Departed joy and mirth.
Where others see the flower
Blue, in a tangled grey
He knows in Love's own bower
The God they thought to slay.

By the side of these verses is written,—
This is the story of Love in a Mist and Love lies bleeding—the little Love is in the heart of the misty blue veiled flower. Let him that has eyes see."

It will be seen that the idea of the blue flower is expressed in the script in different ways and the expression, "blue is her colour" seems to indicate that something blue is the subject of cross correspondence. The same purpose is further indicated by the remark, "Let him that has eyes see."

Mrs. Holland's script of November 7, 1906, written in India, contains the following passage:—

"On the ledge of the squarish—no oblong window is not a safe place for that solution—of course you cannot consider poisons out of place in a laboratory—but there is not enough locking up—*this* one should be locked up—towards the end of the room—to your left an actinic green bottle."

Miss Johnson understood this to refer to Sir Oliver Lodge, who is often mentioned in Mrs. Holland's scripts, and sent it to him for comment. Sir Oliver Lodge wrote in reply,—

The one on November 7, 1906 about the poison bottle. This I find is remarkably correct. My two youngest boys have a laboratory adjacent to the house—not at the College at all—and there they do photography, make explosives and many other things. The other night when we were all together I asked them whether they had a green bottle of poison in that laboratory, and the elder said, yes. It is on the bench, quite accessible, not on the ledge of the oblong window, but near it, and on the left. He says it has been there nearly all the winter, and is Mercuric Chloride which the Doctor gave him for a lotion,—not one of their own chemicals. I have told him that it must be either thrown away or locked up. He agrees that it is too accessible, since the younger sisters sometimes enter the same laboratory."

On February 11, 1907, Mrs. Verrall wrote,
"There has been nothing you to-day nor will be yet."

"We cannot make them understand the importance of what we do and they must learn for themselves. But it is all well and later the news will come."

"It is all fragmentary and you must piece together—the essential word is often not grasped and the whole success thus spoiled."

Three converging arrows were then drawn with the words, *tria convergentia in unum* (three things converging to one point.)

Mrs. Verrall took the drawing for arrows but did not understand why they had been drawn. Mr. Piddington got the script by post on February 13. On February, 12, one day before he received it, Hodgson P had written,—
 Arrows
 Hodgson.

Mr. Piddington asked Hodgson P to explain this and he said that he had given arrows to Mrs. Verrall. On February 12, Miss Verrall who was away from her home and at a distance from her mother and knew nothing about her script drew an arrow and wrote the words "many together" by the side of it. Mrs. Verrall's script of February 18, produced at 11 A.M., contained several words beginning with AR such as architecture, architectonic, architave. A pointed arch was also drawn. At the Piper sitting held on the same day at 11-30 A.M., Rector said to Mr. Piddington,—“Hodgson says, do not forget arrow. Watch for it if it comes out.” The following extract from the record of the sitting with Mrs. Piper held on February 19, describes the incident which followed,—

(Hodgson communicating) Hello Piddington, glad to see you. How are you, first rate I hope?

J. G. P.—Thanks, I am all right. You said you were going to give arrow to Mrs. Verrall.

Hodgson P—I did certainly say so and I have been there three days trying to impress it upon her.

J. G. P.—Yes.

Hodgson P.—Hard. She did get AR, I think, and stopped there.

J. G. P.—Well, you'll stick to it, wont you? I think it may come out all right.

Hodgson P.—You bet your life I will. She is the very best subject we have to work with and I believe she can become much more important to us."

On the following day, Hodgson P again said that Mrs. Verrall had written AR

and wrote "pointed was my own word to suggest arrow." This plainly refers to Mrs. Verrall's drawing of a pointed arch on February 18. On February 25, Hodgson P asked Mr. Piddington, "Got arrow yet?"

Mr. Piddington replied, "Well, Hodgson, I don't think the word "arrow" has been written, but it has certainly been drawn." Thereupon Hodgson P said,—“Amen. I spent hours of earthly time trying to make her understand.”

In this experiment, Hodgson P says that he has given arrow to Mrs. Verrall. Mrs. Verrall, before this, drew three arrows converging to a point. Miss Verrall also, when at a distance from her mother, drew an arrow and wrote the words "many together." This remark and the expression "*tria convergentia in unum*", in Mrs. Verrall's script, obviously mean that the word "arrow", which is the subject of cross correspondence, is transmitted through three automatists, viz., Mrs. Verrall, Miss Verrall and Mrs. Piper.

On December 31, 1884, Mr. Myers, in acknowledging a copy of Dr. A. W. Verrall's *Studies in the Odes of Horace*, wrote to him that the first six lines of Hor. C. I. 28 had "entered as deeply as almost any Horatian passage" into his own history. He, however, did not give any reason why this ode had entered deeply into his inner history. Mrs. Verrall was at that time only slightly acquainted with Mr. Myers and was not at all interested in his inner life. In October 1904, Mrs. Verrall came across this letter while examining a mass of old correspondence and wrote to Mr. Piddington requesting him to put the following question to Myers P,—“which ode of Horace entered deeply into your inner life?” Myers P said that he would think about it and give an answer later on. Mrs. Verrall's impression was that Hor. C. I. 28 had appealed to Mr. Myers because of the allusion to re-incarnation which it contains. In this ode the idea is expressed that "all men, even philosophers and other great men, and even men who have been re-incarnated must die," and existence after death is regarded as a joyless and worthless thing. Readers acquainted with the Greek concep-

tion of the Hades will understand what this means. At the sitting with Mrs. Piper on April 17, 1907, Mrs. Sidgwick said to Myers P. "Mrs. Verrall asked you once what ode of Horace entered deeply into your inner life, and you said you would answer the question." Myers P. replied,—“Oh yes, Mrs. Sidgwick. I recall the question and I had ode to Nature on my mind but as I thought I loved another ode better, I did not reply until I could say it more clearly. Do you remember immortality...I thought I could answer.” Mrs. Sidgwick did not understand the significance of the answer nor did Mr. Piddington when he saw the record. “I understood Myers P,” says Mr. Piddington, “to mean that there was an ode of Horace known as the ‘ode to Nature,’ and that he had first thought of this ode, as being the one which had entered deeply into his inner life, but had subsequently remembered another ode which he had loved better, but that so far he had not succeeded in mentioning it through Mrs. Piper. The question ‘Do you remember immortality’? I dismissed as rubbish. Months later, I noticed that *Ode to Nature* and *Immortality* are the titles of two poems by F. W. H. Myers published in *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*, a book unknown to Mrs. Piper. Between Hor. C. I. 28—the ode of Horace to which Mrs. Verrall’s question referred—and *Immortality*, it seems to me that there may be a considerable resemblance in thought, and there are some resemblances in language. The central thought of Myers’s *Immortality*, I take to be this; ‘the prospect of annihilation’ is painful; but the prospect of an aimless, inert and monotonous immortality is as bad or even worse.’” Failing to understand that an answer to the question had already been given in part, Mrs. Sidgwick asked Myers P., at the sitting of April 24, to give an answer at the earliest possible opportunity to Mrs. Verrall’s question about the ode of Horace. On April 29, Rector said that an answer to the question would be given at the sitting of May 1. As Mrs. Piper was coming out of the trance, she thrice uttered the words, “passed out of their bodies and gone” a misquotation of “passed through the body and gone” from Browning’s *Abt Vogler*, stanza V. At the sitting of May 1, at which Miss Johnson and Mrs. Sidgwick were present, Myers P.,

true to his promise, referred to Mrs. Verrall’s question. I quote from the record,—

“Myers P. Do you remember my reference to the Poem?”

Mrs. S. Yes, very well.

Myers P. Did you wish to ask anything more? Do you remember when I said I had passed through my body and returned? (alluding to the quotation from *Abt Vogler*). I tried to give it and clearly, but was not sure that you understood.

Mrs. S. Do you mean you gave the name of the poems?

Myers P. Oh! yes. I mean I tried to give another part also, which referred to completed happiness in this life and the possibility of returning to the old world again to prove the truth of survival of bodily death. These words were lingering in my memory and I gave it as peak followed star.

(Rector communicating.) It is not all through yet.

Mrs. S. I see.

Rector. I only get a few of his words at a time, friend.

Mrs. S. I see.

Rector. If they do not make sense I am sorry and you must patch them together as best you can.”

The point of the answer escaped Mrs. Sidgwick who, consequently, continued to say evasively, “I see”. Miss Johnson, however, saw the reference to *Abt Vogler* and, prompted by her, Mrs. Sidgwick said in reply to Rector’s last words,

“Yes, I think they are quite good sense” (“(Myers communicating) Mrs. Sidgwick, dear old friend, do you hear me at all”)

Mrs. S. Yes I hear. I have not quite understood, but I am putting it together and I think I shall understand.

Myers P. I believe you will, when I tell you I have returned to breathe in the old world which is not, however, better than our new. Mrs. Sidgwick, my most earnest wish is to complete my undertaking while the opportunity presents itself. Hodgson is present and wishes me to express his love and best wishes. He is helping me now.”

Towards the end of the sitting Odyssey was mentioned along with the statement, “I went over these odes very carefully and remembered very carefully one in particular which I loved very much.”* The clue to the significance of the quotation from Browning’s *Abt Vogler*, Mr. Piddington thinks, is to be found in the words, “I believe you will [understand the meaning of the passage] when I tell you I have returned to breathe in the old world, which is not, however, better than our new.” The reader will remember that almost immediately after Mrs. Verrall’s question was

* The reader is requested to note this in view of later developments.

asked, Myers P. referred to Frederic Myers's poem on *Immortality*. Later on he quoted a line from Browning's *Abt Vogler* and connected it with the question about the Ode of Horace, concluding with the remark that he did not think that the old world was better than the new world in which he now lives. The passage in Browning's poem from which the quotation is made is as follows:—

"The wonderful Dead who have passed through the body and gone,

But were back once more to breathe in an old world
worn their new."

"What Myers P meant," remarks Mr. Pidington, "I take to have been this: In the Archytas ode (Hor C. I. 28) existence after the death of the body is regarded as a worthless thing; in *Immortality*, a fear is expressed lest it prove to be but a state of endless monotony; even in *Abt Vogler*, a poem full of hope and joy, the discarnate dead who return to earth find the old world, at least for a moment, worth their new, but I—who know the reality, and who, like the wonderful dead, have been able to return to breathe again in the old world—I tell you that the view expressed in the "Archytas" ode and the gloomy anticipations expressed in *Immortality* are wrong and under no circumstances is the old world worth the new."

It will thus be seen that the reply of Myers P to Mrs. Verrall's question was very different from what she wrongly expected it would be. Her erroneous impression was due to her having read Mr. Myers's letter to Dr. Verrall rather cursorily. In that letter Myers says that the *first six lines* of the ode specially appealed to him and not reincarnation. These lines contain the idea on which he dwells in his own poem, *Ode to Immortality*. And now from the other world he intimates to us that though he has returned to breathe in the old world, it is not better than the new world in which he now lives, thereby implying that the Horatian conception on which he had meditated deeply when alive on earth and the fears expressed in *Immortality* are groundless. It will be observed that in this experiment also Myers P sticks to his method of answering test questions indirectly and allusively. The experimenters failed at first to realise the significance of his answers and only

gradually succeeded in grasping it. The object, apparently, is to make the phenomena very difficult to explain by telepathy.

The answer of Myers P to Mrs. Verrall's question about the Ode of Horace was repeated about a year later under totally different conditions in America to a person wholly ignorant of what had happened at the sittings in England.* Mrs. Piper returned to America at the end of 1907. In the spring of 1908, Mr. G. B. Dorr, a Vice-President of the Society for Psychical Research, held a series of sittings with her in Boston with the object of getting cross correspondences, without letting the other mediums know anything about it. He himself took particular care to avoid all knowledge of what might be happening elsewhere. Another object which Mr. Dorr had in view was to revive the literary memories of the communicating intelligences so that further light might be thrown on the problem of their identity. The following case will explain the nature of these experiments:—

On April 22, 1908, Mr. Dorr read ten lines from Shelley's translation of the *Cyclops* of Euripides from A. W. Pollard's *Odes from the Greek dramatists*. This book, of course, was quite unknown to Mrs. Piper and very great care was taken not to allow her to see it, even in the state of trance:

G. B. D. (reads.)

One with eyes the fairest
Cometh from his dwelling,
Some one loves thee, rarest,
Bright beyond my telling.
In thy grace thou shinest
Like some nymph divinest,
In her caverns dewy:—
All delights pursue thee,
Soon pick'd flowers, sweet breathing,
Shall thy head be wreathing.

Myers P. You read well.

G. B. D. Now see if you can tell me whose verses these are that I have just read you. It's a translation from the Greek. I will read them over to you once again. (Reads again).

Myers P. Did he write Ode to Skylark?

G. B. D. Yes, that is splendid, quite wonderful I think.

* S, P. R. *Proceeding*, Part LVII, Vol XXII, containing an account of the English experiments, appeared in October 1908.

Myers P. Thank you. If I am not Myers, who am I?

On March 10, 1908, Mr. Dorr, who, as I have already said, had no knowledge of the Horace Ode experiment in England, read to Myers P the following extract from Frederic Myers's *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*,—

"From ten to sixteen I [*i. e.* Myers] lived much in the inward recital of Homer, Aeschylus, Lucretius, Horace and Ovid."

As Horace was mentioned, Mrs. Piper's hand wrote, "Ode to Immortality. Ode Horace to Immortality." This, of course, conveyed no meaning to Mr. Dorr. Myers P evidently remembered the question asked in England a year before this and his answer to it. Mr. Dorr then read some more passages from the *Fragments*, the last read being as follows,—

"It was the life of about the sixth century before Christ, on the Isles of Aegean, which drew me most."

Upon these words being read Myers P wrote,—

"A life *incomplete*. Oh; it is all so *clear*. I recall so well my feelings, my emotions, my joys, my pain and *much* pain. Oh! I am transported back to Greece. I recall it all. I am transported—I remember before my marriage all my imaginations, my pains, my longing, my unrest. I lived it *all* out as few men did. I drank, as Omar Kyam [*sic*] life and all its joys and griefs. And *never* was it *complete*. A disappointing—long, dreary longing for a fulfilment of my dream of joys. I *found* it *here* and only *here*. 'Men may come and men may go but I go on for ever.' I shall be delighted to complete my memories of Homer, Horace and Virgil until you are satisfied that I am still one among you, not a fantasy but a reality."

Let the reader compare the statements made at this sitting with those made in England in connection with the Horace Ode question. "This emotional outburst," says Mr. Piddington, "it should be observed is closely associated with 'memories of Homer, Horace and Virgil' and not with the other classical authors, Ovid, Lucretius and Aeschylus, mentioned in the passage read from *Fragments* and into it is introduced a quotation from Tennyson whereby the trance-personality proclaims his own immortality."

On March 17, 1908, Mr. Dorr read to Myers P the following lines from Tennyson's *Vastness* quoted in Frederic Myers's essay on "Tennyson as a prophet,"—

Many a hearth upon our dark globe sighs
after many a vanished face,

Many a planet by many a sun may roll
With the dust of a vanished race.
Raving politics, never at rest,—as this poor
earth's pale history runs,—
What is it all but a trouble of ants in the
gleam of a million of suns.

Myers P. recognised this as a quotation from Tennyson and wrote "Achilles". "What about Achilles?" asked Mr. Dorr. "Why, I recalled it when you were questioning me, could you read more!" answered Myers P. "Although," observes Mr. Piddington, "Mr. Dorr entirely failed to see any relevance either in the allusion to Achilles, or in the request for more to be read, I think it was extremely significant that an intelligence representing itself as that of Frederic Myers should connect Tennyson's *Vastness* with Achilles. In *Odyssey* XI. when Odysseus enters the underworld, he meets Achilles, who asks "how durst thou come down to the house of Hades, where dwell the senseless dead, the phantoms of men outworn?" Odysseus answers him in consolatory words, which draw from Achilles this response: "Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death.... Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another than bear sway among all the dead that are no more! This passage—one of the most famous in ancient literature—would almost inevitably be recalled to a classical reader by the whole thought, and especially by one of the concluding stanzas of Tennyson's *Vastness*."

What is it all, if we all of us end but in being our own corpse-coffins at last,
Swallowed in *Vastness*, lost in silence, drowned in the
depths of a meaningless past?

These lines, though not read by Mr. Dorr, actually form part of what is quoted from *Vastness* in "Tennyson as a prophet"; and the fact that they are there quoted suggests that when Myers P. asked Mr. Dorr to "read more" he may have meant that if he read the remainder of the quotation the clue to the connection of thought with Achilles would be revealed. The reader will now understand the significance of the mention of *Odyssey* at the English sitting. The intention of the communicating intelligence apparently was to draw attention to the similarity of the thought in *Hor. C. I. 28* with that in *Odyssey* XI.

On two occasions, as Mrs. Piper was coming out of the trance, she uttered the

words "Orion, son of Neptune." At a later sitting Mr. Dorr asked Myers P what he meant by this. "Do you recall an ode of Horace's?" answered Myers P. Mr. Dorr said, "I do not know my Horace well, and I recall none in special at the moment. Why do you ask me?" "Because you ought to know that I am Myers by my giving all such proofs," replied Myers P. Mr. Dorr, not knowing much of Horace and ignorant of the experiment in England, naturally failed to discover any sense in all this. The fact is that Hor. C. I. 28, the Ode to which the question asked in England related, is the only Ode of Horace in which both Neptune and Orion are mentioned.

Let the reader note carefully the details of the following story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book XI,—

"Ceyx, in order to consult the oracle about the fate of his brother Daedalion who had been changed into a hawk, starts on a voyage to Claros; but is shipwrecked on the way and drowned.

Meanwhile, Alcyone who sorely against her will has been left behind at home, in ignorance of her husband's death, importunes the gods and especially Juno for his safety. But to make supplication on behalf of one who is dead is an unholy act, and so unacceptable to Juno; who in order that her temple may no longer be polluted by the prayers of Alcyone, bids Iris, the messenger of the gods, seek speedily the drowsy court of Somnus (*i.e.* sleep) and order him to send to Alcyone a vision, in the form of the dead Ceyx, to reveal the sad truth. Thereupon Iris clothes herself in raiment of a thousand hues and, imprinting her bended bow upon the sky, seeks, as bid, King sleep's abode that lies hidden beneath a cloud. Near by the Cimmerians' land is a cave with deep recess, a hollow mount, the home and sanctuary of slothful sleep, where neither at dawn nor noon, nor eve can Phoebus enter in. From out the ground reek mists and murky fogs, glimmering in a doubtful dusky light...Beasts there are none, nor flocks, nor branches waving in the breeze; and never outcry of human voice awakes the echoes. It is the home of silent rest, yet the silence is not absolute, for from the foot of the rock issues the stream of the water of Lethe, and as the wave glides purling through the stream among the babbling pebbles, it invites sleep. Before the cavern's entrance abundant poppies bloom and herbs innumerable, from the juice whereof Night brews sleep...No watchman on the threshold stands, but in the centre is a couch whereon lies the god himself (*i.e.* Somnus) with limbs in languor loosed. Iris enters the cave, irradiating it with the colours of her apparel, delivers her message to Somnus, and quickly departing returns to the heavens along the rainbow-path by which she came. From among his thousand sons, Somnus chooses Morpheus, whose special gift it is to mimic the form, visage, gait and speech of man, to execute the task that Iris has enjoined. Morpheus

flies to Trachin, and appears in the form of Ceyx to Alcyone, who thus learns her husband's fate. Overcome by despair Alcyone goes down to the sea to drown herself and as she stands upon the shore the body of a drowned man is washed up close to her. She recognises it as her husband's corpse, and flings herself into the water. In the act of falling she is transformed into a halcyon. The gods take pity on her sorrow, and after a time transform Ceyx into a kingfisher; and thus Alcyone rejoins her beloved mate. For seven tranquil days in winter time, Alcyone sits brooding on her nest as it floats on the face of the waters. Then lulled is the wave of the sea, and Aeolus guards and confines the winds, and secures a calm surface for his daughter's brood."

When at the sitting of March 23, 1908, Mr. Dorr asked Myers P, "What does the word "Lethe" suggest to you," he had not the above story in his mind. Mr. Dorr had no knowledge of Ovid whatever, nor Mrs. Piper. What Mr. Dorr expected to get in answer to his question were the ordinary associations of Lethe, *viz.* that, in Greek mythology, it is a river in the nether world, the water of which, if drunk, produces forgetfulness and so forth. In the Sixth Book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is described how Aeneas in his journey to the nether world, under the guidance of Sybil of Cumae, saw the river Lethe flowing by the Elysian fields and the souls going to return to earth drinking of its water.

In reply to his question, Mr. Dorr got such words as these. "Olympus. Winds were all—* Do you remember Cave; Lethe. Hades. Beautiful river underground." Mr. Dorr complained that he understood nothing and said that probably there was confusion because of the question being put at the end of the sitting. "Yes", replied Myers P, "Remember, friend, this is exhausting work—exhausting work." During the waking stage, Mrs. Piper uttered these words: "Sybil—Olympus—water—Lethe—sad—lovely—mate. Put them all together. entwined love—Beautiful shores—ask him if he cannot hear me.

I shot an arrow through the air
And it fell I know not where.

Lady.—I want to say that the walls came out and in the air was a lady who had no clothes on; and in her hand she had a hoop and two pointed things, and she pulled a string, and she pointed it straight at me, and I thought it would hit me in the eye." The word "Sybil"

*[Undeciphered words.

alludes to the description of Lethe in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*. "Do you remember Cave?" is an obvious reference to the Cave of King Sleep, "where neither at dawn nor noon, nor eve can Phoebus enter in." In "winds were all—" Aeolus is referred to. "Sad—lovely—mate" is descriptive of Ceyx and Alcyone while the words, "I shot an arrow through the air, and it fell I know not where and in the air was a lady," &c., contain an allusion to Iris, the messenger of the gods, sent to the abode of Somnus. The word "Olympus" occurs in *Metamorphoses* XI, 571, and is evidently used to indicate this fact. Being totally ignorant of Ovid's story, Mr. Dorr had no clue to the interpretation of the trance-utterances of Mrs. Piper and regarded them as absolutely meaningless. He attributed them to the exhaustion of the medium and apologised to the communicating intelligence for having put the question at the end of the sitting. Thereupon Hodgson said,—"Myers feels a little distressed because he thinks you did not quite understand his replies to your last question. He did give you one or two replies which he and I both fear you did not understand." Hodgson was quite right. Mr. Dorr's failure to understand the significance of Mrs. Piper's words was due to his own ignorance and not to any fault of the communicating intelligence.

At a later sitting, Hodgson repeated the answer already given. "But he spoke of winds," said Mr. Dorr. "Yes," replied Myers P, "clouds—arrow—Iris—cave—Latin for Sleep (*i.e.* Somnus)—Morpheus, sticks in my mind, can't you help me?" "But can't you make it clearer what there was peculiar about the waters of Lethe?" interjected Mr. Dorr in his innocence. "Yes, I suppose, you think I am affected in the same way," *but I am not**, neatly retorted Myers P. "The way," remarks Mr. Piddington, "in which Myers P here withheld the obvious and commonplace answer until pressed to give it by Mr. Dorr is, I think, deserving of the utmost attention; for the fact that in at least three other instances this same avoidance of the trite and obvious is to be found in the communications of Myers P creates a presumption that Myers P deliberately preferred so to frame his messages that only study and

thought would render them intelligible." At later sittings the following words and expressions were given. "Hoping you would understand. Clouds. IRIS (a bow is here drawn for rainbow and also wavy lines. Mr. Dorr asks what the lines mean) clouds. Why did you not understand? It would have meant so much to you. Ceyx. We walk together. Our loves entwined along the shores. In beauty beyond comparison with Lethe. Sorry it is all so fragmentary, but suppose it cannot all get through."

It was not Mr. Dorr only who, at first, failed to understand the meaning of Myers P's answer to the Lethe question. Classical scholars like Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Gerald Balfour were also unable to discover any sense in the answers. It was only after diligent search that Ovid's story in *Metamorphoses*, Book XI, was discovered which threw light on the apparently meaningless words of Myers P. To Myers P "Lethe" suggested, as it would do to a finished classical scholar like Frederic Myers, the source of the river, because it explains why the water of it produces forgetfulness. "As the wave glides purling through the stream among the babbling pebbles, it invites sleep. Before the cavern's entrance abundant poppies bloom and herbs innumerable, from the juice whereof Night brews sleep." That the answer came from an intelligence actively remembering Ovid is proved by the fact that the allusion to the story of Ceyx and Alcyone was followed by allusions to other stories of Ovid, *viz.*, those connected with the names of Orpheus and Eurydice, Pygmalion and Hyacinthus. Besides, the particular items of the story of Ceyx and Alcyone which were mentioned at the sittings are not to be found anywhere else than in Ovid. Now, the question which arises is, to whose intelligence is the answer to be attributed? Not to Mr. Dorr's, because he knew nothing of Ovid; nor can we say that there was telepathy from Mrs. Verrall's mind. "My reading" (of Ovid, says Mrs. Verrall, "is *Fasti*, Books I, II and III. I lectured on in 1881 to a class at Newnham College; so I knew them well then. Not another word have I read except under compulsion. I hate Ovid beyond words, and I have never read a line that I could avoid." "But there might have been telepathy from other classical scholars," the objector may

* An allusion to the water of Lethe producing forgetfulness.

say. Now, it is a well known psychological law that different persons remember the same things known to them all in different ways according to their *special selective interest*. Mr. Piddington, with great ingenuity, shows that the selective interest revealed in the answer of Myers P to the Lethe question was such as would be appropriate to Frederic Myers.

This case made a strong impression even on the mind of Mr. Podmore. He, of course, assiduously points out what, in his eyes, are its weak points, but on the case, as a whole, he pronounces the following judgment,—“It must, I think, be admitted on all hands that the method of answering the Lethe question was well devised; that this is precisely the kind of evidence demanded for the proof of spirit identity; and that, though no single case can, of course, be conclusive, yet that if evidence of this kind could be multiplied, the presumption in favour of the reality of spirit communication might at length become irresistible.” Those who know anything of the relentless war which Mr. Podmore has all these years been waging against spiritualism will realise what a triumph it was for Myers P to force this prince of sceptics to make even this guarded admission.

The hopelessness of explaining the cross-correspondences by telepathy is patent. The advocates of this theory, however, are bold men who, nothing daunted, argue still and try their best to explain the phenomena by means of it. The cross correspondences, it is suggested, are manufactured by the

secondary personalities of the automatists that subliminally enter into a conspiracy for the purpose and telepathically exchange ideas with each other. The following luminous explanation is given by an advocate of the telepathic theory,—

Mrs. Verrall's subliminal should have the credit for most at any rate, of these highly elaborated and ingenious experiments. ** This subliminal consciousness launches into the void—not necessarily by any special effort, but merely as a result of the process of thought—the ground idea of such a correspondence, to be assimilated by any other automatists (including trance-mediums) who can receive it. This idea—after many abortive one-sided experiments had been patiently pursued by its author—is at last grasped by other automatists. Then comes a time when Mrs. Verrall's subliminal proclaims in a similar manner, and as it has often done before, a subject for an experiment, and the others proceed to execute the congenial task with enthusiasm, for they too are interested in maintaining the illusion of a spirit agency.”*

The wonder is that men who can swallow such a camel strain at the gnat of spirit communication. The minds of men are not constituted on the same pattern and I do not wish to quarrel with those who can believe that telepathy is the explanation of the phenomena of cross correspondence. Speaking for myself, I can honestly affirm that I find the tales of the Arabian Nights—Aladin's lamp, Kamaralzaman and Bedoura, Sindbad's voyages, Roc's egg and all, much easier to believe than this story of the subliminal conspiracy and roguery of good and cultured ladies, often separated from each other by continents and oceans.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

* Why?

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS GIVEN IN BENGALI BY PROF. J. C. BOSE TO THE BENGAL LITERARY CONFERENCE AT MYMENSING, APRIL 14, 1911.

IN this Literary Congress it would appear that you have interpreted Letters in no exclusive sense. We are not met to discuss the place that literature is to hold in the gospel of beauty. Rather are we set

upon conceiving of her in larger ways. To us to-day literature is no mere ornament, no mere amusement. Instead of this, we desire to bring beneath her shadow all the highest efforts of our minds. In this great communion of learning, this is not the first time that a scientific man has officiated as priest. The chair which I now occupy has already been held by one whom I love and honour as friend and colleague, and glory in as countryman, Praphulla

Chandra Ray. In honouring him, your Society has not only done homage to merit, but has also placed before our people a lofty and inclusive ideal of literature.

You are aware that in the West, the prevailing tendency at the moment is, after a period of synthesis, to return upon the excessive sub-division of learning. The result of this specialisation is rather to accentuate the distinctiveness of the various sciences, so that for a while the great unity of all tends perhaps to be obscured. Such a caste-system in scholarship, undoubtedly helps at first, in the gathering and classification of new material. But if followed too exclusively, it ends by limiting the comprehensiveness of truth. The search is endless. Realisation evades us.

The Eastern aim has been rather the opposite, namely, that in the multiplicity of phenomena, we should never miss their underlying unity. After generations of this quest, the idea of unity comes to us almost spontaneously, and we apprehend no insuperable obstacle in the path of its attainment.

I feel that here in this Literary Congress, this characteristic idea of unity has worked unconsciously. We have never thought of narrowing the bounds of literature by a jealous definition of its limits. On the contrary, we have allowed its empire to extend. And you have felt that this could be adequately done only, if in one place you could gather together all that we are seeking, all that we are thinking, all that we are examining. And for this you have today invited those who sing along with those who meditate, and those who experiment. And this is why, though my own life has been given to the pursuit of science, I had yet no hesitation in accepting the honour of your invitation.

POETRY AND SCIENCE.

The poet, seeing by the heart, realises the inexpressible and strives to give it expression. His imagination soars, where the sight of others fails, and his news of realms unknown finds voice in rhyme and metre. The path of the scientific man may be different, yet there is some likeness between the two pursuits. Where visible light ends, he still follows the invisible. Where the note of

the audible reaches the unheard, even there he gathers the tremulous message. That mystery which lies behind the expressed, is the object of his questioning also; and he, in his scientific way, attempts to render its abstruse discoveries into human speech.

This vast abode of nature is built in many wings, each with its own portal. The physicist, the chemist, and the biologist entering by different doors, each one his own department of knowledge, comes to think that this is his special domain, unconnected with that of any other. Hence has arisen our present rigid division of phenomena, into the worlds of the inorganic, vegetal, and sentient. But that this attitude of mind is philosophical, may be denied. We must remember that all enquiries have as their goal the attainment of knowledge in its entirety. The partition-walls between the cells in the great laboratory are only erected for a time to aid this search. Only at that point where all lines of investigation meet, can the whole truth be found.

Both poet and scientific worker have set out for the same goal, to find a unity in the bewildering diversity. The difference is that the poet thinks little of the path, whereas the scientific man must not neglect it. The imagination of the poet has to be unrestrained. The intuitions of emotion can not be established by rigid proof. He has, therefore, to use the language of imagery, adding constantly the words 'as if.'

The road that the scientific man has to tread is on the other hand very rugged, and in his pursuit of demonstration he must put a severe restraint on his imagination. His constant anxiety is lest he should be self-deceived. He has, therefore, at every step to compare his own thought with the external fact. He has remorselessly to abandon all in which these are not agreed. His reward is that what he gets, however little it may be, is certain, forming a strong foundation for what is yet to come. Even by this path of self-restraint and verification, however, he is making for a region of surpassing wonder. In the range of that invisible light, gross objects cease to be a barrier, and force and matter become less antithetic. When the veil is suddenly lifted, upon the vision hitherto unsuspected,



PROF. BOSE'S ELECTRIC WAVE APPARATUS.

he may for a moment lose his accustomed self-restraint and, overpowered, exclaim, "not 'as if'—but the thing itself!"

INVISIBLE LIGHT.

In illustration of this sense of wonder which links together poetry and science, let me allude briefly to a few matters that belong to my own little corner in the great universe of knowledge, that of light invisible and of life unvoiced. Can anything appeal more to the imagination than the fact that we can detect the peculiarities in the internal molecular structure of an opaque body by means of light that is itself invisible? Could anything have been more unexpected than to find that a sphere of china-clay focusses invisible light more perfectly than a sphere of glass focusses the visible; that

in fact, the refractive power of this clay to electric radiation is at least as great as that of the most costly diamond to light? From amongst the innumerable octaves of light, there is only one octave, with power to excite the human eye. In reality, we stand, in the midst of a luminous ocean, almost blind! The little that we can see is nothing, compared to the vastness of that which we can not. But it may be said that out of the very imperfection of his senses man has been able, in science, to build for himself a raft of thought, by which to make daring adventure on the great seas of the unknown.

UNVOICED LIFE.

Again, just as, in following up light from visible to invisible, our range of investiga-

tion transcends our physical sight, so also does our power of sympathy become extended, when we pass from the voiced to the unvoiced, in the study of life. Is there then any possible relation between our own life and that of the plant-world? That there may be such a relation, some of the foremost of scientific men have denied. So distinguished a leader as the late Burdon-Sanderson declared, towards the end of his life, that the majority of plants were not capable of giving any answer, by either mechanical or electrical excitement, to an outside shock. Pfeffer, again, and his distinguished followers, have insisted that the plants have neither a nervous system, nor anything analogous to the nervous impulse of the animal. According to such a view, the two streams of life, in plant and animal, flow side by side, but under the guidance of different laws. The problems of vegetable life are, it must be said, extremely obscure, and for the penetrating of that darkness we have long had to wait for instruments of a superlative sensitiveness. This has been the principal reason for our long clinging to mere theory, instead of looking for the demonstration of facts. But to learn the truth we have to put aside theories, and rely only on direct experiment. We have to abandon all our preconceptions, and put our questions direct, insisting that the only evidence we can accept is that which bears the plant's own signature.

How are we to know what unseen changes take place within the plant? If it be excited or depressed by some special circumstance, how are we, on the outside, to be made aware of this? The only conceivable way would be, if that were possible, to detect and measure the actual response of the organism to a definite external blow. When an animal receives an external shock it may answer in various ways: if it has voice, by a cry; if it be dumb, by the movement of its limbs. The external shock is a stimulus; the answer of the organism is the response. If we can find out the relation between this stimulus and the response, we shall be able to determine the vitality of the plant at that moment. In an excitable condition, the feeblest stimulus will evoke an extraordinarily large response: in a depressed state, even a strong stimulus evokes only a feeble response; and lastly,

when death has overcome life, there is an abrupt end of the power to answer at all.

We might therefore have detected the internal condition of the plant, if, by some inducement, we could have made it write down its own responses. If we could once succeed in this apparently impossible task we should still have to learn the new language and the new script. In a world of so many different scripts, it is certainly undesirable to introduce a new one! I fear the Uniform Script Association will cherish a grievance against us for this. It is fortunate however that the plant-script bears, after all, a certain resemblance to the Devanagari—inasmuch as it is totally unintelligible to any but the very learned!

But there are two serious difficulties in our path; first, to make the plant itself consent to give its evidence; second, through plant and instrument combined, to induce it to give it in writing. It is comparatively easy to make a rebellious child obey: to extort answers from plants is indeed a problem! By many years of close contiguity, however, I have come to have some understanding of their ways. I take this opportunity to make public confession of various acts of cruelty which I have from time to time perpetrated on unoffending plants, in order to compel them to give me answers. For this purpose, I have devised various forms of torment,—pinches simple and revolving, pricks with needles, and burns with acids. But let this pass. I now understand that replies so forced are unnatural, and of no value. Evidence so obtained is not to be trusted. Vivisection, for instance, cannot furnish unimpugnable results, for excessive shock tends of itself to make the response of a tissue abnormal. The experimental organism must therefore be subjected only to moderate stimulation. Again, one has to choose for one's experiment a favourable moment. Amongst plants, as with ourselves, there is, very early in the morning, especially after a cold night, a certain sluggishness. The answers, then, are a little indistinct. In the excessive heat of mid-day, again, though the first few answers are very distinct, yet fatigue soon sets in. On a stormy day, the plant remains obstinately silent. Barring all these sources of aberration, however, if we choose our time wisely, we may succeed in obtaining

clear answers, which persist without interruption.

It is our object, then, to gather the whole history of the plant, during every moment between its birth and its death. Through how many cycles of experience it has to pass! The effects on it of recurring light and darkness; the pull of the earth and the blow of the storm; how complex is the concatenation of circumstances, how various are the shocks, and how multiplex are the replies which we have to analyse! In this vegetal life which appears so placid and so stationary, how manifold are the subtle internal reactions! Then how are we to make this invisible visible?

THE DIARY OF THE PLANT.

The little seedling we know to be growing, but the rate of its growth is far below anything we can directly perceive. How are we to magnify this so as to make it instantly measurable? What are the variations in this infinitesimal growth under external shock? What changes are induced by giving or withholding food? What changes are induced by the action of drugs or poisons? Will the action of poison change with the dose? Is it possible to counteract the effect of one by another?

Supposing that the plant does give answers to external shock, what time elapses between the shock and the reply? Does this latent period undergo any variation with external conditions? Is it possible to make the plant itself write down this excessively minute time-interval?

Next, does the effect of the blow given outside reach the interior of the plant? If so, is there anything analogous to the nerve of the animal? If so, again, at what rate does the nervous impulse travel in the plant? By what favourable circumstances will this rate of transmission become enhanced, and by what will it be retarded or arrested? Is it possible to make the plant itself record this rate and its variations? Is there any resemblance between the nervous impulse in plants and animals? In the animal there are certain automatically-pulsating tissues like the heart. Are there any such spontaneously beating tissues in a plant? What is the meaning of spontaneity? And lastly, when by the blow of death, life itself is finally

extinguished, will it be possible to detect the critical moment? And does the plant then exert itself to make one overwhelming reply, after which response ceases altogether? Its autobiography can only be regarded as complete, if, with the help of efficient instruments, all these questions can be answered by it, so as to form the different chapters.

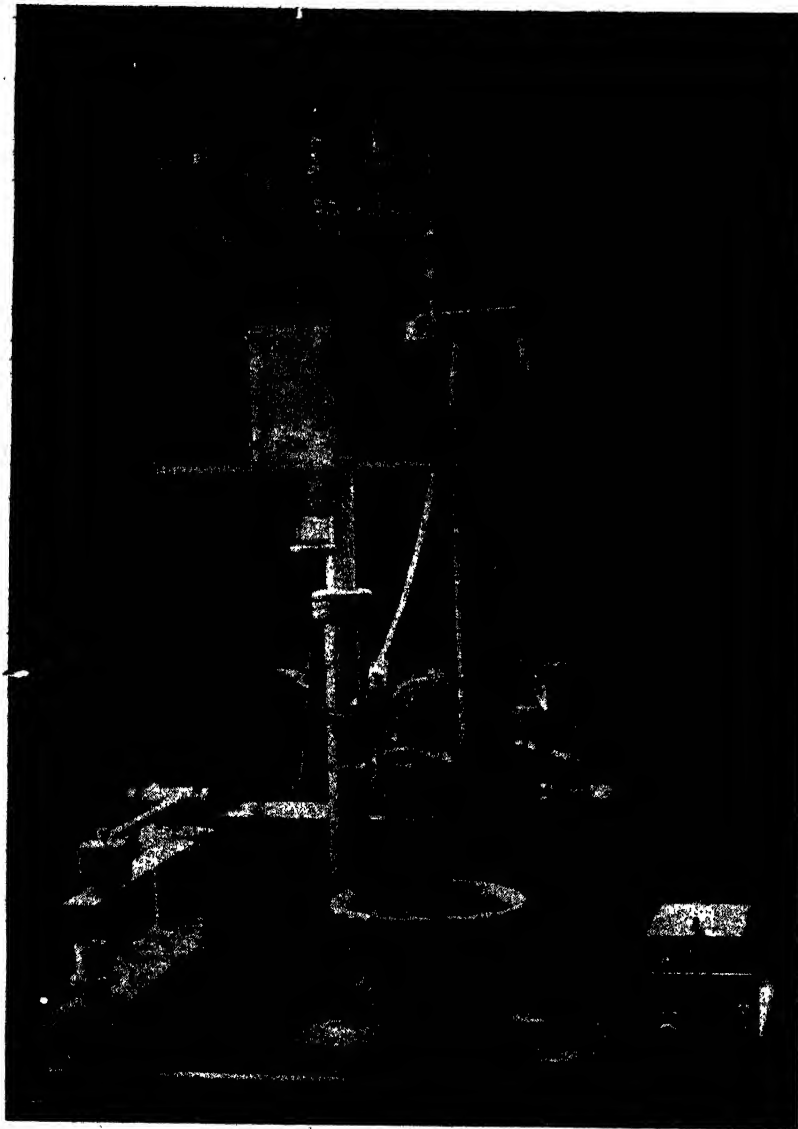
"If the plant could have been made thus to keep its own diary, *then* the whole of its history might have been recovered." But words like these are born of day-dreams merely. Vague imaginings of this kind may furnish gratification only to an idle life.

When awaking from these pleasant dreams of science, we seek to actualise the conditions imposed by them, we find ourselves face to face with a dead wall. For the doorway of nature's court is barred with iron, and through it can penetrate no mere cry of childish petulance. It is only by the gathered force of many years of concentration, that the gate can be opened, and the seeker enter to explore the secrets that have baffled him so long.

DIFFICULTIES OF RESEARCH IN INDIA.

We often hear that without a properly-equipped laboratory, higher research in this country is an absolute impossibility. But while there is a good deal in this, it is not by any means the whole truth. If it were all, then from those countries where millions have been spent on costly laboratories, we should have had daily accounts of new discoveries. Such news we do not hear. It is true that here we suffer from many difficulties, but how does it help us, to envy the good fortune of others? Rise from your depression! Cast off your weakness! Let us think, "In whatever condition we are placed, that is the true starting-place for us". India is our working-place, and all our duties are to be accomplished here, and nowhere else. Only he who has lost his manhood need repine.

In carrying out research, there are other difficulties, besides the want of well-equipped laboratories. We often forget that the real laboratory is one's own mind. The room and the instruments only externalise that. Every experiment has first



THE PHYTOGRAPH.

to be carried out in that inner region. To keep the mental vision clear, great struggles have to be undergone. For its clearness is lost, only too easily. The greatest wealth of external appliances is of no avail, where there is not a concentrated pursuit, utterly detached from personal gain. Those whose minds rush hither and thither, those who hunger for public applause instead of truth itself, by them the quest is not won. To those on the other hand, who

do long for knowledge itself, the want of favourable conditions does not seem the principal obstacle.

In the first place, we have to realise that knowledge for the sake of knowledge is our aim, and that the world's common standards of utility have no place in it. The enquirer must follow where he is led, holding the quiet faith that things which appear to-day to be of no use, may be of the highest interest to-morrow. No height can be climbed, without the hewing of many an unremembered step! It is necessary, then, that the enquirer and his disciples should work on ceaselessly, undeterred by years of failure, and undistracted by the thunder of public applause. We may one day come to realise that India in the past has shared her knowledge with the world, and we may ask ourselves, Is that destiny now ended for us? Are we of today to be debtors only? Perhaps, when we have once felt this, a new Nalanda may arise.

THE PHYTOGRAPH.

I was speaking of the need of various delicate instruments—phytographs, as I shall call them—for the automatic record of the plant's responses. What was, ten years ago, a mere aspiration, has now after so many years of effort, become actual fact. It is unnecessary to tell here of many a fruitless and despairing attempt. Nor shall I trouble you with any account of intricate mechan-

ism. I need only say that with the aid of different types of apparatus, it is now possible for all the responsive activities of the plant to be written down. For instance, we can make an instantaneous record of the growth and its variations, moment by moment. Scripts can be obtained of its spontaneous movements. And a recording-arm will demarcate the line of life from that of death. The extreme delicacy of one of these instruments will be understood, when it is said that it measures and records a time-interval so short as one-thousandth part of a second!

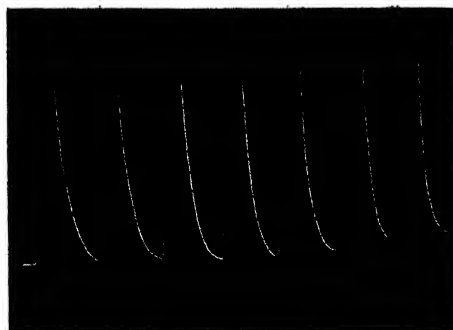
It has been supposed that instruments for research, of this delicacy and precision, were only possible of construction in the best scientific manufactories of Europe. It will therefore be regarded as interesting and encouraging to know that every one of these has been executed entirely in India, by Indian workmen and mechanicians.

With perfect instruments at our disposal, we may proceed to describe a few amongst the many phenomena which now stand revealed. But before this, it is necessary to deal briefly with the superstition that has led to the division of plants into sensitive and insensitive. By the electrical mode of investigation, it can be shown that not only *Mimosa* and the like, but all plants of all kinds are sensitive, and give definite replies to impinging stimuli. Ordinary plants, it is true, are unable to give any conspicuous mechanical indication of excitement. But this is not because of any insensitiveness, but because of equal and antagonistic reactions which neutralise each other. It is possible, however, by employing appropriate means, to show that even ordinary plants give mechanical replies to stimulus.

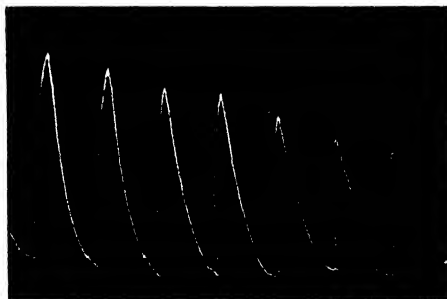
THE DETERMINATION OF THE LATENT PERIOD.

When an animal is struck by a blow, it does not respond at once. A certain short interval elapses between the incidence of the blow, and the beginning of the reply. This lost time is known as the latent period. In the leg of a frog, the latent period, according to Helmholtz, is about one one-hundredth of a second. This latent period, however, undergoes appropriate variation with changing external conditions. With feeble stimulus, it has a definite value,

which, with an excessive blow, is much shortened. In the cold season, it is relatively long. Again, when we are tired, our perception-time, as we may call it, may be greatly prolonged. Everyone of these observations is equally applicable to the



Uniform responses of *Mimosa*.



Fatigue.



Increasing response with increasing stimulus.

perception-time of the plant. In *Mimosa*, in a vigorous condition, the latent period is six one-hundredths of a second, that is to say, only six times its value in an energetic frog! Another curious thing is that a stoutish tree will give its response in

a slow and lordly fashion, whereas a thin one attains the acme of its excitement in an incredibly short time! Perhaps some of us can tell from our own experience whether similar differences obtain amongst human-kind or not. The plant's latent period in our cold weather may be almost doubled. Ordinarily speaking, it takes *Mimosa* about fifteen minutes to recover from a blow. If a second blow be given, before the full recovery of its equanimity, then the plant becomes fatigued, and its latent period is lengthened. When over-fatigued, it may temporarily lose its power of perception altogether. What this condition is like, my audience is only too likely to realise, at the end of my long address!

THE RELATION BETWEEN STIMULUS AND RESPONSE.

According to varying circumstances, the same blow will evoke responses of different amplitudes. Early in the morning, after the prolonged inactivity of a cold night, we find the plant inclined to be lethargic, and its first answers correspondingly small. But as blow after blow is delivered, this lethargy passes off, and the replies become stronger and stronger. A good way to remove this lethargy quickly, is to give the plant a warm bath. In the heat of the midday, this state of things is reversed. That is to say, after giving vigorous replies the plant becomes fatigued, and its responses grow smaller and smaller. This fatigue passes off, however, on allowing it a period of rest. On increasing the intensity of the impinging stimulus, the response also increases. But a limit is attained, beyond which response can no longer be enhanced. Again, just as the pain of a blow persists longer with ourselves, in winter than in summer, so the same holds good of the reaction of the plant also. For instance, in summer it takes *Mimosa* ten to fifteen minutes to recover from a blow, whereas in winter the same thing would take over half an hour. In all this, you will recognise the similarity between human response and that of the plant.

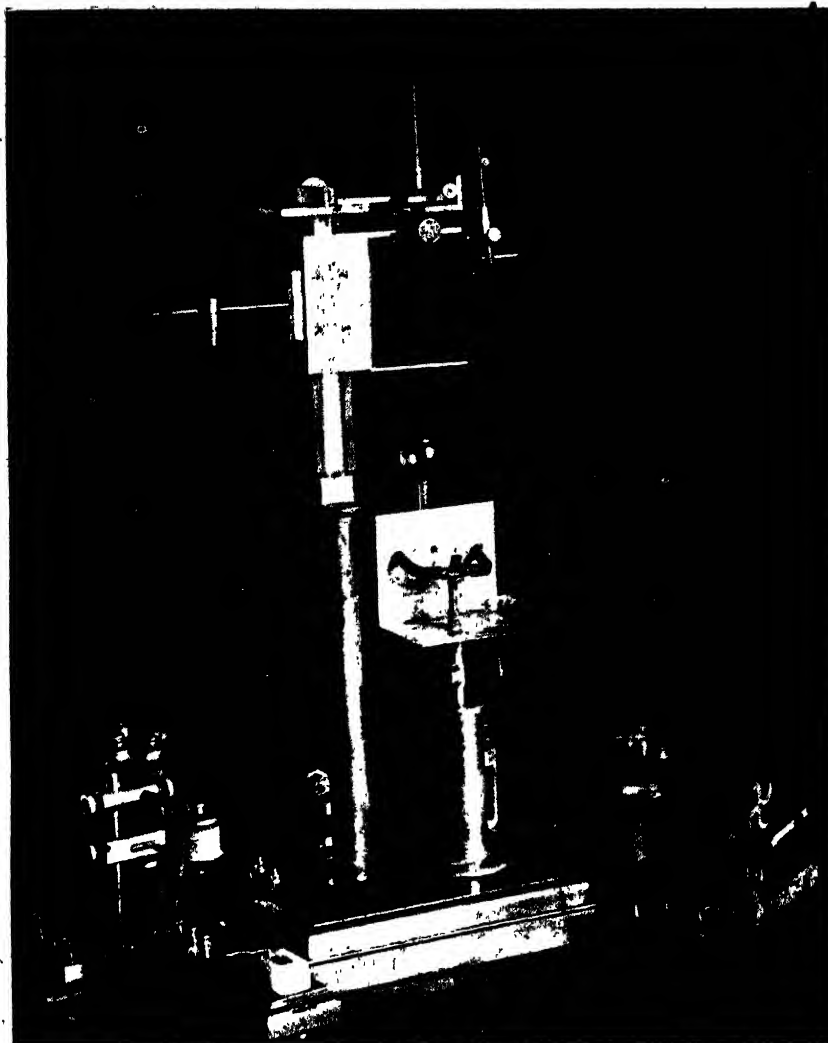
SPONTANEOUS PULSATION.

In certain animal tissues, a very curious phenomenon is observed. In man and

other animals, there are certain tissues which beat, as we say, spontaneously. As long as life lasts, so long does the heart continue to pulsate. There is no effect without a cause. How then was it that these pulsations became spontaneous? To this query, no fully satisfactory answer has been forthcoming. We find, however, that similar spontaneous movements are also observable in plant-tissues, and by their investigation the secret of automatism in the animal may perhaps be unravelled.

Physiologists, in order to know the heart of man, play with those of the frog and tortoise. "To know the heart", be it understood, is here meant in a purely physical, and not in a poetic sense. For this it is not always convenient to employ the whole of the frog. The heart is therefore cut out, and made the subject of experiments as to what conditions accelerate, and what retard, the rate and amplitude of its beat. When thus isolated, the heart tends of itself to come to a standstill, but if, by means of fine tubing, it be then subjected to internal blood-pressure, its beating will be resumed, and will continue uninterrupted for a long time. By the influence of warmth, the frequency of the pulsation may be increased, but its amplitude diminished. Exactly the reverse is the effect of cold. The natural rhythm and the amplitude of the pulse undergo appropriate changes, again, under the action of different drugs. Under ether, the heart may come to a standstill, but on blowing this off the beat is renewed. The action of chloroform is more dangerous, any excess in the dose inducing permanent arrest. Besides these, there are poisons also which arrest the heart-beat, and a very noticeable fact in this connection is, that some stop it in a contracted, and others in a relaxed condition. Knowing these opposed effects, it is sometimes possible to counteract the effect of one poison by administering another.

I have thus briefly stated some of the most important phenomena in connection with spontaneous movements in animal tissues. Is it possible that in plants also any parallel phenomena might be observed? In answer to this question, I may say that I have found numerous instances of automatic movements in plants.



AUTOMATIC PULSE RECORDER.

RHYTHMIC PULSATIONS IN *Desmodium*.

The existence of such spontaneous movements can easily be demonstrated, by means



Arrest of pulsation of *Desmodium* under ether; restoration of pulsation on blowing off ether. The arrow indicates the time of application.

of our Indian *Bon Charal*, the telegraph-plant, or *Desmodium gyrans*, whose small

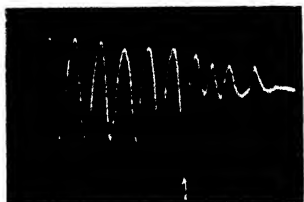
leaflets dance continually. The popular belief that they dance in response to the clapping of the hands is quite untrue. From readings of the scripts made by this plant, I am in a position to state that the automatic movements of both plants and animals are guided by laws which are identical.

Firstly, when, for convenience of experiment, we cut off the leaflet, its spontaneous movements, like those of the heart, come to a stop. But if we now subject the isolated leaflet, by means of a fine tube, to an added internal pressure of the plant's sap, its pulsations are renewed, and continue uninterrupted for a very long time. It is found again that the pulsation-frequency is increased under the action of warmth, and lessened under cold, increased frequency being attended by diminution of amplitude and vice

versa. Under ether, there is a temporary arrest, revival being possible when the vapour is blown off. More fatal is the effect of chloroform. The most extraordinary parallelism, however, lies in the fact that those poisons which arrest the beat of the heart in a particular way, arrest the plant-pulsation also in a corresponding manner. I have thus been able to revive a leaflet poisoned by the application of one, with a dose of a counteracting poison.

Let us now enquire into the causes of these automatic movements so-called. In experimenting with certain types of plant-tissues, I find that an external stimulus may

not always evoke an immediate reply. What happens, then, to the incident energy? It is not really lost, for these particular plant-tissues have the power of storage. In this way, energy derived in various ways from without—as light, warmth, food, and so on—is constantly be-



These two records exhibit opposite effects of different poisons. The upper figure shows the arrest of pulsation in a contracted (up) position; the lower record shows arrest in a relaxed (down) position.



ing accumulated. When a certain point is reached, there is an overflow, and we call this overflow spontaneous movement. Thus what we call automatic is really an overflow of what has previously been stored up. When this accumulated energy is exhausted, then there is also an end of spontaneous



Arrest of pulsation by application of cold water; renewal after absorption of heat from outside.

movements. By abstracting its stored-up heat—through the application of cold water—we can bring to a stop the automatic pulsations of *Desmodium*. But on allowing a fresh accession of heat from outside, these pulsations are gradually restored.

In the matter of these so-called spontane-

ous activities of the plant, I find that there are two distinct types. In one, the overflow is initiated with very little storage, but here the unusual display of activity soon comes to a stop. To maintain such specimens in the rhythmic condition, constant stimulation from outside is necessary. Plants of this type are extremely dependent on outside influences, and when such sources of stimulus are removed, they speedily come to an inglorious stop. *Kamranga* or *Averrhoa* is an example of this kind. In the second type of automatic plant-activity I find that long continued storage is required, before an overflow can begin. But in this case, the spontaneous outburst is persistent and of long duration, even when the plant is deprived of any immediately exciting cause. These, therefore, are not so obviously dependent as the others on the sunshine of the world. Our telegraph-plant, *Desmodium* or *Bon charal*, is an example of this.

It appears to me that we have here a suggestive parallel to certain phenomena with which this audience will surely prove more familiar than I, namely, the facts of literary inspiration! For the attainment of this exalted condition, also, is it not necessary to have previous storage, with a consequent bubbling overflow? Certain indications incline me to suspect that perhaps in this also we have an example of so-called spontaneity, or automatic responsiveness. If this be so, aspirants to the condition might well be asked to decide in whose footsteps they will choose to tread—those of *Kamranga*, with its dependence on outside influences, and inevitably ephemeral activity, or those of *Bon charal*, with its characteristic of patient long-enduring accumulation of forces, to find uninterrupted and sustained expression.

THE PLANT'S RESPONSE TO THE SHOCK OF DEATH.

A time comes when, after one answer to a supreme shock, there is a sudden end of the plant's power to give any response. This supreme shock is the shock of death. Even in this crisis, there is no immediate change in the placid appearance of the plant. Drooping and withering are events that occur long after death itself. How does the plant then, give this last answer?

In man, at the critical moment, a spasm passes through the whole body, and similarly in the plant, I find that a great contractile spasm takes place. This is accompanied by an electrical spasm also. In the script of the Morograph, or Death-recorder, the line that up to this point was being drawn, becomes suddenly reversed, and then ends. This is the last answer of the plant.

These our mute companions, silently growing beside our door, have now told us the tale of their life-tremulousness and their death-spasm, in script that is as inarticulate as they. May it not be said that this their story has a pathos of its own, beyond any that the poets have conceived?

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS IN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

(March 1911)

London, April 7th 1911.

PEACE AND ARMAMENTS.

THE GREAT ILLUSION—BY NORMAN ANGELL.
(THIRD EDITION, WILLIAM HEINEMANN,
LONDON 2/6 NETT).

THIS is not exactly a new book, even the present (third) edition is three months old. It was first published in 1909, reprinted twice in the first half of 1910, the second edition was published in November, 1910, and in two month's time there was a call for a third edition, which came out in January last. The way that it has caught the popular fancy, is seen from the fact that foreign editions, presumably, I think, translations of it, are now ready, or in course of preparation in almost all the European countries, as well as in America and Japan. And the reason of it is that it throws quite a new light upon a problem that is exercising at the present moment, the best minds almost all the world over.

And it has been named "The Great Illusion" because the author shows up completely the baselessness of the popular notion that conquest promotes commerce, and, therefore, for the protection of a nation's industries and wealth, it is essential that it should be perpetually armed to the teeth, to keep away all invaders off its frontiers. To quote his own summary of his thesis:—

What are the real motives prompting international rivalry in armaments, particularly Anglo-German rivalry? Each nation pleads that its armaments are purely for defence, but such plea necessarily implies

that other nations have some interest in attack. What is this interest, or supposed interest?

The supposed interest has its origin in the universally accepted theory that military and political power give a nation commercial and social advantages, that the wealth and prosperity of the defenceless nation are at the mercy of stronger nations, who may be tempted by such defencelessness to commit aggression, so that each nation is compelled to protect itself against the possible cupidity of its neighbours.

And it is this universally-accepted theory which the writer challenges in this small volume, and declares it to be based "upon a pure optical illusion." This is the genesis of the name of this somewhat remarkable book.

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WAR IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN ECONOMICS.

It is essentially, thus, a study of the problem of national armaments, from the view-point of modern economics; and so far as the European and American situation is concerned, the author seems to have almost absolutely proved his case. He shows the international character of modern finance; economic disturbance in London, or New York, or Berlin, or St. Petersburg, for instance, would affect the money-markets of the whole of his world. Modern commerce is based upon a very complicated system of credit and contract.

"If these are tampered with, in an attempt at confiscation by a conqueror, the credit-dependent wealth not only vanishes, thus giving the conqueror nothing for his conquest, but in its collapse involves the conqueror; so that if conquest is not to injure the conqueror, he must scrupulously respect the enemy's property, in which case conquest becomes economically futile."

For instance, the German invasion of

Great Britain, it is believed, would at once upset British commerce and destroy British credit. No body denies that it would do so: But the question is, would it not as seriously upset German commerce and to a large extent, really destroy German credit at the same time? Mr. Angell answers this question with an emphatic yea. After quoting a "fiery patriot" who wrote the following letter to a London paper:—

"When the German army is looting the cellars of the Bank of England, and carrying off the foundations of our whole national fortune, perhaps the twaddlers who are now screaming about the wastefulness of building four more *Dreadnaughts* will understand why sane men are regarding this opposition as treasonable nonsense."

he asks—what would be the effect of such an action upon Germany herself? The first effect would be that, as the Bank of England is the banker of all other banks in this country, there would be a run on every bank in England, and all would suspend payment. Simultaneously German bankers, many with credit in London, would feel the effect; merchants the world over threatened with ruin by the effect of the collapse in London would immediately call in all their credit in Germany, and German finance would present a condition of chaos hardly less terrible than that in England. Mr. Angell computes, that were the German army guilty of such economic vandalism, the damage to German credit would be so serious that, "it is not putting the case too strongly to say that for every pound taken from the Bank of England, German trade would pay a thousand." The fact is that such economic vandalism is absolutely inconceivable under modern conditions of the international credit and contract system, through which the world-commerce works. The conqueror will have to scrupulously respect private property, and safe-guard international credit, which would be impossible without at the same time safe-guarding the national credit of the conquered country.

THE GERMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

But suppose that Germany did succeed in conquering Great Britain, how would she profit economically?—asks Mr. Angell. Economic vandalism is out of the question. She could not put German capitalists in

possession of the existing British works: could she? That would mean this self-same economic vandalism. Could she transport German workmen to take the place of British operatives? That would presuppose that she must kill the British workmen *en masse*. And if the British works remain, if British workmen remain, the British produce will also, necessarily, remain, just as they are to-day, and if it be so, these British products will sell as much as they do now, and if this sale is interfered with, this interference will be due to economic causes, quite independent of the political or military conditions of the country; provided, of course, that the conqueror is able to guarantee personal and proprietary safety to the conquered people. This is the main argument of Mr. Angell. No one can question the force of this argument. So far as credit is concerned, Mr. Angell rightly points to the very significant fact that the credit of small states like Switzerland, or Norway, or Denmark, or Holland, stands much higher than that of such big and military states as Germany or Russia or France. All this is true. But there is one defect in his book.

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OVERLOOKING THE ASIATIC AND AFRICAN LOOT.

And the defect is that in considering the economic aspects of the question of European armaments, and international rivalries in naval and military matters, he misses the real motive of all these. No one speaks openly of that motive. It would not be safe to do so. It would hardly even be decent to acknowledge it. That motive is colonial or territorial expansion in countries that stand so far, practically, outside the European credit-and-contract system. The conquest of Africa, for instance, by any European Power, or of parts of Asia also, would not, except through military reverses, seriously disturb European credit or finance; on the contrary, at the close of such a war of invasion, the credit of the conquering country would stand very much higher than what it was before the war. And the direct economic advantage to the conquering nation would not be very small either. All the great European nations today are, very largely, manu-

facturing nations. The German conquest of Great Britain would bring to the conqueror no direct economic benefit, it is true; but this conquest would mean also the transference of the sovereign political authority over India, for instance, and other British possessions,—not the Colonies or Dominions, as the self-governing states of the British Empire are called—from England to Germany; and Germany would then be able to exploit the undeveloped resources of these possessions for her own benefit, finding raw materials for her industries, and populous markets for her manufactures. It is really the African and Asiatic zone, that stands outside the European or Asiatic credit system, which form the inner motive of all these preparations for war and defence. No sane Britisher believes, in his heart of hearts, that there would be any need to protect his Island from German conquest. What he is nervous about is what he calls his Empire, which really means his dependency and other possessions. Mr. Angell does not at all consider this question in his admirable book. Strange to say that this aspect of the problem has not, so far as I am aware, been even noticed by any of his numerous critics. Indeed his over emphasis on the economic interdependence of what he calls civilization, has blinded him to what seems to me, to be the real root of the problem he so cleverly tackles. The Asiatic and the African loot stands, as it seems to me, as the great solid fact, at the back of what the writer of this book so easily dismisses as a mere optical illusion.

ATTILA AND BANK-RATES.

By implication, and quite incidentally, however, Mr. Angell himself shows how the entire fabric of his argument would fall to pieces, if it were judged in the light of the present condition of great parts of Asia or Africa. Commenting on the possibilities of economic vandalism, resulting from a German invasion of London, Mr. Angell says:—

"The German Generalissimo in London might be no more civilized than Attila himself, but he would soon find the difference between himself and Attila. Attila, luckily for him, did not have to worry about a bank-rate and such-like complications."

Are there such-like complications that a

European Generalissimo may be called upon to face in Morocco, the Soudan, Persia or Afghanistan? And the real rivalry of the European powers is just for the possession of these lands that have no bank-rate and such like complications: and it is just this fact which the writer misses.

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PEACE AND ARBITRATION QUESTION IN THE APRIL MAGAZINES.

As was only natural, the English magazines for April devote considerable space to the consideration of this question, that has somewhat suddenly come to the front, owing to the recent declarations of the American President and the British Foreign Secretary. Judging, however, from these magazine-articles, it would seem that there is a powerful body of British opinion which views with absolute distrust this Taft-idea, as it is somewhat irreverently called. But one should not forget that the British Reviews are, in our day, predominantly jingoistic in tone and policy. They hardly represent now the highwater mark of British thought, as some of them, at any rate, did a couple of decades back. The present articles also, do not in any way represent the sober sentiment of the people, which is distinctly in favour of finding out some practical way of settling international issues in the same peaceful and orderly way in which private disputes are settled in civilization, these loud-tongued jingo reviewers notwithstanding. The war feeling is, still, there; and curious to say, it is even in the Church of Christ; and a few days back we had quite a ferocious sermon from an Anglican clergyman, on the good that war does to man, in his present unregenerate condition. The leading article, on this subject, in the *Nineteenth Century*, follows this pious line of thinking. It is headed—

"GOD'S TEST BY WAR"

and is from the pen of Mr. Harold F. Wyatts. Who this eminent gentleman is, I do not know, and cannot yet say. The old "Who is Who" gives no clue to his identity. But he must be a pious man, or he would not have written under such a heading. He looks upon war as the "divinely instituted test of a nation's soul,—the machinery by which national corruption and national virtue are punished and rewarded." The conquest of the Congo

by the Belgians, or of Algeria by the French, or of the Zululand partly by the Dutch and partly by the British, and all that these have meant both to the conquerors and the conquered, are, in the light of this pious principle, results of moral elevation on the one side and moral depravity on the other; or, in other words, the stronger brute is the more moral man. There is, of course, a view of history and historical providence, which would clearly recognise the realisation of the purposes of God in and through these human conflicts and miseries. But that is not Mr. Wyatts's view, in any case. For if at one time man fought like animals, and through such fights developed his manhood, the object of that stage of his evolution, like that of every stage in evolution, — was to raise him out of it, into a higher stage, to cure his brutality by its own exhaustion, through pursuit of brutal ends through brutal methods. In the present stage, the time has come when moral forces should have freer play in human evolution. The peace proposals mean only this demand. But Mr. Wyatts has no appreciation of these and discusses what answers Japan and Germany might be expected to give to the suggestion of settlement by arbitration, as a substitute for the trial of the sword.

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THE FOOL ON THE PEACE PATH.

The National Review, of course, could not be expected to take any moral view of the problem. It is the most vulgar of the British Reviews, and its name is a libel upon the British nation. Mr. Maxse, the editor of this Review, therefore, naturally sees nothing good in the present proposals; in the country, he declares, "every flatulent fool is on the peace path;" while abroad, there is "Homeric laughter from Hamburg to Constantinople, from St. Petersburg to Lisbon."

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SOME SOBER VIEWS.

In the *Contemporary*, Mr. Harold Spender writes on this subject, and while he is, like many others, somewhat sceptical as to the actual results likely to come out of Mr. Taft's proposal, he recognises the brighter elements in the situation. The *English Review* takes a similar view, and while

recognising that both economics and ethics, as well as religion itself in its broader, humanitarian aspects, are distinctly making for peace, admits that "we have not yet reached the millenium of peace." The most earnest pronouncement on the subject, however, is that of Jean Finot in the *Contemporary*, who says:—

The brutal conquest of nations has had its day. You can annex their commerce, but not their mind. The hope which lies at the bottom of a national consciousness is stronger than the blows which assail our bodies. Nations live as long as they are not willing to die. War has become a profession of dupes. It sheds plenty of blood and brings about infinite misfortunes, but its conquests are temporary and delusive. It is not victorious armies which determine and mould the destiny of nations. Civilisation alone counts. It creates, grows and destroys communities.

II.

CIVILISED VALUES.

The Simple Life: by Charles Wagner. Translated from the French by Marie Louise Hendee. Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd., London. 1911. Price 1/-nett.

It is a small but rather remarkable book, the work of a comparatively unknown but remarkable man. From an introductory biographical sketch of the author, prefixed to the Essay, we learn that the author, though at present a pastor in Paris, is in reality, "a shepherd from the hill country." He was born in 1852, in a hamlet in the hilly tracts of Alsace and Lorraine. He comes from a long line of religious teachers and was trained from his early youth for the Christian ministry. Like all true poets and prophets, he grew up amidst charming sylvan surroundings, far from the madding life of cities and towns. In his last book—*The Soul of Things*—Wagner, forty years later, describes what the village was, at least to him:—

"I wished to see again the green valleys where I ran about forty years ago. In the embalmed solitude of the meadow, I walked along the same little winding path, just where it used to be. The brook runs down the same declivity, under the willow trees. The image of the daisies and the golden buds is still reflected in it. The furtive trout still hides himself from sight. The world, here, is gracious and small. The Vosges here become little hills. Between their undulations, covered with pine and beech trees, the valleys wind away to the low horizon. The blackbirds answer one another from hillock to hillock. A soft light envelopes everything. The heart is calmed, the eyes are rested. In this peace of nature, undisturbed by cry or trace of struggle, I feel

myself welcomed like a loved traveller who has returned to his home. I slowly penetrate into the sanctuary of memories. The long years, the changing life, the sad or happy stages, known far away in the unquiet city, all recede, are all dispersed into the form of a dream. I am not very sure that this is I, the man who is known over there in the society of men, who has his name and his place marked on the ardent field of battle.

I quote from these recollections of Charles Wagner's childhood, to show somewhat what type of a soul he has. It is the soul of the poet, the soul, too, of the seer. For every true poet is also a great seer. Their vision peers beyond the seen to the unseen, seizes the ultimate Reality behind all mere appearances, recognises the spiritual in the material, and, thus, enables them to reveal the soul of truth, beauty, and love in all things. Such a man is Charles Wagner: a *man* in the true sense of the term, and not a mere automaton to which civilisation reduces such immense multitudes of men and women in our age. His life is the story of a growth. Born and brought up in the simple and dogmatic faith of his fathers, when he grew up, he found that faith insufficient to feed the life that was bubbling within him. Doubts and questionings arose as they arise to all who really live and grow. It was during the Franco-German war Wagner reached, what his biographer rightly calls, his "religious climacteric." And strange to relate of a youth of eighteen, as he then was, Wagner hardly perceived the war.

His moral and intellectual life dashed and broke against the religious structure reared in it. His habit of sounding and questioning his ideas and beliefs, and trying to find a reason for them, had ended in making him doubt everything and in wiping out of his mind all that he had hitherto believed. Nothing remained—for he was sure of nothing. In great events as in the minutest details of daily life, he felt only the terrible uncertainty and insincerity of all things.

It was at this time that Spinoza fell into his hands; and Spinoza gave him back all that he had lost. "He became so sure of God that he could believe in nothing else than the Absolute." We are all familiar with this type of piety. It is fervent, imaginative, but its leanings towards the abstract, to the almost complete denial of the concrete, an ignoring in the all-absorbing consciousness of the Absolute, of even the relative realities of the world,—makes it dreamy and unreal. In escaping the illusions of appearances, it falls into a greater illusion

itself—the illusion of the Abstract-Universal. Wagner passed through this stage for two years. It was in his twentieth year that he once more found himself, so to say; and realised that—

"It is not enough, it is not enough to believe in God, one must believe in man in humanity and its future!"

Summing up these early years of Wagner, his biographer says, that

"He had entered upon his studies a child, terrified by the orthodox Lutheran faith, and crushed by a series of misfortunes and deaths, interpreted as punishments of God; he came out of them a healthy young fellow, full of energy and hope, satisfied with the world, with man, and with God."

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WHAT IS SIMPLICITY?

Such is the man who has been putting all our current civilised values to the test. "Simple Life" is not, therefore, in any way a plea for the old and mediaeval ascetic life. The writer is a modern, in full touch with all the realities of the modern life. He fully recognises the complexities of our present civilisation. But he contends that it is not impossible to realise the ideal of the simple life, even in the midst of all these complexities. For

Simplicity does not belong to such and such economic or social phases: rather, it is a spirit, able to vivify and modify lives of very different sorts. It is impossible for us to be simple in the forms our fathers used, we may remain simple, or return to simplicity in spirit. Our ways are not their ways, but the journey's end remains in truth the same.

But while frankly admitting everything that can be claimed for what we call progress; that the increase in our needs is "not an evil in itself," but is "often a mark of progress", he contends that "if certain needs exist by right, and are desirable, there are others whose effects are fatal, which like parasites, live at our expense: numerous and imperious, they engross us completely."

* * * * *

THE SPOILED CHILD OF CIVILISATION.

Our so-called conquest of nature was expected to give us increased independence, by placing at our disposal means and forces, that would make the sustaining and defending our material life easier for us than it was for our fathers. Increase of independence would mean increase of happiness, and "a decrease in competition for worldly

goods." That was the natural expectation of man from his increasing knowledge of the ways and secrets of nature. It was even thought that by freeing man from his old subjection to outer nature forces, civilisation would make for a higher degree of morality. But says Wagner—

None of these things have come to pass. Neither happiness nor brotherly love, nor power for good has been increased. In the first place, do you think your fellow-citizens, taken as a whole, are more contented than their forefathers, and less anxious about the future? I do not ask if they find reason to be so, but if they really are so. To see them live, it seems to me that a majority of them are discontented with their lot, and above all, absorbed in material needs and beset with cares for the morrow. Never has the question of food and shelter been sharper or more absorbing than since we are better nourished, better clothed, and better housed than ever. He errs greatly who thinks that the query, "What shall we eat, and what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?"—presents itself to the poor alone, exposed as they are to the anguish of morrows without bread or roof. With them the question is natural, and yet it is with them that it presents itself most simply. You must go among those who are beginning to enjoy a little ease, to learn how greatly satisfaction in what one has may be disturbed by regret for what one lacks. And if you would see anxious care for future material good, material good in all its luxurious development, observe people of small fortune, and, above all, the rich. It is not the woman with one dress who asks most insistently how she shall be clothed, nor is it those reduced to the strictly necessary who make most question of what they shall eat tomorrow. As an inevitable consequence of the law that needs are increased by their satisfaction, *the more goods a man has, the more he wants.*

And owing to this fact, the "complex mental state" of modern civilisation, says the writer, can be "best compared to the petulance of the spoiled child, at once satisfied and discontented."

* * * *

MODERN ANARCHY.

And owing to this abnormal increase in man's wants, and the general scramble for the satisfaction of these, civilisation has absolutely failed to promote peace and fraternity among men. "The more desires and needs a man has, the more occasion he finds for conflict with his fellow men; and these conflicts are more bitter in proportion as their causes are less just." The civilised man "has surrendered himself to

the inner anarchy of desire, which in the end gives birth to outer anarchy."

For the man enslaved to numerous and exacting needs, possession is the supreme good and the source of all other good things. It is true that in the fierce struggle for possession, we come to hate those that possess, and to deny the right of property when this right is in the hands of others and not our own.

* * *

WHERE IS THE REMEDY.

Charles Wagner boldly dismisses all the popular panaceas of this modern anarchy. Neither education nor liberty will cure this disease. Tyranny, ignorance and want, these three were, at one time, held responsible for all the crimes and miseries of human existence. They are still so considered. But neither the expansion of liberty, nor the advance of education, not even the "unquestionable diminution of want" has made man better or happier. Education, after all, is only a tool; and everything depends upon the workman who uses it. So it is with liberty. "Is it liberty still," he asks "when it is the prerogative of criminals or heedless blunderers?" Liberty is an atmosphere of the higher life.

When man has once recognised the inner law, and bowed before it, through this reverence and voluntary submission he is ripe for liberty: so long as there is no vigorous and sovereign inner law, he is incapable of breathing its air; for he will be drunken with it, maddened, morally slain.

All this sounds like a message from the East. And yet, the writer is a Frenchman, a Parisian—and his diagnosis and the cure of the modern disease, are absolutely correct. The cure is the simple life: simplicity of speech, simplicity of thought, simple duty, simple pleasures, simple beauty, simple family-life,—all these, to each of which is devoted a small chapter of this book, these alone will save modern civilisation. This simple life has, the writer says, "a whole forgotten world of strength and beauty." The theme is inspiring: the treatment is charming, because so simple and homely. I would strongly recommend this little book to the reader, as an antidote to the poison that has also commenced to attack the life and civilisation of India.

N. H. D.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Random Thoughts: by Sudhir Chandra Roy: Price 0/4/0.

This brochure contains some brief discourses on falsehood, marriage and similar subjects. They are not badly written and would be appreciated in a college debating society or literary union, but we fail to perceive why the writer took the trouble of having them printed and published in pamphlet form.

P.

Mysore Patriotism: Printed by Rama Iyar & Co., Esplanade Row, Madras, 1911.

The book is a collection of articles on Mysore which appeared in the *Indian Patriot* and is primarily meant for his Highness the Maharaja. It is nicely printed on good paper, and deals principally with the vexed question of Mysoreans *vs.* Madrasces in the State Public Service. Incidentally facts have been referred to from which it is not difficult to gather that the administration is becoming too bureaucratic and that the touch of sympathy which animates the government of Baroda at the present day and characterised the regime of Sir Sheshadri Iyer shows regrettable signs of decline. We hope His Highness will see to it that the fame of Mysore as a model principality does not fade away for want of a capable guiding hand.

P.

Theosophy Unveiled: by Swami Kalyanananda Bharati: Cocanada. Price 0/4/0.

The writer takes his stand on Vedantism and combats in this pamphlet some of the theosophical interpretations of Hindu theology which he considers to be 'worthless stuff.'

A Critical Appreciation of Kalidasa's Meghasandesa: by M. Rangacharya, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras. Price 0/8/0.

High as were the expectations raised in us by the name of the author, we have not been disappointed. We have here within the compass of 103 pages, an elaborate exposition of one of Kalidasa's best known productions. The criticisms are in the finest style. The students of our colleges who have to study this Sanskrit work will find the book under review not only useful, but indispensable. The book is neatly printed on India paper, and well got up, and is decidedly cheap at the price.

Kalidas, his poetry and mind: by Akhil Chandra Chatterjea, M.A., B. L. Price Rs. 1/8/0. Pp. 237.

We sincerely welcome this attempt on the part of an Indian writer to give us a consistent and complete account of the mind and art of the greatest of Indian poets. A critique on *Sakuntala* was published in Bengali

by the late Babu Chandra Nath Basu, and solitary essays dealing with individual characters or the distinguishing characteristics of Kalidas, have now and then appeared in the magazines. A Bengali work on Kalidas by Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan appeared some time ago. Lately an able series of studies on Kalidas's *Ritusamharu* appeared in the *Karmayogin* from the masterly pen of Mr. Arabindo Ghose. Mr. Chatterjee has done a great service by dealing with Kalidas as a whole, in the manner of western scholars. The age and times of Kalidas have been amply discussed and all the available materials have been utilised in treating of the subject. Copious extracts, illustrating the peculiar traits of Kalidas's genius, have been given, and a critical study of the drama of *Sakuntala* has been appended. The book is printed on thin paper, but we hope the get up will improve in the second edition, and ample justice will be done to some of Kalidas's less known works. To students, professors and lay readers alike the book will prove highly useful and instructive.

P.

The Intermediate Logic. Compiled by Lala Ram Purshad, Lahore.

This is an analysis of Dr. Jevons's Text Book of Logic intended for Intermediate students.

P.

Agra in Pictures, by Satya Chandra Mukherji, M.A., B.L., with 35 full plate illustrations, xii+85, (Indian Press, Allahabad.) Price Rs. 5-0-0.

Paper, illustration and cover combine to make the volume an admirable ornament of the drawing-room table and a nice present to a friend, while its price will recommend it to many as a guide-book to Agra and its environs. The plates are beautifully large and distinct. Only the Taj (frontispiece) is out of date in respect of the enclosure garden, and the Sarcophagus over Akbar's tomb (p. 58), the Hiran Minar (p. 78) and the side view of the Taj (p. 38) are rather blurred. The others will be a joy for ever to stay at home people. We suggest the following corrections in the legends. For "inlaid work in stone, Agra" (facing p. 36) read "Painting at Itimad-ud-daula," and for "Diwani Am, front view" (facing p. 49) read "Diwan-i-am, side view." In view of the excessive width of the book the binding should have been stronger, and the plates mounted on guards.

One does not usually expect accurate scholarship in a guide-book. But it would be an insult to Mr. S. Mukherji to judge him by the standard of the vulgar. Besides, he claims to have brought this edition abreast of "recent Archaeological researches." A critical examination of his chapters, however, does not yield us unmixed delight. The dates are usually wrong.

Babar took Agra in 1526 and not in 1501 (p. 1a). Shihabuddin Ghori crushed Prithvi Raj in 1192 and not next year (p. 3b.). Sikandar Lodi died in 1518 and not in 1571—81 (p. 4b.). On page 3, Mr. Mukherji repeats the heresy about the "Rathor chiefs of Kanauj," who were really of the Gaharwad tribe, as they admit in their copper-plate grants. On the next page we have the astounding statement that Bahar was a *Pathan* chief! On page 5a for "Biana" read "Sikri." A full account of Agra before Shah Jahan's time could have been easily got from the authoritative Persian history of Abdul Hamid Lahori, (edition in the Bibliotheca Indica, i. 154—158) and the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's translation, ii. 180); but Mr. Mukherji has consulted only worthless modern English writers. On page 7, we read, "The younger Pitt at 24 successfully met the bold designs of Napoleon Bonaparte." Now, Pitt no doubt became Prime Minister at the above mentioned "school-boy's age" (in 1783); but Napoleon was then only *fourteen years* old, and we are called upon to believe that he had already become a menace to England! The great Corsican was certainly a superman, but not quite so precocious a genius as our learned "gold medallist in History" makes him out to be. Here, as in some other places, Mr. Mukherji has let his rhetoric run away with him, which is surprising in a writer of his culture and year of life. The name of Ralph Fitch is invariably spelt as Finch. Akbar did not "cut off all connections with Central Asia" as is asserted on p. 7b. Dara was murdered at Khizpur in the suburbs of Delhi and not at Agra (p. 13a.) The public Audience Hall in the Agra Fort and the screen of the Taj were both constructed by Shah Jahan and not by Aurangzib, if we are to believe contemporary authorities. Akbar was *eighth* and not fourth in descent from Timur (p. 59.). On page 10, Mr. Mukherji designates the administrations of our Governors-general as "reigns." This elevation of the Secretary of State's "agent" will delight the hearts of Lord Minto and the *Times*, who have fiercely assailed Lord Morley for lowering the Burra Iat Sahib's dignity. The account of the architects of the Taj (p. 33a) is not up to date. *Vide* my article "Who Built the Taj?" in the *Hindustan Review* (and the reply it called forth from Maulvi Abdul Wali) and Father Hosten's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (June, 1910). Akbar did not "elaborate his administrative measures in the Diwan-i-Khas of Agra", for the excellent reason that that palace was constructed thirty years after his death (p. 50.).

There are some astounding mistakes of grammar which can be accounted for only by supposing that Mr. Mukherji did not revise his draft nor read the proofs. The style of the book as a whole leaves an unpleasant impression of needless diffusion and shallow rhetorical display, which one was not prepared for in the work of an accomplished scholar like Mr. Satya Chandra Mukherji.

J. SARKAR.

Suvarnamala, years 1 and 2. (Purshotam & Co., Lakshmi Art Press, Dadar, Bombay.) Annual subscription Rs. 2, post free.

We pity the public outside Bombay who do not sufficiently know about these nice little art-books. Eight parts, each with an elegant Art-cover, are bound with

a satin ribbon, issued every year, at the chief festivals, such as Ganesh Puja, Diwali, Shiva Ratri, Holi, New Year, Ram Navami, Naga Panchami and Krishna's Nativity Day. Each number costs four annas only and contains from 14 to 16 half-tone pictures, and descriptive letter press in English, Marathi, Hindi, and Gujarati. The workmanship of Mr. Purshottam Visram Mawji's Art Press has greatly improved since the series was started, and in the latest numbers received the reproduction deserves high praise for its clearness and delicacy. The illustrations are all on Indian subjects, such as scenes from the Sanskrit epics and *Puranas*, pictures of popular festivals and domestic scenes in Western India, copies of the fresco-paintings and carvings in our cave temples, and pictures of the Rajput and Indo-Persian schools from old illuminated manuscripts and albums of the Muhammadan period. We have no better art-books so distinctly Indian for presentation to friends.

As for the artistic merit of the illustrations, most of them are drawn by Mr. Dhurandhar, a singularly gifted artist, who, though not always free from a certain crudeness and conventionality of treatment, stands unrivalled in India in the expression of power and the delineation of the free majestic womanhood of Maharashtra and beauty of background. Nor do some of his figures lack a nymph-like grace. Only, he is now and then false to history, and gives a poor hermit's wife a jewelled girdle which might have rivalled the cestus of Venus. He forgets that thin muslin robes, revealing the skin under sevenfold layers, were never worn by the common people even in the golden age. Mr. Mhatre, who has illustrated the last number, that about Nala-Damayanti, merely aims at prettiness, and his pictures leave an impression of artificiality and lack of aesthetic truth and power.

J. SARKAR.

BENGALI.

Santana (Consolation): by Keshab Chandra Basu: Girish Library, 21, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price 0.8/0.

This is a nicely printed volume of poems, inspired by the death of the writer's beloved spouse. They speak well of the heart of the writer, but this exhausts all that we can say in praise of the poems. The money spent in publishing these effusions would have been better utilised if given to some charitable cause in memory of the deceased.

P.

Shatik Mathi Likhita Susamachar: (The Gospel of Matthew with commentary): prepared by Rev. Arthur Fewson. Published by the Bengal Sunday Union, Calcutta, 1910.

This attempt of the Bengal Sunday School Union to popularise the gospel must be admitted to be more successful than the one which we remember to have come across in our boyhood and which was as much a source of delight to our youthful minds as the advertisements of Mother Seigel's Syrup rendered into Bengali. Nevertheless we cannot say that the translation is free from obscurity; nay, if the truth must be told, in spite of the assistance rendered by Bengali friends, it is much too obscure. The frequent juxtaposition of classical Sanskrit words with colloquial slang often gives, in these pages, a ridiculous turn to a sublime discourse. A glance through one of

these missionary publications cannot but raise, by way of contrast, our admiration for the Indian intellect which has shown a far greater power of assimilating the English language than Anglo-Indians have displayed in mastering the idioms of Indian vernaculars.

P.

Shah Jela! : by Rajani Ranjan Deb, B.A. Dinanath Press, Sylhet. Price 0/6/0.

In this little book the author has shown a commendable spirit of research in trying to unearth the history of one of the local heroes of the district of Sylhet. We hope the young author will continue his researches and give us the benefit of his studies in other volumes to follow.

P.

Meghaduta. Translated by Nitye Chand Sil. Price 0/8/0.

We have come across other metrical translations of this classical work, but though some of them are more scholarly than this unpretentious little volume, it is very pleasant reading, the flow being musical and sweet, and we trust it will have a wide circulation.

P.

HINDI.

Bhāratbarsh ka Itihas, the Ages of the Vedas and the Rishis, by Professor Ramdevji, Gurukul College, Haridwar, 1910. xvi+712. Price Re 1.4 as.

The title 'history' is a misnomer when applied to a book of this sort. It is a mere description of life and manners in the Vedic and Epic ages. It records no change, no growth of institutions, beliefs or literature, no history of the rise and fall of states or dynasties. It only gives full information about how our Aryan ancestors (—Frown not, spirit of Risley, when I use the term!)—lived and thought. Its value lies in its wealth of Sanskrit verses quoted as evidence, its painstaking and exact reference to chapter and verse, and its minute detail about every phase of ancient Indian life. The style is not ornate, but none the less pleasant and perspicuous.

The author interprets our past frankly from the wellknown point of view of the Arya Samaj, which may be bluntly summed up in the sentence, "All good things of the world existed in Vedic India and in Vedic India alone." The book is essentially a polemic treatise, and the author has neither the critical spirit nor the intellectual equipment necessary in one who would produce the standard "history of India written by her own sons" which we had been fondly expecting from the Gurukul. Prof. Ramdevji has discharged his heavy batteries of literary mosquitoes like Lethbridge and Ragozin, quite oblivious of the fact that no scholar cares for the opinions of these writers. He starts with a prejudice against European orientalisks, which disqualifies him for an impartial survey of ancient India, and detracts from the value of his writings. How very remote he is from the standpoint of modern research will be judged from the fact that he takes the *Ramayan* as history. Then, again, he evidently does not know that a European historian, Mr. V. A. Smith, has refuted the very

theory of Lethbridge which professor Ramdevji holds up to deserved ridicule on p. 2 (Preface). And yet he denounces European writers on India as a class!

We have risen from a perusal of this book with a sad feeling that we are here very far from the spirit in which Indian history,—indeed all history—should be written, a thirst of truth regardless of fatigue, loss or obloquy, ay, if need be, regardless also of wounding our most cherished beliefs and our most soothing sense of national complacency, for "Truth is great and will prevail" सत्यमेव जयते नाश्वस्तम् ॥

JADUNATH SARKAR.

GUJARATI.

Co-operative Credit Societies or Village Banks by Morarji V. Nayak, of Professor Gajjar's Techno-Chemical Laboratory, Printed at the Kalkadevi Printing Press, Bombay. Thin Paper Cover. Pp. 37. Price 0-4-0. (1910). Half-Price to agriculturists.

This is an attempt to inform the vernacular reading public of the principles on which Village Banks have to be started, and the profits that are likely to result to the cultivating community from such institutions. It is not a translation but an original writing of the author, who has well assimilated the *pros*—there are hardly any *cons*—of the situation in simple language. There could be no question of the utility of such measures, which are mainly intended for the good of the agriculturist class, and any effort in the direction of popularising them, could not but be welcome. To those who care to interest themselves in this question, it forms a useful guide.

K. M. J.

PANJABEE

Sher wa Daler Rajputon ke Karname, by Chaudhri Ghaseeta Mal.

I have great pleasure in reviewing this book of Poetry named 'Sher wa Daler Rajputon ke Karname'—the heroic deeds of brave Rajputs. The book contains accounts of old heroes and heroines belonging to Rajputana. The book begins with a short introduction bearing on the subject. It is written in a good style. The language is simple and idiomatic. The work stirs in the reader pleasant emotions and brings before his mind's eye scenes with which are associated grand memories. It is interspersed with reflections of the author, who seems to have entered into the spirit of the subject. The racy style in which the book is written must appeal to those who have Panjabee as their mother-tongue. It is a valuable addition to the literature of that language and is a sign of revival of interest in the tongue of the people of the Punjab. The author, Chaudhri Ghaseeta Mal, deserves to be congratulated on having rendered this valuable service to his language. The book ends with a few befitting lines bearing on the date of its compilation.

RAM PRASAD KHOSLA,
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College, Lahore.

NOTES

A Christian Missionary on Indian Moslems.

The Moslem World is the name of a new quarterly review of current events, literature and thought among Mohammedans, and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands. It is edited by the Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D. D., F.R.G.S., and published for the Nile Mission Press by the Christian Literature Society for India, London. The first number contains, among other contributions, "Notes on Present Day Movements in the Moslem World" by the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner. Speaking of India, the writer says that "the 'modernist' movement among educated Indian Mohammedans, of which Sir Seyyid Ahmed was the originator," "has exerted curiously little influence" on the Nearer East. "Indian Moslems are not impressing themselves on the life of Islam in Western Asia and Africa."

"The writings of Seyyid Ameer Ali, the best known figure of the movement at the present time, seem to be more intended for consumption in Britain than in the Levant. Aligarh seems to be little more than a great name to the Cairene Moslem. There appears but little give and take between the thought-life of India and Western Islam. Even parallel modernist movements in Egypt and Turkey do not appear to derive their inspiration from India. The influences that have come from the east westwards have had their derivation in Persia rather than in India, and are Beha'ic, Sufistic, pantheistic in character, rather than rationalistic on the one hand or traditional on the other."

So Persian Moslems would seem at present to be, intellectually and spiritually, more alive than their brethren of India.

Of the politics of Indian Moslems the writer says:—

"Indian Moslems are at present engaged in a great political effort to preserve their individuality and influence in the face of the Hindu majority. This makes them, perforce, markedly friendly and loyal to Britain, and this in itself necessarily tends to weaken the tendencies which, for want of a better name, one may call Pan-Islamic. For this and other reasons India seems to the present writer to be rather isolated in the world of Islam today."

This paragraph shows what a foreigner thinks of the politics of Indian Musalmans.

It also shows to what extent they can be correctly held to derive political importance from the presence of independent or semi-independent Moslem states in foreign lands.

The Ravages of Plague.

The most pressing problem in India is at present the high rate of mortality. The chief causes of this high death rate are the epidemics of plague, malaria and cholera, and the frequent famines which affect large areas. The decrease in the population of the Panjab and the United Provinces are due partly to plague and partly to malaria. A sad demonstration of the effects of malaria is also to be found in the recent census returns for the districts of Nadia and Jessore. Nadia shows a decline of 40,445 in its population as compared with 1901, while in Jessore the decrease is 57,809. So far as we are aware, there is no other cause but malaria to account for this decline of nearly 100,000 in the population of these two districts in the space of a decade.

It is fifteen years since the plague made its appearance in India. In spite of the fact that it is mainly of the bubonic form, the number of victims claimed by it has been on the whole increasing as time passes. *The Madras Standard* says:—

In modern or ancient history there is no parallel to the record numbers reached in this country. The Great Plague of London in 1665 caused only 68,596 deaths. The existence of the plague in Bombay was first officially recognised in the latter part of 1896 and during this year the recorded deaths were 2,219. In 1897, its progress from Bombay to other parts was marked and the recorded deaths rose to more than 55,000. In 1898, Bengal was reached and later in the year the Central Provinces, the Punjab, Mysore and portions of this Presidency were affected. The total mortality for all India went up to 116,000. In 1899, the number of deaths increased in the Central Provinces, but the heaviest mortality was in Bombay and Mysore and the total number of deaths went up to 139,000. The year 1900 is notable for a marked decrease in the number of fatal cases in all infected provinces. The total mortality for all India was only 92,000. The people and the Government began to hope that the ravaging epidemic was losing its strength, but the hope was shortlived. In the following year the num-

ber was made up. The total deaths reached the high number of 282,000. In Bengal there were 78,000, in the Punjab 16,700, in the United Provinces 9,700 and in Madras over 3,000. In 1902, the mortality nearly doubled itself and the number reached was 576,000 and in 1903 the number went up to 883,000. In 1904, the million limit was passed, when 1,143,993 deaths were recorded. The Panjab showed in this year by far the highest mortality. In 1905, the mortality was less, but exceeded a million; the total being 1,069,000. In 1906 the mortality visibly fell and again, as helplessness induces a hope for the best, the people and the Government were hoping that the visitation was dying away. In this year Burma gave a large number. But in 1907, both the people and the Government were dumb-founded at the extensive ravages. The unprecedented total of 1,315,000 was reached. The Punjab recorded the appalling number of 669,916, the United Provinces 382,000, while Bombay and Burma showed a slight increase. In 1908, the drop was sudden and almost incredible. The recorded number was 156,000 only and in 1908, there was only a slight increase, the number, 174,000. Again, now for the last two years, there has been a steady rise. In 1909, the total number of deaths exceeded 500,000, and in 1910, the number was higher still. The ravages this year threaten to be more severe. From the weekly plague mortality number, we find that the epidemic is steadily making headway. Benares and Delhi seem to be hopelessly affected and the prospects on the whole are gloomy enough.

And yet the rulers do not seem to be convinced of the grave character of the problem. To take the lowest view of the situation, if the people die in such large numbers, will not the revenue collections fall off, in course of time, owing to the bad effect produced by the high death-rate on agriculture and other industries? Would it be prudent for the Government not to take really effective measures, until its revenues are actually affected? As for non-official endeavours, in the face of so wide-spread a visitation, private individuals and associations can but do little, and that little must necessarily be of a palliative character. It is the duty of the State to get at the root of the problem. What that root is has been shown in an article in the present number.

Cost of the Delhi Durbar.

The Delhi Coronation Durbar has been estimated to cost the Government of India £1,000,000 in round numbers; or a crore and a half in Indian currency. The Provincial Governments have separate estimates. Of course, these are only estimates; the actual expenditure, as usual, is likely to exceed them. The total estimated charge upon the Exchequer of the Coronation

festivities in England will be something over £300,000, that is about a third of the sum which the Government of India, apart from the local administrations, is preparing to spend. The total revenues of the United Kingdom are, speaking roughly, three times as much as the total revenues of the Government of India. London, besides, is the seat of the British Empire, of which India is only a part. Bearing all these facts in mind, the discrepancy between the British and Indian scales of expenditure is not easy to account for. Of course, there are people who think or pretend to think that it is disloyal to criticise the Coronation Durbar estimates. That, we think, is unmitigated nonsense. For if loyalty were to be measured by this kind of expenditure, the most loyal would be those who would literally pauperise themselves and would incur heavy debts to boot; and yet we are perfectly certain that that sort of insane display of loyalty would not commend itself to His Majesty King George V himself.

It is sometimes asserted that these gorgeous pageants are calculated to strike the oriental imagination. There is an aphorism that "a man cannot be a lover, a poet, or a saint unless he has recently had something to eat." As it is a fact that a large proportion of the people of India seldom have enough to eat and that there are few families which can show a clean bill of health for months together, it would be difficult to strike the imagination of such people by a pageantry in a far-off city. For it is an infinitesimal proportion of the population which will visit Delhi at the time of the Coronation, and, considering that 95 per cent. of the people are illiterate, one cannot even contend that a very large number will read of the brave doings at Delhi. Under the circumstances, the Indian bureaucracy would do well to devise some other means of striking the imagination of the people of India.

We do not certainly mean that the Coronation Durbar should be a shabby affair. What we assert is that if £300,000 suffice for London, a smaller amount ought to suffice for Delhi. In any case there is no reason why poor India should be made to outshine rich England; let her spend as much as England. Or are we to suppose that the poorer one is the greater the display one

must make to hide that poverty from the gaze of the civilised world? But it is useless to ask questions. As the people of India cannot make the bureaucracy responsible for the way in which their taxes are spent, they must be content with admiring the munificence which reaches its climax when one's own pocket is not touched.

Indian readers know well that the Imperial and Provincial Budget estimates give no indication of the total cost to the Indian people. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in a communication published sometime ago, said :—

The outlay in which the princes and rajahs will indulge cannot be computed, but will be enormous. In view of the urgent need of a more liberal expenditure on education, sanitation, and other primary requirements, this immense lavishness in display may well cause grave misgivings.....

The Howrah Gang Case.

In this case forty six persons were originally accused. Of these one became insane, one died of paralysis, one was acquitted during the course of the trial and four were discharged. Thirty-nine persons were brought up for judgment. Of these thirty-three were acquitted, and the six who were convicted had already been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in the Haludbari case. So the case has ended in a fiasco, and is said to have given a rude shock to the prestige of the Government, though it has not lowered the reputation of the police.

The judgment is characterised by studied moderation. Several things become quite plain as one reads it. The two approvers are worthless and utterly unreliable men and had evidently been telling circumstantial lies. And yet on the evidence of these fellows, an attempt was being made, at enormous cost, to deprive many innocent young men of their reputation and liberty. Some important documents mysteriously, though very conveniently for the prosecution, disappeared. The Government of Bengal thought a few dozen young men armed with a few revolvers and arrow-heads could wage war against the king. His Majesty's Judges, however, thought that the preparations for the alleged rebellion were not on an adequate scale,—adequate neither as regards men nor as regards arms and ammunition. We are however in-

clined to be of the same opinion as the Bengal Government, remembering as we do the ever memorable incidents of the Great War in Nasik. During the first half of the year 1909, a young man was tried at Nasik for having waged war against the King, the only weapon used being a poem. And this "poemeer,"* as we may call him, was sentenced to transportation for life by the Sessions Judge of Nasik. Gentle reader, this is not a joke, but a grim historical fact: in corroboration, *vide* any Indian newspaper of the month of June, 1909. Now, if a single young man could carry on war against the king with a poem, much more can young men numbering some three dozen and odd do so with revolvers and arrowheads.

Some four lakhs of rupees have been spent on the prosecution of these so-called rebels. Most of them were innocent, but had, all the same, to suffer imprisonment for more than a year. Three of His Majesty's Judges had to waste seventeen weeks of their valuable time in listening, to a great extent, to lies concocted by fertile but unscrupulous brains. One accused died and one became mad, it is just possible, on account of their unmerited sufferings. But all this will not have been entirely fruitless if, as after the unsuccessful Midnapur conspiracy case, some police officers concerned in this case obtain suitable titles for their labours.

As was to be expected, some Anglo-Indian papers have been writing much undiluted nonsense regarding the causes of the failure of the prosecution to obtain conviction. Some find the cause in the gang case procedure, as if there have not been hundreds of cases in which gangs of dacoits have been successfully prosecuted. Some think that the cause lies in the Judges' adopting a high standard of proof. Do these amiable journalists want men to be deprived of their reputation and liberty on any other kind of proof than what is laid down in the laws of the realm, or does their impudence go so far as to suggest that the Judges required in this particular case stricter proof than they ordinarily insist upon and accept?

As many dacoities have been reported after the delivery of judgment in this case,

* Musketeer—one who fights with a musket; poemeer—one who fights with a poem.

there will not be wanting good logicians like these journalists to say that these robberies are due to the particular way in which this case has ended. We do not know whether it is not too much to expect that the Government will not be misled by logic of this description to such an extent as to forget that dacoities are generally due to economic causes and are made easy owing to the unarmed and defenceless condition of the people.

Babu Bhupendranath Basu's Mission.

Babu Bhupendranath Basu has gone to England to try to see whether the wrong done to the Bengali people by the partition of Bengal cannot be undone. It would be good for British rule in India if the Bengali-speaking peoples could be again placed under one administration. The Partition has been a disastrous failure from the economic point of view and has furnished a standing example of what efficient administration ought not to be. Only two things stand in the way of undoing what has been done: (1) the gain it has brought to members of the Indian Civil Service in the form of many new high posts, and (2) the *prestige* of the British Government, which makes it difficult for it to admit that a mistake has been made.

"His Day's Reward."

In the evening when his day's toil in the field is over, a peasant is greeted by his wife and child. He kisses the child and forgets his fatigue in the joy of the meeting. That is the blessed reward of labour, for which he has unconsciously worked the livelong day.

This is the idea embodied in his painting by Mr. J. P. Gangooly. It is in the possession of Dr. J. C. Bose, who has kindly permitted us to reproduce it.

Swadeshi Pencils.

We have received some blue, red, and ordinary lead pencils manufactured by The Small Industries Development Co., whose office is situated at 2/4 Radhabazar Lane, Calcutta. We have used these pencils with satisfaction. When such things are made in India it is quite unnecessary to go to foreign markets for them. Students and office clerks and others who have occasion to use pencils

should use these, and stationers should stock them.

The Census in Ancient Times.

From an article in this number the reader will see that the census as an administrative institution was known to our forefathers. The new (eleventh) edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica gives in its fifth volume (pp. 662-669) an account of the census in various lands. From it we learn in what ancient lands, except India, operations of this character were conducted. The methods adopted in the principal modern countries, including India, are also given. We quote below part of the description of the census in ancient times:—

"The fighting strength of the children of Israel at the Exodus was ascertained by a count of all males of twenty years old and upwards, made by enumerators appointed for each clan. The Levites, who were exempted from military duties, were separately enumerated from the age of thirty upwards, and a similar process was ordained subsequently by Solomon, in order to distribute among them the functions assigned to the priestly body in connection with the temple. The census unwillingly carried out by Joab at the behest of David related exclusively to the fighting men of the community, and the dire consequences ascribed to it were quoted in reprobation of such inquiries as late as the middle of the 18th Century. It appears, too, that a register of the population of each clan was kept during the Babylonian captivity and its totals were published on their return to Jerusalem. In the Persian empire there was apparently some method in force by which the resources of each province were ascertained for the purpose of fixing the tribute. In China, moreover, an enumeration of somewhat the same nature was an ancient institution in connection with the provincial revenues and military liabilities. In Egypt, Amasis had the occupation of each individual annually registered, nominally to aid the official supervision of morals by discouraging disreputable means of subsistence; and this ordinance, according to Herodotus, was introduced by Solon into the Athenian scheme of administration, where it developed later into an electoral record.

"It was in Rome, however, that the system from which the name of the inquiry is derived was first established upon a regular footing. The original census was ascribed to Servius Tullius, and in the constitution which goes by his name it was decreed that every fifth year the population should be enumerated along with the property of each family—land, live-stock, slaves and freedmen. The main object was to ensure accurate division of the people into the six main classes and their respective centuries, which was based upon considerations of combined numbers and wealth. With the increase of the city the operation grew in importance, and was followed by an official *lustrum*, or purification-sacrifice, offered on behalf of the people by the censors or functionaries in charge of the classification. Hence the name of *lustrum* came

to denote the intercensal term, or a period of five years. The word census, too, came to mean the property qualification of the class, as well as the process of registering the resources of the individual. Later it was used in the sense of the imposition itself, it which it has survived in the contracted form.

Regarding China we find the curious information that in the census of that country in 1711, the population enumerated in connexion with a poll-tax and liability to military service, was returned as 28 millions; but forty years later, when the question was that of the measures for the relief of widespread distress, the corresponding total rose to 103 millions!

The Sunset Limit to Public Meetings.

For some years past an ordinance has been in force in Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood to the effect that public meetings in the squares and other open places must disperse half an hour before sunset. This rule has again been promulgated for another year. As at present neither our public squares nor other public places or buildings ring with the impassioned utterances of our orators, the prolongation of the life of this rule cannot be said to be due to any present urgent necessity.

No doubt it may *in future* co-operate with the other restrictive measures in preventing the development and manifestation of any vigorous public life in any direction, along with the prevention of really seditious speeches and open incitements to violence. The use and advantages of freedom of speech and writing are that a free public life is developed and public spirit is fostered. But wherever this freedom exists there is the risk of its abuse, too. The two go together. But in all countries governed by liberal and freedom-loving statesmen, the risk of abuse is not thought to outweigh the advantages of freedom of speech and writing. But the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat does not seem to care whether there is any public life in India or not so long as he can have a quiet time of it. To him, it seems, unrest, whatever its character, is an evil. How can he sleep in peace so long as there is any manifestation of life? If this interpretation be unfair or unjust, let him give a reasonable explanation of his methods and measures.

He may not care if his measures affect Indians prejudicially, but whether the

Englishman's habit of autocratic rule and repression in a British dependency may not indirectly and without his knowledge lead him to dig the grave of his own liberties at home, is a thought which ought to make him pause. You cannot place a low value on liberty in the case of aliens, without at the same time gradually undervaluing it in the case of your own countrymen. He who would hold down another must himself cease to have a free and erect bearing. There is a saying that if ever India be lost to England it would be on the floor of the House of Commons. Has it ever occurred to Englishmen that if ever they lose their liberties it would be because of their autocratic rule in India?

Rangpur Muhammadan Educational Conference.

It has always been suspected that the chief object of Lord Curzon in partitioning Bengal was to prevent the growth of a vigorous and united public life among the Bengali-speaking people, particularly the Bengali-speaking Hindus. The proceedings of the recent Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference at Rangpur show that officials like the Collector of that district do not like that Bengali Musalmans of both Bengals should make united efforts for even such an object as the educational progress of their community. And there are men calling themselves leaders of the Musalman community who have so little self-respect and communal patriotism that they slavishly followed counsels of disunion in their ranks. It is also very curious that Government servants freely take part in Musalman public meetings, whereas such a thing seems impossible in the case of Hindu associations.

The Musalman has shown conclusively that Musalman gentlemen residing in West Bengal were really invited to attend the Rangpur Conference both as delegates and visitors. But at the Conference itself, Musalmans from West Bengal were coolly told that they could not take part in it as delegates. Naturally the younger portion of the gathering resented this insult offered to their brethren. Let them take a noble revenge by holding a conference in West Bengal which all Musalmans of education residing anywhere in United Bengal should



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be declared eligible to attend as delegates. But the conveners of this conference should take care not to be under the thumb of any official.

One feature of the Rangpur Conference has appeared to us very satisfactory and hopeful. The speeches were made in Bengali, thus showing that the Bengali Musalmans have the good sense to accept a

fact as a fact, *viz.*, that Bengali is their mother-tongue.

The Bengal Literary Conference.

The Bengal Literary Conference which met last Easter at Mymensing was a great success. More than five thousands persons, including over one hundred ladies, attended the meetings. Dr. J. C. Bose

was unanimously and enthusiastically voted to the chair. That his address would be important, inspiring and pregnant with suggestions from the scientific point of view, was what everybody expected. But few could imagine that it would be such a masterpiece of literary beauty. The meagre and unsatisfactory analysis of the address which has appeared in the dailies can give no idea of its excellence. We give our readers a full summary in English; but this, too, is devoid to a great extent of the literary charm of the original, one reason being that the genius of the Bengali language is different from that of English. It is however an authorised and accurate summary. We would draw special attention to the passage where the great scientist urged and encouraged Indian students of science to go on with scientific research in spite of the absence of properly equipped laboratories. Many resolutions were passed at the Conference suggesting and in some cases entrusting some persons with the preparation of books on Bengali ethnology, on Bengali dialectical glossaries, on the ethnology of the aboriginal races dwelling in Bengal, &c. A local committee was appointed for collecting funds for the Romesh Dutt Memorial. A fund for the relief of indigent Bengali authors was inaugurated. The mover of the resolution, Babu Haragobinda Laskar Chaudhuri, gave one thousand rupees for starting the fund and promised to give, in addition, a village in his Zamin-dari. Prof. Binay Kumar Sarkar moved a resolution having for its object the creation of an endowment for supporting competent men who would translate important works on different subjects from foreign languages and also write original works on those subjects.

East and West.

The Christian Register of Boston has the following characterisation of East and West and their mutual indebtedness:

In the religious history of the world the colossal figures are all Oriental. As we move away from them in time and space, all our Western achievements in science, art, literature, and the systems of thought that have been shaped into institutions of government, society, and industrial progress sink below the horizon of the past, while such figures as Moses, Zoroaster, Confucius, Sakya Muni, Mohammed, and Jesus, with the religions they founded, rise in serene majesty, in contrast with our modern prophets and apostles.

Thinking of these things, we see what he meant who said, "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is passed and as a watch in the night."

The East in the last three thousand years has produced the master minds in the moral and religious world. As the hordes that were to found modern civilization moved westward, they carried with them thoughts of God and hopes for mankind that were to shape the fortunes of men for ages. As they journeyed into the Western world and made encampments that grew into cities and empires, their thoughts grew more precise and practical. The sense of beauty and the awe and wonder that were engendered by the mystery of life came to expression in the beautiful art of Greece. In the Eastern world art had been symbolical and mysterious. In the Western world it became literal, human, and sympathetic. By it men and women were glorified because for the first time the artist ventured to represent the human form as he saw it, they became as gods; but in the process something of the mystery and grandeur of divinity departed.

Still farther West thought moved on and shaped itself into law and order and respect for human rights. Great principles were applied. Life became safer and more durable and at the same time more prosaic.

Now after all these centuries of change and development the East and the West stand over against each other in sharp contrast. The East retains the philosophic calm which marked its attitude five thousand years ago, while the West is busy, eager, reckless in its zeal to apply science, to turn the forces of nature into the motive power of machinery, and to multiply the means of physical enjoyment.

* * * *

It is no uncommon thing in India for a business man who has become rich by adopting the methods of the Western people with whom he deals to put aside his business and the gains of enterprise and betake himself to the highway in the garb of a mendicant saint to seek in meditation the secret of the holy life.

From the West the East is receiving many lessons of thrift and enterprise that will reduce disease, stay the famine, and make common life more safe and rich in blessing. From the East we are beginning to learn how to live for the mere joy of living independently of the getting of things and the heaping up of treasure. Some day East and West will meet and be merged into a higher form of existence, a federation of the world perhaps, in which men shall learn war no more, and every man shall sit under his own vine and fig-tree or that which is their equivalent.

The origin of the different characteristics of East and West surely admit of an explanation, and this explanation should be seriously attempted by both orientals and occidentals.

The University of Benares.

In our last number we dwelt on the advantages and disadvantages of sectarian educational institutions at the present stage of evolution of the people of India. Nothing could have given us greater pleasure than to see the rise of great educational institutions

on a thoroughly non-sectarian national basis. We hope and trust that a day will come when such institutions will be possible. But no abstract considerations ought to blind us to what is practicable and what is not under present circumstances. Because the kind of institutions that we think desirable cannot now be established, we cannot agree that a large number of people should go without knowledge altogether. Let them have the blessing of knowledge in their separate universities and colleges. Knowledge itself will be a cure for sectarian narrowness. Perhaps, too, when all communities have risen to a certain common level of intellectuality, joint educational endeavours may be possible.

The Aga Khan has said that the Moslem University will gladly admit Hindu and other non-Moslem students. As we have already said, non-Moslem students are not likely to take advantage of this offer to any appreciable extent. But it may be hoped that some will.

As regards the proposed University of Benares, we find it laid down in the draft Memorandum of Association that "All colleges, schools and institutions of the University except the Theological department, shall be open to students of all creeds and classes." The throwing open of the doors of the secular classes to all creeds and communities is a commendable idea.

Regarding religious education we read further that

13. Religious education shall be compulsory in the case of all Hindu students of the University, provided that such religious education shall relate to the principles held in common by the principal denominations of Hindus: provided also that attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory in the case of non-Hindus, or of students whose parents or guardians may have a conscientious objection to their wards attending such lectures.

This gives to all students and their guardians sufficient liberty of choice. We think it would be somewhat difficult to determine "the principles held in common by the principal denominations of Hindus," though it is not an impossible task. There is no unanimity also as to what are the principal denominations of Hindus. We do not know whether it is proposed to consider the Jains, Sikhs and Arya Samajists as Hindus;—we need not go so far as to ask

the same question with regard to Brahmos of Hindu extraction.

When it is said that attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory in the case of non-Hindus, is it implied that such attendance will be allowed if any non-Hindu student wishes to attend these lectures? We hope it will be. As however section 12 of the draft Memorandum does not include the Theological department among the classes, &c., which will be open to *all* students, we think it is proposed to have some religious lectures apart from the Theological department. The point requires clearing up.

The scheme of secular education of this University is very wide in its scope and range, and cannot be given effect to in its entirety in the immediate future, but the idea is magnificent and inspires enthusiasm. It is an idea worth giving one's life for its realisation. And it can be realised if Hindus do their best for it. Some crores of rupees will, no doubt, require to be collected. But if Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gives all his time and enthusiasm to the University scheme, and is able to inspire a few other qualified men with similar enthusiasm, there is no reason why the idea should not materialize. The Pandit is a first-rate beggar. Let him be single-aimed, and let him impart to a few energetic and pure-souled men the secret of the art of begging for altruistic ends, and the thing will be done.

The proposed University is to be called the Hindu University of Benares; and its Hindu character will be maintained by efforts—

(i) To promote the study of the Hindu Śāstras and of Sanskrit literature generally, as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India.

"The best thought and culture of the Hindus" have been and will be of incalculable value to the world. We hope these will be dealt with in a liberal spirit.

The United Provinces Conferences.

Last month the people of the United Provinces held their political, social and industrial conferences at Bareilly. The attendance at these gatherings may not have been satisfactory, but the very fact

that these conferences could be held at a time when these Provinces are in the grip of a terrible epidemic, reflects great credit on our brethren. Last year Bengal somehow held a political conference, but did not hold any social or industrial conference, because, we suppose, Bengal is industrially as highly advanced as possible, and socially it is a perfect paradise.

Pandit Bishan Narain Dar, the President of the political conference, delivered a long address, but its length was not due to prolixity or verbosity. It was full of reasoned and thoughtful matter. He effectively dealt with the idle contention that because our Legislative Councils have been expanded, therefore our Congress and Conferences and political agitation were no longer necessary. That is like saying that because the British Parliament exists, therefore no political organisations have ever existed or now exist in the United Kingdom. But they have existed for a long time and still exist. The greater portion of his address dealt with Council Reform and the Council Regulations. He also gave full and reasoned support to Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. Mr. Chintamani's address as President of the Social Conference was an able performance. He did not mince matters in speaking of the various defects in Hindu social polity and organisation. He supported Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's Special Marriage Bill. Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji's excellent presidential address at the Industrial Conference was comparatively shorter, but was throughout to the point and practical. As agriculture is our chief industry, Dr. Banerji properly gave due prominence to this topic; and as the United Provinces produce 53 per cent. of the sugar produced in India, a considerable portion of his address was devoted to the question of the revival of the sugar industry.

We are glad to note that the political conference unanimously supported Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, and the social conference gave unanimous support to Mr. Basu's Special Marriage Bill. We also find that in some mofussil towns in the U. P. public meetings of Hindus have supported Mr. Basu's Bill. All this ought to be a lesson to Bengal.

"Avalokitesvara."

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy says in his "Essays in National Idealism":—

An essential part of the ideal of beauty is restraint in representation :

"The hands and feet should be without veins. The (bones of the) wrist and ankle should not be shown" (Sukracharya). Invisible ankles and wrists are considered beautiful in real life also (see Brihat Samhita, II., XXI., 3, and XXIII., II.). The sinews also should not be visible. One of the 80 lesser teches of the Buddha was this: 'neither veins nor bones are seen.'



AVALOKITESVARA.

The figure of Avalokitesvara, a small and exquisite bronze of about the seventh century, well illustrates this ideal of generalisation and abstraction.

Over-minuteness would be a sacrifice of breadth. It is not for the imager to spend his time in displaying his knowledge or his skill; for over-elaborated detail may destroy rather than heighten the beauty of the work.

This small bronze statue of the Buddha may be considered an embodiment of what is called in Sanskrit *karuna rasa*, the emotion of sympathy or compassion.

"Prajna-paramita."

Similary, "the strangely lovely Prajna-paramita from Java, now in the Rijks Museum at Leiden," illustrates the *Santa rasa*, that is to say, dispassion or peace.

This figure of personified "Transcendent Wisdom" is the *sakti* of the Tantrik Buddha, Adibuddha, who



PRAJNA-PARAMITA.

here in Mahayana Buddhism occupies the place of Siva. She is Nature, the concentration of every intellectual and physical power of matter, represented in a state of complete abstraction and personified as

Wisdom. By Her union with the acting spirit (Adibuddha) are produced the Bodhisattvas and all the phenomenal universe.—*Essays in National Idealism*, p. 32. •

The picture here given represents the side view; the front view was given in the *Modern Review* for November, 1909, p. 490. To appreciate the beauty of the statue to the full the reader should place the two views side by side.

Parliamentarianism vs. Anarchism.

We beg to invite the attention of the Government to the following antidote to anarchism culled from Dr. Max Nordau's *Conventional Lies of our Civilisation*, translated from the seventh German Edition, London, William Heinmann, 1906, pp. 165—167.

"Every nation, and specially those still engaged in an ascending self-development, inspired by an inexhaustible vital energy, produces in each generation some individual in whom an especially powerfully organised personality clamours for room for expansion. These are men born to rule, who refuse to bear another's yoke or to submit to another's control. They want to have their head and their elbows free. These individuals never meet with a barrier which they do not demolish or ride over. Life does not seem worth living to them unless they experience that satisfaction produced alone by the unchecked play of all their capabilities and inclinations. Such individuals require room. They are no soft plasma, but crystals, hard as diamonds. They cannot squeeze into the hole which the structure of state has left open for them, without regard to their shape and size. They must have a special cell, made to fit their angles and surfaces. They rebel against the laws which do not fit their case, in whose creation they had no share. There is no room at all for such natures in an absolute monarchy. This form of Government is usually stronger than their power of expansion, and they are worsted in their attempt to overthrow it. But before they succumb they shake the state until the king trembles upon his throne and the peasant in his cottage is thrown down to the ground. They become regicides, rebels, or at least highway robbers or freebooters. In the middle ages they wandered through the forests as Robin Hood ;

or as leaders of a band of brigands, became the terror of princes and peoples.....Today they are called in Russia, Nihilists, as yesterday they were known in the Ottoman Empire as Mehemet Ali. A representative Government allows these men with their powerful ego to act out their impulses, and maintain their individuality, without disturbing or even threatening the state. ...Hence parliamentarianism in a country is the safety-valve which prevents the powerful individuals of the nation from causing destructive explosions."

Mrs. Sodha's appeal dismissed.

We are grieved to learn from a Reuter's telegram that Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha's appeal has been dismissed. It will be remembered that some four month's ago she was arrested on the Transvaal Frontier while seeking to rejoin her husband. She was fined ten pounds and sentenced to a month's imprisonment on the ground that she was unable to write a European language and was, therefore, a prohibited immigrant. Her appeal was against this sentence. She will now have to pay the fine and undergo imprisonment with her infant in arms. The sympathy of all India will go out to her in her solitary prison cell. It makes one's blood boil to think of this cowardly war on women and children.

Mrs Sodha's portrait, which appeared in a previous number of this Review, is reproduced here again.

There are too other items of news from South Africa which must increase the resentment and indignation of all Indians. One is that

General Smuts, Minister of the Interior, has withdrawn the Immigration Bill. He said he hoped it



MRS. RAMBHABAI SODHA.

was possible to end the passive resistance, therefore, the matter could stand over until next session when a more mature measure would be produced.

The other is that

A conference of representatives of the Natal sugar and tea planters, farmers and coal owners have decided to petition the Indian Government regarding the stoppage of the labour supply.

So the Natal sugar and tea planters are impudent enough to think of petitioning the the Indian Government in this way, though they are unwilling to treat Indian laborers as human beings.

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THE CURIOUS HISTORY OF A MUNDA FANATIC

ALTHOUGH after the pacification of the agrarian disturbances of the year 1889, the unrest in the Ranchi District had, to all appearance, subsided, a good deal of fermentation was seething below the surface. And outward signs of ferment were not long in coming. The months of July and August, 1895, witnessed a strange movement in the heart of the Munda country. The discontent of the Mundas once more found exaggerated and distorted expression in the preachings of one Birsa Munda, a youth of about twenty-one years of age, an inhabitant of village Chalkad in Thana Tamar. This young man possessed remarkably attractive features for a Munda, — a face intelligent and smiling, and withal pensive and thoughtful. He had received a little education and a smattering of English in the German Mission School at Chaibassa. From German Protestantism, the boy went over to the Catholic Church, and soon afterwards reverted to the old Munda faith of his ancestors. These were but unconscious preparations for a new religion he himself was ere long to preach. Hindu ideas, too, of external and internal purity appear to have exerted a strong fascination over his mind.

The first idea of propagating a new religion was apparently accidental and rather curious. In the early monsoon of the year 1895, this future prophet was out in the jungle with another Munda youth of about his own age, but much inferior to him in intelligence. A thunder-storm overtook them in the jungle, when a brilliant

flash of lightning passed over Birsa's features. Just at that moment, Birsa's companion happened to turn his eyes towards him, and was struck with astonishment at seeing Birsa's face changed for the moment from its ordinary brown-black colour to a glowing red and white! On his companion describing to Birsa the marvel he had just witnessed, the quick-witted Birsa was put in mind of his old Biblical studies, and promptly declared he was just having a revelation from the Deity, and that more miracles were forthcoming!

On his return home, Birsa's companion lost no time in spreading the news of Birsa's marvellous interview with the Deity, with such additional details as a dazed imagination could suggest. A Munda mother first arrived with her baby, whom the fond mother fancied to have been ailing. Birsa solemnly touched the baby, calmly breathed over it, sonorously chanted some *mantras* in an unintelligible jargon, and confidently declared the baby cured;—and, lo and behold! the baby was found all right from that moment! The supernatural powers of the young miracle-worker were now established beyond doubt. His fame spread to the remotest corner of the Munda country. Expectations ran high. The credulous Mundas flocked in from all directions to see the young prophet newly arisen in the realm. It was in the depth of the rainy season. Birsa's village was in the heart of a jungle tract. There were no spare huts in the small village in which the large crowds who came up every day



BIRSA MUNDA CAPTURED AND CONDUCTED TO RANCHI.

[Copied from a photograph by the Rev. Mr. John.]

could seek shelter from the rain. Heedless of the inclement weather, the inconvenient journey through the woods, and the not less inconvenient camping under trees or under bamboo umbrellas planted on the ground to serve as protection against the rain, the pilgrims stayed on at Chalkad as long as the scanty store of rice they had carried with them lasted. The lame, the halt, the blind, the sick, came in shoals to Birsa to be healed. Birsa calmly repeated his strange-sounding incantations, and solemnly gave his assurance that they would soon get well again if only they had faith enough in him. When complaints reached the young miracle-worker that certain persons who had received his ministrations were not yet cured, he silenced such sceptical suggestions with the solemn assurance that those people had not approached him in the proper attitude of reverence!

The intelligent Birsa before long perceived that his hold on the people's mind

required some more stable basis than a shaky reputation for miracles. For a few days, he sat solemn and silent, revolving the matter in his mind. And, at length, the prophet opened his lips. Out came the message he had received from Sing Bonga Himself for the salvation of his tribe. Hundreds of Mundas listened with eager and reverent attention to every word that fell from his hallowed-lips. The Mundas were henceforth to worship one only God. They were to give up their customary sacrifices to a multitude of *Bongas* or deities, abstain from eating any animal food, lead good lives, observe cleanliness in their personal habits, and wear the *janeu* or sacred thread in the manner of the twice-born Hindu castes. Such were the doctrines of his new religion,—apparently a mixture of Christianity and Hinduism. It would have been all right if the young propagandist had stopped here. But mad fanaticism soon took hold of him. It was perhaps his overzealous followers

who at length spoiled him. For, Birsa counted within a short time a large following of devoted disciples, who, with the love of apotheosis so natural to a some men, soon came to regard him as "Bhagwan" or God Himself. 'Dharti Aba,' or the Father of the World, was a favourite name applied to Birsa by his disciples. In keeping with his new position, Birsa now announced that on a near date which he named, fire and brimstone would descend from heaven and destroy all men on earth save and except those who had the good sense to repair to Chalkad and stay near him on that day. They were to put on new clothes for the occasion. And, it is said, that, for a time, the demand for clothes became so great in the Murhu and other neighbouring markets that it considerably exceeded the supply.

The appointed day at length arrived. At sunrise on that day, village Chalkad presented a unique spectacle. Thousands of Mundas, men, women, and children,—from far and near, might be seen waiting in breathless suspense for the arrival of the fateful hour. As morning wore on, the excitement grew more and more intense. Just when the crowd were on the tiptoe of expectation, the *Bhagwan* stood up to speak. The vast assembly were all ears. But,—good heavens!—what disappointing news was this! The *Bhagwan* intimated that there was some probability that the catastrophe might after all be postponed for a time! It all depended upon whether a piece of string which he now tied up between two trees, snapped or not. To the utter disappointment of the assembled Mundas, neither did the string give way nor did the non-Birsaites world come to an end on that day.

The authorities now saw that Birsa's pretensions had exceeded the bounds of permissible nonsense. A number of Police constables who had been deputed to watch his proceedings were roughly handled by Birsa's followers. Their bedsteads and other belongings were thrown into a river by the foolish fanatics. Matters gradually began to assume a serious aspect. The rumour got abroad that the massacre of all unbelievers was decided upon and a date fixed for the purpose. Attempts at arrest were, for a time, strenuously resisted, till at

length, one night, mounted on an elephant, the District Superintendent of Police with twenty armed policemen at his back made his appearance in the village, and, with great courage and adroitness, pounced upon the sleeping Birsa in his den, gagged his mouth with his pocket handkerchief, took him up on his elephant before the sleeping multitude of Birsaites at Chalkad could get up and offer resistance. When, in the morning, Birsa's followers woke up to find their Master mysteriously spirited away in the night, they remembered Birsa's recent prophecy that even though the Government might capture him and send him to prison, he would transport himself bodily back to his home at Chalkad on the fourth day from his arrest, leaving a log of wood at the jail for his substitute. The prophecy was now circulated by those who had heard it made. This announcement naturally brought the whole country-side once more to Chalkad. Streams of men and women again began to pour in from all directions to the Bhagwan's village. And, on the fourth day from the arrest, as many as seven thousand people, it is said, once more assembled there. When, however, the prophecy was falsified by the event, a number of Birsaites wavered in their faith.

Reports of a fresh incident, however, now opportunely arrived from Ranchi, and helped to sustain the faith of a large number of Birsaites in their "Bhagwan." In the Ranchi Jail, there had been a small barn with mud-walls. In it a large quantity of grain stored in gunny-bags had been stowed away, supported against the wall. The weight of these sacks proved too much for the thin mud-wall which gave in, the very day Birsa was taken to the Jail. A distorted version of this incident found its way into the Munda country, and the rumour spread that the jail-walls came down the very moment Birsa Bhagwan entered the jail-gates.

Some of Birsa's principal followers were, however, presently afforded the opportunity of personally testing the value of this story about the jail-walls. For, they were soon afterwards arrested and incarcerated in the same jail with their Master. Birsa and his arrested followers were now taken from Ranchi to Khunti. A trial at Khunti, in the heart of the Munda country, would, it was

expected, give an objective lesson to the people who had been deluded by Birsa's pretensions. After the trial had commenced, on the 24th of October, on Birsa's followers appearing to threaten violence, the proceedings had to be stopped. A number of these followers were promptly arrested, and Birsa and the arrested Birsaites were led back to Ranchi to take their trial there. It was in November, 1895, that Birsa was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for two years and a half. His followers who had been co-accused with him were also sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, while those who had been arrested during the trial at Khunti were acquitted, as it was found that they really meant no harm but that their language had been misunderstood.

The last embers of the fire of enthusiasm which Birsa Bhagwan had kindled had hardly died away, when, on the occasion of the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the reign of Empress Victoria, Birsa Munda was released from jail some time before the expiry of the term of his sentence. And Birsa lost no time in gathering around him once more a large number of followers. His first move after his release was to occupy the old Hindu temple at Chutia. The object of this visit was probably to assert his supposed claim to the Chota-Nagpur Raj of which Chutia was an ancient seat. Some of the Hindu images in the temple, Birsa and his followers wantonly desecrated. They next proceeded to perform some ceremonies of their own in the temple. While the fanatics were thus engaged at dead of night, the Hindu residents of Chutia surprised them and managed to arrest four of Birsa's followers. In the confusion and darkness, Birsa himself managed to escape. This happened in the last week of January, 1897. The arrested Birsaites were duly tried and punished for this outrage on the religious feelings of the Hindus of Chutia.

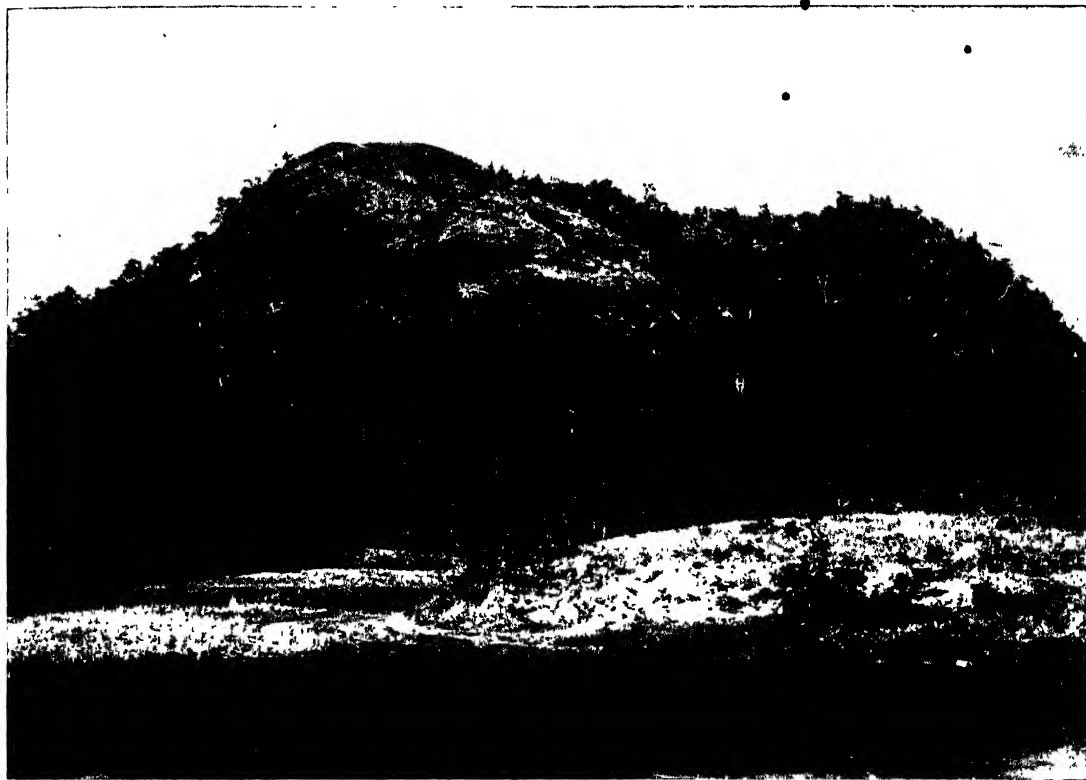
For nearly two years after this, although the agitation in connection with the apotheosis of Birsa was going on among the Mundas in the south and south-east of the Ranchi District, the Bhagwan himself did not stand out prominently before the public. His followers gave out that the 'Bhagwan' had left the world for a while.

For a time, indeed, things appeared to have quieted down, and the police officers who had been stationed in the villages which Birsa used to frequent, were withdrawn. The Government, ever anxious to promote the welfare of its subjects, now applied itself to devising measures to ensure permanent peace and unbroken prosperity to the District. With a view to achieve this end, a Bill for the commutation of praedial services in Chota Nagpore was introduced into the Bengal Council and passed into law as Act IV of 1897. And the people were assured that this measure was a preliminary, and a preliminary only. The Lieutenant Governor, Sir John Woodburn, visited the District in November, 1898, and his Chief Secretary who accompanied him fully explained the views of the Government to the leaders of the Sardar Agitation and their Counsel from Calcutta.

It was not in Birsa's nature, however, to remain idle for any length of time. In the year 1899, he once more emerged from his temporary eclipse. He felt the pulse of his people with tolerable accuracy, and now made a dramatic bid for renewed popularity by adding dangerous political tenets to his innocent religious teachings. Taking advantage of the seeming sense of security of the authorities, Birsa began to flit about here and there in the south and south-west of the District, stirring up the minds of a large number of Mundas to a frantic pitch of infatuation. He also appointed "Prachars" or preachers of his own to disseminate his religious and political cult amongst his fellow tribesmen. The then state of sullen discontent amongst the Munda tenantry probably suggested, as it certainly helped, the dissemination of his revolutionary teachings. It is said he also compiled a book of prayers for the use of his disciples, amongst whom the book was circulated in manuscript.

Of the strained relations between the Mundas and their landlords in those days, the Report of the Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces for the year 1897-98, said :—

"In Lohardaga, the Zamindars are said to take all they can in the way of rent and labour out of the raiyats, especially the aboriginal raiyats, whom they coerce by threatening to oust them from their lands. The raiyats, on the other hand, try to evade payment of their just dues."



THE DUMARI BURU HILL WHERE THE BATTLE WITH THE MUNDAS WAS FOUGHT.

[From a photograph by Mr. Peter Kumar.]

And in the Report of the following year, we are told,—

"There is no change to report in the relations of landlords and tenants (of the Lohardaga District), which continue most unsatisfactory, the landlords trying to get all they can out of the raiyats, legally or otherwise; the raiyats where they resist at all, refusing to pay their lawful dues. Disputes as to rights in jungle are also becoming very common, and unless something in the way of a settlement of such rights can be made, either the old rights of the cultivators or else the jungles themselves will shortly disappear over a great part of the district."

Besides grievances as to rights in land, the tenants had other sufferings and tribulations during these three years. They suffered from a severe famine in 1897,—the severest in the District within living memory; the year 1898 was marked by an widespread epidemic of cholera; and, before the tenantry could recover from the effects of the terrible famine of 1897, the winter-crop, in 1899, too, proved a total failure. Birsa and his 'Prachars' made capital out

of this state of general discontent and suffering. In the last three months of the year 1899, numerous meetings were held in different parts of the Munda country. Either Birsa himself or one or other of his principal followers presided over each of those meetings. The principal meetings were held on Dumari Hill in October, 1900, at Marihatu about the same time, at Satul and at Poje about the middle of December, at Bartoli, a fortnight before Christmas, at Kotagara two days before Christmas, and at Bichakuti on Christmas-Eve, 1899. All these meetings were held at night, at all these meetings the grievances of the Mundas were recounted, and vehement language was used to inflame the passions of the people and stir them to blood and mutiny. The coming Christmas-Eve was fixed upon as the date for commencing their revenge against Rajas, Hakims, Zemindars, Christians and Samsars (non-Christians). Here is a des-

cription of the meeting on Dumari Hill given by one of Birsa's own followers in Court.

"We arrived at the meeting-place before midnight. The meeting-place was on the top of the hill. When we arrived we found about sixty or eighty persons assembled. Birsa sat on a stone. There was cloth spread on the stone on which Birsa sat. Birsa sat facing the east and the rest of the people sat round him. About midnight every one had assembled and shortly afterwards the moon rose. When everyone was assembled, Birsa asked what troubles we suffered from. Jagai of Kudda and three or four others whose names I do not know said that we suffered from the oppression of Zemindars and Jagirdars and the Thikadars. Birsa then told us to make bows and arrows and *baluas*, as we were greatly oppressed. We all said we would make them and Birsa said that he had given a similar order at the other meetings in different parts of the country, and that everyone was making weapons who belonged to his religion. Birsa said that the weapons were to be used for killing Thikadars and Jagirdars and Rajas and Hakims and Christians. Some of the persons assembled asked if the Rajas and Hakims and Christians would not shoot with their guns and kill us. Birsa replied that we would not be struck, that the guns and bullets would turn to water, and said that on the day of the great Christian festival two weeks later, he would come, and that we were to have the weapons ready. The meeting broke up at cock-crow."*

In November, 1899, Birsa left his village on a new errand. With a few chosen followers, he visited the *Nawwatan* buildings at Doesa, and from there brought what he called *Bir-da* (literally, hero-water). This water he sprinkled on the persons of his followers with certain ceremonies, and assured them that thenceforth they would be matchless in fight, and that the Rajas, Hakims, Zemindars, Jagirdars, Padris and Prachars would all be defeated and slain. "When these would all be destroyed," said he, "the country would be ours." A number of more sensible Birsaitics were not convinced by this insane logic, and naturally shrank back from such mad teachings, and finally gave up Birsa's religion.

In meetings held on Christmas-Eve, 1899, different persons were told off to different directions to commit murders and arsons. And a large number of preconcerted murderous attacks and cases of arson occurred simultaneously in different parts of Thanas Khunti, Tamar, Basia and Ranchi. Over

* This is from the recorded deposition of Ratan Munda of Kuda, prosecution witness No. 1 in the case of *Emp. vers. Dukhu Pahan* and 31 others (the third batch of Birsaites), before the committing Joint Magistrate.

one hundred instances of such attacks were deposed to at the subsequent trials. Among other places, an out-house in the Sarwadag Mission compound, the houses of Jaipal Sing of Jamri and of Ghasi Rai of Muchia, were burnt down that Christmas-eve.

At Ranchi a few barbed arrows were shot in the dark near the German Church, and a carpenter was so severely wounded that he died shortly afterwards in hospital.

A German merchant of the name of Mr. Caesar was shot dead in a village in the depth of a jungle in *pergana* Sonepur. Two arrows flew into the Murhu Anglican school-house where the Rev. Mr. Lusty was listening to the hymns of the boys that Christmas-Eve; but fortunately the arrows missed their aim and did no harm. The Rev. Father Carbury, then of Sarwadag, was likewise providentially saved by the large button of his overcoat warding off an arrow shot at him that evening. At village Burju, a police constable and four chowkidars were put to death by the Birsaites.

For a few days there was something like a panic in Ranchi, and it was apprehended that the Birsaites might any day assail the town on a sudden. On the 7th of January, 1900, the news reached the authorities at Ranchi that a body of three hundred Mundas, armed with bows and arrows, battle-axes and spears, had attacked the Khunti police station, killed one of the constables, and set fire to some houses. The Commissioner of the Division, Mr. Forbes, and the Deputy Commissioner of the District, Mr. Streatfield, at once hastened up to Khunti with 150 men of the Native Infantry then stationed at Doranda. On the 9th of January, they came up with this Munda 'army', now stationed on Dumari Hill, three miles south of Saiko, and close to villages Janumpiri, Gutuhatu, and Kurapurthi. To defend their position, the Mundas had erected a large number of stockades at intervals. Mr. Streatfield at first tried his best, by explaining the position to the insurgents in their own language, to induce them to lay down their arms. The infatuated fanatics derided his proposals and defied his strength. And thus there was no help for him but to order the troops to fire. The defenders of the position now ran down a deep gully into the jungle beyond. And it was then discovered that behind their fortification of stockades they

had with them women and children and large stores of clothing, food and cooking utensils. "Four Mundas were found to have been killed, and three wounded, and the dead bodies of three women and a boy were discovered in the jungle."*

One hundred and fifty military police were now despatched to the disturbed parts and a large number of Birsaites were soon captured and sent up to Ranchi for trial. Birsa was traced to the bordering District of Singhbhum and brought to Ranchi under arrest. During the pendency of the case, the 'Bhagwan' departed this life in the Ranchi Jail. Of the eighty-seven Birsaites who had been committed to the Sessions, capital sentence was inflicted on two for murders committed during the revolt, while others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment or transportation. On appeal to the High Court, a few were let off, and the sentences on a few others were reduced.

Thus ended the last of Kol risings in Chota Nagpur, known as the "Birsait Rebellion" of 1899-1900.

The authorities were now more anxious than ever to devise some radical cure for the discontent amongst the Mundas which had now become chronic. Sir John Woodburn came to the conclusion that "the essence of the whole business was to get a correct record of existing facts in tenants' holding." And it was decided, in 1901, to effect a survey and settlement of the Munda country. By Bengal Government order of the 18th February, 1902, survey and settlement operations were commenced in the 1,846 square miles constituting the Munda country. This comprised the whole of thanas Tamar, Khunti, and Bano, one-third of each of the thanas of Basia and Karra, and one-fourth of thana Kalebira, besides 645 acres in the south of the Ranchi thana. And in the light of the results of the investigations made by Mr. E. Lister, the eminently able officer to whom the settlement of the Munda country was entrusted, the Chota Nagpur Landlord and Tenant Procedure Act of 1879, and the Commutation Act of 1897 were amended by Bengal Act V of 1903. The amending Act dealt chiefly

with the rights of the Mundari *Khuntkattidars* or original clearers of the soil, as the treatment hitherto accorded to them, was, in the words of the Select Committee, "one of the chief causes of the agitation which has long disturbed the people locally known as the Mundaris."

When these amending Acts were being discussed and passed, it was understood, that a consolidated Act would be passed at an early date. It was reserved for Sir Andrew Fraser's Government to give the long-promised Act to the District. Sir Andrew evinced almost a personal interest in the welfare of the Ranchi District, and, by his wise measures, succeeded in quieting the unrest of a century. Here is the account given in the Government Report* of Sir Andrew's legislative and other measures for the Ranchi District :—

"Briefly, the position when Sir Andrew Fraser assumed charge of the Province was as follows. For generations the aborigines of Chota Nagpur had been in a state of unrest owing to their inability to protect what they believe to be their rights in the land. They enjoy special rights and privileges in respect of the lands cultivated by them, and these are recognised by the indigenous landlords. But, for many years past, these landlords have gradually been losing their estates to aliens, chiefly of the money-lender class; and the latter when they came into possession, always endeavoured to break down the rights of the cultivators and to enhance their rents. The result was that there had been constant disputes between landlords and tenants, and, occasionally, armed risings of the latter. To remedy this state of affairs, the Tenures Act of 1869, and the Landlord and Tenant Procedure Act of 1879, were passed; but subsequent events, culminating in another uprising of this clan, showed that further measures were required to put an end to the legitimate grievances of the Mundas. Government accordingly determined to have a record-of-rights prepared for the Ranchi District, and the enquiries thereby originated showed that the aborigines had no confidence or trust in the Courts, owing chiefly to their mental inferiority as compared with the Aryans opposed to them. They were therefore made to understand that Government would, as far as possible, deal with their claims by special enquiry on the spot, so that there should be no doubt in regard to those that were recognised. Accordingly, Act V of 1903 was passed, and a part of that Act dealt with the subject of Mundari *Khuntkatti* tenancies. The Settlement Officer began operations in the most disturbed portion of the Ranchi District, and succeeded in restoring, to some extent, confidence in the minds of the aborigines, who had unfortunately been made most suspicious by past events.

"At his first visit to Ranchi in September, 1905, Sir Andrew Fraser made especial enquiries

* The Administration of Bengal under Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., Pp. 60—64.

† On the 2nd November, 1903.

* *Vide* Administration Report of the Lower Provinces for the year 1899-1900, p. 4. See also articles on The Advent of Birsa by the Rev. G. H. Lusty in the Wide World Magazine for October, 1910, and in the Chota Nagpur Mission paper for October, 1895.

regarding the progress of the settlement and the working of the laws above mentioned. He found that through the ignorance of the Courts, aided by the apathy of local officers until more recent years, immense injustice had been done to the Mundas by the agency of the law. The feeling created in the minds of many of them was one of great bitterness against the Government, whose failure to interfere on their behalf they had not been able to understand. This feeling had been fomented by unscrupulous men, who, for their own purposes and pecuniary gain, assisted in over-reaching the Mundas, while pretending to be their friends.

"Special laws had been made, and an expensive settlement undertaken in order to check this mischief. But there was a danger of the former being rendered fruitless by the entire ignoring of it by officers trying suits between landlords and tenants, and by their want of knowledge of the peculiar customs and tenures existing in Chotanagpur. His Honour, therefore, requested Mr. H. W. C. Carduff, C. I. E., whom he had appointed to be Judicial Commissioner of Chotanagpur, to bring out an annotated edition of the local Tenancy Act, and publish, as an appendix, a paper by Mr. E. Lister, I.C.S., the Settlement Officer, and the Rev. Father Hoffmann, S. J., a local missionary with great knowledge of the people, in which a full account was given of the land-system of the Mundari country in Ranchi. These measures have been attended with excellent results.

"The enquiries made by Sir Andrew Fraser also showed that, although much good was being done by the Settlement, other measures were still necessary, and it was arranged that Mr. F. A. Slacke, C. S. I., Commissioner, should draw up with Mr. Lister a joint note showing what further remedial action was required. This note was received by His Honour in August, 1905, and the measures therein indicated as necessary are now in course of being taken. One new sub-division has already been opened at Khunti, and it is in contemplation to open two others in the north and south-west of the Ranchi District.

"Finally, Sir Andrew Fraser was satisfied that the agrarian law of Chotanagpur needed thorough revision. The experience gained in the Settlement made it clear that the local Tenancy Act failed in various important respects to take due account of the rights enjoyed by the aboriginal cultivators... A rough draft of a revised Bill was prepared in consultation with the officers possessing most knowledge of the agrarian condition of Chotanagpur; and its provisions were discussed in detail during a visit of His Honour at Ranchi in August, 1907, at a series of conferences attended by the local officers and selected representatives of the landlords and tenants of Chotanagpur. The last conference was presided over by His Honour... Practical unanimity was obtained regarding most of the matters dealt with in the revised Bill. This Bill was further revised in accordance with the conclusions then arrived at. It was... decided to re-arrange and consolidate the whole of the principal enactments relating to landlord and tenant in Chotanagpur in an entirely new amending Bill. The Bill was introduced in Council and passed into law in 1908.

"This Act is intended for the protection of the aboriginal peasantry of Chotanagpur against alien adventurers. Another measure has been brought for-

ward for preserving the status of the large hereditary landlords.... The ruin of the old hereditary families also re-acts on the peasantry. In Chotanagpur, the landlord is not the absolute owner of the land. The aboriginal rayats enjoy special rights in respect of the enjoyment of forest produce, the clearing of waste, and the like. Their rents, also, are very low. The hereditary landlords acquiesce in their enjoyment of these customary rights. But when estates fall into the hands of aliens, the latter invariably claim full proprietary rights, and do all they can to enhance rents. The cultivators are unable to hold their own in the law courts or to cope with the chicanery brought to bear against them. They give way for a time, but, at last, turn on their oppressors and on other foreigners. There have been repeated instances of this in the history of Chotanagpur, the last being the Munda rising of 1899-1900. In circumstances like this, the case for special legislation appeared to the Lieutenant-Governor to be overwhelmingly strong. A Bill to amend the Encumbered Estates Act has accordingly been introduced with provisions enabling Government to assume the management of estates in such cases."

This amending Bill was passed into law (Act III of 1909) in the opening year of the administration of our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edward Baker.

In this and preceding articles we have attempted a rough outline of the History of the Mundas during the British period. It is, as we have seen, mainly the history of a constant struggle between the descendants of the original clearers of the soil and the new class of Dikus or alien landlords. This new class of landlords, though in the beginning only entitled to collect the nominal tribute which used to be paid by the different village communities to the Maharaja of Chotanagpur, in course of time, gradually arrogated to themselves extensive rights to lands, rents, and services. Their continual efforts at breaking the foundations of the old communal system, though strenuously resisted from the very outset, have, in most parts of the district, eventually met with more or less success. In their barbarous ignorance, the Mundas failed to adapt themselves to their new environment, neglected in the beginning to have recourse to the newly established British Courts of Justice, and, by explaining their position and their grievances clearly to the English officers, seek redress at their hands. Unmindful of the changed circumstances of the country, heedless of consequences, taking no measure of their own powers, the Mundas foolishly and recklessly sought to end their woes by taking up arms against the sea of troubles that encompassed them.

And heavy indeed has been the penalty they have paid for their folly.

The authorities at length had a clear insight into the root of their troubles and grievances. Ever ready to administer impartial justice, and to promote the welfare of all classes of its subjects, the Government finally ordered the preparation of a Record of existing rights which has just been completed. And it is to be expected that the troubles of the Munda country will henceforth be a matter of past history.

To make amends for their loss of many ancient rights, now past all remedy, Providence has vouchsafed a new boon to the Mundas. This is the inestimable boon of Education, for which the Mundas must remain for ever grateful to the British Government and the Christian Missionaries. The rapid progress in education which the Mundas made in a single generation, attracted the admiration of Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Woodburn, who visited Ranchi in 1898. On his return to Calcutta, he thus described his impressions in a speech on the occasion of St. Andrew's Dinner, in December of that year.

"And while I was speaking of Chotanagpur, I was thinking of the surprise that awaited me there, even so old an Indian as myself. We are accustomed to hear of, and to speak of, the savage tribes in those hills as almost irreclaimable from the naked barbarism of their nomad life. What did I find? In the Schools of the Missionaries there are scores of Kol boys, rapidly attaining University standards in Education. It was to me a revelation that the savage intellect, which we are all apt to regard as dwarfed and dull and inept, is as acute and quick to acquire knowledge as that of the sons of generations of culture. It seems incredible, but it is a fact, that these Kol lads are walking straight into the lists of competition, on equal terms with the highbred youth of Bengal. This is a circumstance so strange even to me, so striking, so full of significance for the future, that I could not refrain from telling you of this last surprise of this wonderful land we live in.

Since Sir John Woodburn visited Ranchi, education has been spreading much faster amongst the Munda and Uraon youth of Chota Nagpur. It is no longer confined to the sons of the Christian aborigines alone. The improvement in the material condition and social position of the educated Kol Christian has opened the eyes of his non-Christian brethren to the advantages of education. And, in some of the Government Schools and Mission Schools of the

District, you may now find a sprinkling of non-Christian Munda and Uraon boys eagerly emulating their Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian class-fellows. The boarding-house for non-Christian Kol boys recently started at Ranchi by some patriotic Mundas and Uraons, if properly managed and financed, may ultimately prove an eminently useful institution in the near future. It is not to matters educational and spiritual alone that the Chotanagpur Christian Missions have confined their attention. Thanks to their many-sided activities, and to the ever-ready assistance and encouragement of our benevolent Government, a number of Munda and Uraon young men, trained in the Government and the Mission Industrial Schools, are now making good carpenters, draughtsmen and surveyors. Lace-making and embroidery are now the favourite occupation of an increasing number of Munda and Uraon females. Trade in lac is being pursued by a number of Mundas in Sonapur and the Panch Parganas. Much has been done and is still doing to save the Mundas from the clutches of the usurer, the liquor-seller and the coolie-recruiter. Co-operative societies started under the auspices of Government and of the Christian Missions are eminently calculated to ameliorate the material condition of the tenantry and contribute to their social evolution.

If the advent of the Christian Missions in Chota Nagpur has been a Providential boon to the Mundas and Uraons in having expedited their social and intellectual evolution, the introduction of the Hindu landlords and other Hindu settlers amongst them has not been an unmixed evil. No dispensation of the Divine Ordainer of things is without some beneficent purpose. For one thing, it has been their long contact with the Hindus that has raised the Mundas of the eastern parganas of the Ranchi District in the scale of civilisation. In fact, at the census of 1901, as many as 1,64,162 Mundas described themselves as Hindus. Many of the Mundas of the Panch Parganas are, in their manners and intellectual capacity, now hardly distinguishable from Hindus of equal social status and intellectual culture. Even the earlier phase of the Birsait movement, before it degenerated by assuming an agrarian and anarchic

complexion, affords striking evidence of the influence which Hindu ideas of ceremonial purity and moral life exerted on the religious consciousness of this people. Nor can the ruder Mundas of the southern and western parganas disclaim all indebtedness to the Hindus. The influence of Hindu ideas on their religious beliefs and practices, their social customs, their folktales and their songs, though not ordinarily apparent on the surface, has been as beneficial as it is deep-seated. This silent influence is, however, apt to be over-looked in the presence of the crying evils of Zemindary aggression and oppression which afflicted the Mundas during the last two centuries. But, in this world, rights grow and die, property is acquired and lost, persecution suffered and forgotten, and even bad influences work their evil and wear away in time. The elevating influences on religion and morals, culture

and manners, however, get absorbed in the life-blood of the nation, and endure to the end of time, unless destroyed by strong counteracting influences.

One sometimes fancies that when during years of oppression and persecution in the past, the pitiful groans of the Mundas rent the air, Heaven in His infinite mercy decreed that out of the ashes of those ancient Munda peasant-proprietors there should in time emerge a better class of their descendants, educated and enlightened and capable of competing on equal terms in the race of life with their more civilised fellow-men. The Mighty Voice went forth,—‘They must not go, the ancient race.’ And still,—

The cry swells loud from shore to shore,
From emerald vale to mountain hoar,
From altar high to market-place,
THEY SHALL NOT GO, THE ANCIENT RACE!

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH—VII

WE have surveyed the main types of the evidence bearing on the problem of man's survival of bodily death which the Society for Psychical Research has so far collected. I have set forth the reasons which lead to the conclusion that at present there does not exist any rational explanation of the phenomena except spirit communication. But if I am asked whether spirit communication has been *proved* to be a fact, my reply is that if by proof is meant certainty so absolute that not even a speculative doubt is possible, spirit communication has not only not been proved but will never be proved. What Professor James calls “knock down evidence” does not exist, unless we regard the *Crossing the Bar*, the Lethe and one or two other incidents as evidence of this sort. But if we take into consideration the different kinds of carefully sifted evidence, the total impression on the mind of every unbiassed person must, I think, be that the evidence renders the presumption in favour of spirit communication so strong that it

amounts to a moral certainty. Discussing the evidence from the legal point of view, the late President of the Society for Psychical Research, Mr. H. Arthur Smith, a lawyer of eminence, makes the following sound observations:—

“Direct ‘knock down’ evidence is wanting and probably will always be wanting. But circumstantial evidence of a kind abounds; and in courts of law experience has shown that in many respects the evidence called circumstantial is more trustworthy, safer to rely on than direct testimony. For instance the question for a Jury to determine is the identity of A, who is alleged to have shot B. A witness, C may come forward and swear that in broad day-light he saw A fire the fatal shot. In a sense this seems the most cogent proof possible; but in fact it is not so. C may have an interest in getting rid of A, and may be willing to perjure himself to accomplish his object. This, of course, is analogous to the hypothesis of deliberate fraud as applied to our experiments. Again, C may have very defective vision and may be honestly mistaken in swearing to the identification. This would correspond to mal-observation in our experiments. But if on the other hand it is by independent witnesses proved that shortly before the murder, A purchased a revolver, that the bullet found in the body exactly resembled others found in A's possession, that foot-prints of a peculiar character were discovered

leading to and from the spot where the shot was fired and were found to correspond to the marks made by boots known to have been worn by A at the time, and so on; though not one of these facts taken alone would be quite convincing, their cumulative force might well be over-whelming and might justify a much more confident verdict of 'guilty' than the mere unsupported testimony of C, however clear. As Professor James has pointed out in his report on the Hodgson control, this is precisely the character of the evidence before us. It is futile to take it item by item and to proclaim that no one incident in it proves anything.* The evidence must be taken as a whole." (*Proceedings*, S. P. R., Vol. XXIV, p. 342.)

Professor William James makes similar remarks. He, as the reader knows, was absolutely convinced that in the trances of Mrs. Piper, supernormal knowledge is displayed, but as to the source of such knowledge, he had not the glimmer of an explanatory suggestion to make and to the last, so far as I know, he remained undecided as to whether spirit communication is a fact or not, though he confessed that he was very much impressed by the evidence that makes for it. In his report on Mrs. Piper's Hodgson control, he thus analyses his own state of mind.†

"I myself can perfectly well imagine spirit-agency, and I find my mind vacillating about it curiously. When I take the phenomena piecemeal, the notion that Mrs. Piper's subliminal self should keep her sitters apart as expertly as it does, remembering its past dealings with each of them so well, not mixing their communications more and all the while humbugging them so profusely, is quite compatible with what we know of the dream-life of hypnotised subjects. Their consciousness, narrowed to one suggested kind of operation, shows remarkable skill in that operation. If we suppose Mrs. Piper's dream-life once for all to have had the notion suggested to it that it must personate spirits to sitters, the fair degree of virtuosity it shows need not I think, surprise us. But I find that when I ascend from the details to the whole meaning of the phenomenon, and especially when I connect the Piper-case with all the other cases I know of automatic writing and mediumship, and with the whole record of spirit-possession in human history, the notion that such an immense current of experience, complex in so many ways, should spell out absolutely nothing but the words 'intentional humbug' appears very unlikely. The notion that so many men and women, in all other respects honest enough, should have this preposterous monkeying self annexed to their personality seems to me so weird

that the spirit-theory immediately takes on a more probable appearance. The spirits, if spirits there be, must indeed work under incredible complications and falsifications, but at least if they are present, some honesty is left in a whole department of the universe which otherwise is run by pure deception. The more I realise the quantitative massiveness of the phenomenon and its complexity, the more incredible it seems to me that in a world all of whose vaster features we are in the habit of considering to be *sincere* at least however brutal, this feature should be wholly constituted of insincerity. If I yield to a feeling of the dramatic improbability of this, I find myself interpreting the details of the sittings differently. I am able, while still holding to all the lower principles of interpretation, to imagine the process as more complex, and to share the feeling with which Hodgson came at last to regard it after his many years of familiarity, the feeling which Prof. Hyslop shares, and which most of those who have good sittings are promptly inspired with. I can imagine the spirit of R. H. talking to me through inconceivable barriers of obstruction and forcing recalcitrant or only partly consilient processes in the medium to express his thoughts, however dimly" (*S. P. R. Proceedings*, Vol. xxxiii, Pp. 35-36).

The difficulty that if the mediumistic phenomena are due to the dishonesty of the secondary personality, we have to conclude that "a whole department of the universe is run by pure deception" is not so very great for Prof. James because, as a philosopher, he favours the pluralistic theory of many finite gods struggling against real evil in the universe in which victory for the gods, however probable, is by no means assured beforehand. To a believer in one supreme moral governor of the universe, however, the difficulty, as I have already argued, is insuperable.

In trying to arrive at a just conclusion on this subject, undue importance should not be attached to the scepticism of scientific men and philosophers. Some of the foremost of them who have taken the trouble to investigate the phenomena have, as we have seen, ended by declaring their faith in spirit communication, but the majority of those who are hostile do not possess a first hand knowledge of the facts. Even those who are acquainted with the evidence are very often incapacitated from properly weighing it by the inherent bias of their mind. The influences that determine a man's belief are many and various and not always of a rational sort. It is by no means an easy thing to get rid of the idola of the mind and the extent to which they sway scientific and philosophical minds is amazing. Very few are sufficiently clear-

* This is exactly what Mr. Podmore does in his hostile criticisms.

† I am sorry that I have no space to give an account of the remarkable series of Hodgson communications with which Professor James's Report deals. "Hodgson" succeeded in giving striking proofs of his identity. See S. P. R. *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIII.

sighted to detect their own bias. But there are some whose keen intellect enables them to see that their conviction is determined more by prejudice than by reason and candidly acknowledge it. Mr. Andrew Lang, for example, who, I observe, has this year been elected President of the Society for Psychical Research, declares that nothing would induce him "to intrude on the denizens of the next world through the agency of Mrs. Piper or of any other medium." This, he admits, is his "bias." No wonder that being in this state of mind, he is unable to accept the theory of spirit return, though he confesses that he is puzzled by some of Mrs. Piper's performances, "for example, the replies of her 'Hodgson' to Professor William James, the answers of her 'Mr. Myers' to questions on Roman mythology and so forth." A good many of the philosophers and men of science seem to be unable even to give a patient hearing to the evidence for spirit return, because it is not in accord with their theories which they hug so tenderly. Is it not a sound principle that if theories do not tally with facts, it is the facts that must go and not the theories? An investigator of nature has made up his mind that in the universe there is nothing but matter and blind force and that what is called mind is but a temporary phenomenon arising from certain complicated processes of the brain. How can he listen to any talk about spirits? A philosopher of the Absolute has proved to his own satisfaction that, in the Absolute, all individuals are absorbed and transmuted. Even the temporary existence of finite individuals is perhaps to him a scandal. How can he consent to the perpetuation of the scandal by giving a favourable reception to the evidence for man's survival of bodily death? A Christian clergyman is quite convinced that dead men and women are now sleeping in their graves and will rise only on the last day of judgment. If they have already risen so prematurely, what is to become of the creed on which his very vocation depends? No, the theory is not false, but what does not agree with it is not fact.

No new truth was ever received with open arms. Our most deep-rooted beliefs of today, which we never dream of questioning were all, when first broached, received

with persistent and violent opposition. Even so late as 1806, Mercier undertook to prove that the earth does *not* move round the sun. He declared that he would never admit that our planet revolves like a fowl upon the spit. Camille Flammarion, the famous astronomer, narrates the following amusing story.—

"I was present one day at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences. It was a day to be remembered, for its proceedings were absurd. Du Moncel introduced Edison's phonograph to the learned assembly. When the presentation had been made, the proper person began quietly to recite the usual formula as he registered it upon his roll. Then a middle-aged academician, whose mind was stored—nay, saturated—with traditions drawn from his culture in classics, rose and, nobly indignant at the audacity of the inventor, rushed towards the man who represented Edison, and seized him by the collar, crying 'wretch! we are not to be made dupes of by a ventriloquist!' This member of the Institute was Monsieur Bouilland. The day was the 11th of March, 1878. The most curious thing about it was that six months later, on September 30th, before a similar assembly, the same man considered himself bound in honour to declare that after a close examination he could find nothing in the invention but ventriloquism, and 'that it was impossible to admit that mere vile metal could perform the work of human phonation.' The phonograph, according to his idea of it, was nothing but an *acoustic illusion*." (*The unknown*, pp. 3-4.)

The great Chemist Lavoisier wrote a learned treatise and presented it to the French Academy of Sciences proving that meteors *could not* fall from the skies. When Hypnotism was first discovered it was disbelieved and ridiculed. Today it is an accepted fact. "When rail roads were first constructed," says Flammarion, "engineers predicted that they could never become practicable; and that the wheels of the locomotives would simply whirl round and round without moving forward * * In Bavaria the Royal College of Doctors, having been consulted, declared that railroads, if they were constructed, would cause the greatest deterioration in the health of the public, because such rapid movement would cause brain trouble among travellers, and vertigo among those who looked at moving trains." The great Geologist Elie de Beaumont always maintained that there never was nor could be any fossil man. We all know the kind of reception that was accorded to Darwin's theory, when first announced. At the present day men vie with each other in declaring their adhesion to it and applying it to So-

ciology, Politics, Economics, Morals and what not. That a doctrine so novel and so startling as spirit return should, at first, meet with strong opposition is, therefore, only what is to be expected.

In a way, it is, perhaps, not bad that men are not in a hurry to entertain the hypothesis of spirit communication. If there is a field of inquiry in which extreme caution is needed, it is this region of supernormal phenomena so full of pitfalls and abounding in will-o-the-wisps. The history of modern spiritualism ought to be a warning to every cautious inquirer. The fraud illusion and humbuggery which have so often disgraced that movement should make us wary of easily accepting alleged supernormal phenomena as genuine. It is impossible not to feel some sympathy with Mr. Podmore when he says "that Mrs. Piper would be a much more convincing apparition if she could have come to us out of the blue, instead of trailing behind her a nebulous ancestry of magnetic somnambules, witch-ridden children and ecstatic nuns." Indeed the safest thing for all would be, I think, not to give credence to any alleged phenomenon which has not been passed as genuine by the Society for Psychical Research or which is not vouched for by trained observers like Crookes and Lodge, for example. I do not mean to say that alleged phenomena not so certified must be false, but so great is the danger of being deceived in this twilight region that in order to save the world from degrading superstitions, we must pass on them the verdict of "not proven" even when strong *prima facie* reasons exist for believing in their genuineness. We must constantly be on our guard and try to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of silly credulity and irrational incredulity. As for the explanation of the facts, any hypothesis put forward for the purpose must be capable of accounting for all of them. The very appearance of the facts is one of the facts. Opponents of the spiritistic hypothesis must explain why everywhere in the world, whenever a man becomes a medium, the secondary personality should so anxiously and persistently try to produce in men's mind the conviction of immortality. Why the secondary personality, so cunning and so resourceful, should yet be wanting in enough

wit to diversify a little its monotonous performances? Is that personality as great a believer in God, Freedom and Immortality as it is wicked? On the evidence before us the only rational conclusion is to say with Sir Oliver Lodge that "the hypothesis of surviving intelligence and personality,—not only surviving but anxious and able with difficulty to communicate, is the simplest and most straightforward and the only one that fits all the facts." (S. P. R. *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIII, p. 284.) It must, however, be remembered that in a matter like this no finality of conclusion is, as yet, possible. It is quite conceivable, though not very probable, that future investigations may bring facts to light which would render the hypothesis of spirit communication difficult to sustain. But at the present moment, it unquestionably holds the field. Of one thing only I am absolutely certain. Whatever may be the explanation of these phenomena, telepathy is *not* the explanation. The strongest strategic position which the opponents of the spiritistic hypothesis can occupy is to refuse to give any explanation at all. "We do not as yet know," let them say, "what the explanation of these facts is. The terminus of human knowledge has not yet been reached. We know what our ancestors did not know and what is impenetrable darkness to us may be to future generations as clear as noon day-light."

If, then, we provisionally accept the theory of spirit communication as, on the whole, a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena under consideration, how must we conceive of the relation between the spirit world and our world? Of course, no exact answer to such a question can be given and all that we can do is to frame a hypothesis not inconsistent with accepted principles of science and philosophy. One thing only is to be clear. Whatever may be the mode of life of spirits in the other world, it is inconceivable that they should be disembodied. The body is the necessary correlate of finite personality and if such a personality survives death, it must continue to animate a body. There is no insuperable difficulty in the way of such a conception. The visible body may be only the outer shell of an invisible body composed of ether or

something else and death may only be the separation of the invisible body from the coarse material body. And after death the spirit of man, animating an astral body, may continue to live in etherial worlds, unseen no doubt but more real, because higher, than the material world to which we at present belong. A conception like this is not in the least inconsistent with science. The reader will find it fully elaborated in that remarkable book, the *Unseen Universe*, by such eminent men of science as Tait and Balfour Stewart. The unseen universe may envelope and sustain the material world and be to it what breath is to life. All this is speculation, of course, but not unreasonable speculation and is warranted by many considerations both of science and philosophy.*

That the unseen world, if it is a reality at all, is spiritual, will not, I suppose, be disputed by any, but what is important to remember is that it is not more essentially spiritual than the sensible world in which we live at present. Matter and spirit are not two distinct entities fundamentally opposed to each other. Spirit is the ideality of matter and matter is the objective expression of spirit.† The universe, therefore, both seen and unseen, is the revelation of spirit apart from which it has no being. This world, in short, is as spiritual as the other world and the other world is, like this, an *experienced* world. And in the last analysis matter does not contain anything which is irreducible to experience. The sharp dualism of matter and mind is, principally, the product of mediæval thought and is based on an inadequate comprehension of the fundamental conditions of Thought and Reality. The Greeks, generally speaking, did not draw any hard and fast distinction between spirit and matter. They were a highly artistic people who instinctively saw in matter the revelation

of spirit and in spirit the fulfilment of matter. In the Philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, the line between spirit and matter is pretty sharply drawn, but is by no means an impassable chasm. In the Stoic Philosophy, we find a reversion to the earlier modes of Greek thought and a tendency to confuse the two with each other. The supreme spirit pervading the universe, the Stoics call the *Pneunia* which, according to them, is also the subtlest form of matter. On the whole, the sharp opposition between matter and mind with which we are so familiar was foreign to the Greek consciousness. It was in the middle ages that an impassable barrier was set up between the two. On this side of the great gulf according to the mediæval conception, is the material world of trials and tribulations and on the other side, in all its glory, is the spiritual world over which God directly reigns, surrounded by angels and archangels. Between the two worlds there is very little connection and it is by means of miracles that God and his angels act on the material world. This dualistic conception was decisively rejected during the period of the renaissance when the prevailing tendency was to return to Greek modes of thought. Men once more learned to see in the physical world the manifestation of spirit. Nature was idealised and conceived of as a living being rather than as a dead machine. To return to the Greek conception was not, however, a mere revival but a further development of it. We may broadly state the whole movement of thought in this way. The early Greek philosophers, while clearly perceiving the essential unity of matter and spirit, failed to adequately realise their equally essential difference, with the result that in the later stages of Greek thought, when the difference was more distinctly perceived too much stress was laid on it. Mediæval philosophy, inheriting this tendency, further accentuated the difference and altogether lost sight of the unity. Modern Philosophy, so far as the most important development of it is concerned, perceives that the very opposition of mind and spirit implies a higher unity which overcomes that opposition without obliterating it. This mode of thought is systematically worked out in the philosophies of the great Post-

* From amongst the innumerable octaves of light, there is only one octave with power to excite the human eye. In reality, we stand in the midst of a luminous ocean, almost blind. The little that we can see is as nothing compared to the vastness of that which we cannot—Dr. J. C. Bose in his presidential address before the Mymensingh Literary Conference. (*Statesman*, April 18, 1911).

† For a brief statement of the Idealistic doctrine, see my *Two Essays on General Philosophy and Ethics*.

Kantian idealists and culminates in the philosophy of Hegel. Hegel's philosophy represents an extreme reaction against the Mediæval dualism of matter and spirit. In so far as that philosophy takes its stand on the essential unity and spirituality of the world, it is unassailable, but its weak point, I think, is to equate the world with the *sensible* world and to conceive of the Absolute as exhaustively revealed in it. There is an element of truth in the mediæval conception which we cannot afford to ignore. The other world indeed, is not more intimately related to spirit than this world, but it may be the *larger* world which supplements and contains this world and also the *higher* world in the sense that the ideals and aspirations of men may there be deepened and enriched and better fulfilled. Both the worlds, however, must be *objective* worlds, organically related to each other and be the revelation of a single ultimate spirit.

If spirits, under favourable conditions which but rarely occur, manage to communicate with us, what is their teaching regarding their mode of life in the unseen world? An answer to such a question cannot, of course, be expected from a scientific body like the Society for Psychical Research whose only business is to collect evidential facts. As I have already argued, a detailed knowledge of the future life is impossible for us. From the communications of spirits we can acquire a knowledge of only such features of their life as bear an analogy with our own.

"The first thing we learn," says Sir Oliver Lodge, "perhaps the only thing we clearly learn in the first instance is *continuity*. There is no such sudden break in the conditions of existence as may have been anticipated; and no break at all in the continuous and conscious identity of genuine character and personality. Essential belongings, such as memory, culture, education, habits, character, and affection,—all these, and to a certain extent tastes and interests,—for better for worse, are retained. Terrestrial accretions, such as worldly possessions, bodily pain and disabilities, these for the most part naturally drop away.

"Meanwhile it would appear that knowledge is not suddenly advanced—it would be unnatural if it were,—we are not suddenly flooded with new information, nor do we at all change our identity; but powers and faculties are enlarged, and the scope of our outlook on the universe may be widened and deepened, if effort here has rendered the acquisition of such extra insight legitimate and possible.

"On the other hand there are doubtless some whom the removal of temporary accretion and accidents of existence will leave in a feeble and impoverished condition; for the things are gone in which they trusted, and they are left poor indeed." (*The Survival of Man*, p. 339).

According to Dr. A. R. Wallace, the teaching of spirits is that—

"Progressive evolution of the intellectual and moral nature is the destiny of individuals, the knowledge—attainments and experience of earth-life forming the basis of spirit life; that we are all of us, in every act and thought, helping to build up a 'mental fabric' which will be and will constitute ourselves, more completely after the death of the body than it does now and that our degree of happiness or misery in the future existence will be directly dependent on the mental fabric we construct by our daily thoughts and words and actions here."

All this will, no doubt, seem to be but the idle dream of visionaries to "practical" men of the world bent upon useful pursuits. Is not the end of life to acquire fame and power and, above all, to make money? What is the cash value of speculations about man's transcendental faculty and his future life? What is their *utility* in the modern world where to prosper means to grow rich? It is useless to attempt to answer such questions. The vision of the seer cannot be translated into the language of the market place and he must be content to be treated as the emancipated prisoner returning into the cave, in Plato's myth, was treated by the men still in chains.

Either we cannot or we hardly dare
Breathe forth that vision into earthly air;
And if ye call us dreamers, dreamers then
Be we esteemed amid you waking men;
Hear us or hear not as ye choose; but we
Speak as we can, and are what we must be.*

HIRALAL HALDAR.

Finis.

* Lines composed by F. W. H. Myers.

RAJA AND RANI.

A SHORT STORY.

(From the Bengali of Srijut Rabindra
Nath Tagore.)

BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR.

BEPIN Kisore was born 'with a golden spoon in his mouth'; hence he knew how to squander money but not to earn half as much. The natural consequence was that he could not live long in the house where he was born.

He was a delicate young man of comely appearance, an adept in music, much too unbroken in business, and unfit for life's handicap. Bepin Kisore could hardly make both ends meet and long command his wonted style of magnificent living.

Luckily, however, Raja Chittaranjan, having got back his property from the Court of Wards, was intent upon organising an Amateur Theatre Party. Captivated by the prepossessing looks of Bepin Kisore and his musical endowments, the Raja gladly "admitted" "him of his crew".

Chittaranjan was a B.A. He was not given to any excesses. Though the son of a rich man, he used to dine and sleep at appointed hours and even at appointed places. He suddenly became enamoured of Bepin like one unto drink. Often did his meals cool and nights advance to late hours in hearing Bepin and in discussing with him the merits of operatic compositions. The Dewan remarked that the only blemish in the otherwise unimpeachable character of his master was his inordinate fondness for Bepin Kisore.

Rani Basanta Kumari raved at her husband and said that he was wasting himself on a luckless baboon. The sooner she could do away with him, the more easy she would feel.

The Raja was very pleased at heart at this seeming jealousy of his youthful wife. He smiled and thought that women-folk know only one man upon the earth—him, whom

they love; and never think of other men's deserts. That there may be many whose merits are a passport to regard, is not on record in the scriptures of the female world. The only good man and the only object of all her favours is he who has blabbered into her ears the matrimonial incantations. A little moment behind the usual hour of her husband's meals is a world of anxiety to her, but—such is her idiosyncrasy—she never cares a brass button if her husband's dependents have a mouthful or not. This inconsiderate partiality of the softer sex might be cavilled at, but to Chittaranjan it did not seem unpleasant. Thus, he would often indulge in hyperbolic laudations of Bepin in his wife's presence just to provoke a display of her delightful fulminations.

But what was sport to the "royal" couple, was death to poor Bepin. The servants of the house, as is their wont, took their cue from the Rani's apathetic and wilful neglect of the wretched hanger on and grew more apathetic and wilful still. They contrived to forget to look after his conveniences, to Bepin's infinite chagrin and untold sufferings.

Once the Rani rebuked the servant Puté and said, "You are always shirking work, what do you do all through the day?" "Pray, madam, the whole day is taken up in serving Bepin Babu under the Maharaja's orders"—stammered the poor valet.

The Rani retorted, "Your Bepin Babu is a great Nawab, Eh!!" This was enough for Puté. He took the hint. From the very next day he left Bepin Babu's orts as they were and at times forgot to cover the food for him. With unpractised hands Bepin often scoured his own dishes and not unfrequently went without meals. But it was not in him to whine and report to the Raja. It was not in him to lower himself by petty squabbings with menials. He did not mind it; he took every thing in good part. And thus while the Raja's favours grew, the

Rani's disfavours intensified and at last knew no bounds.

Now the opera of "Subhadraharan" was ready after due rehearsals. The stage was fitted up in the palace court-yard. The Raja acted the part of "Krishna" and Bepin that of "Arjuna." Oh! how sweetly he sang! how beautiful he looked! The audience applauded in transports of joy.

The play over, the Rajah came to the Rani and asked her how she liked it. The Rani replied, "Indeed, Bepin acted the part of Arjuna quite laudably! He does look like the scion of a noble family. His voice is rare!" The Raja said jocosely,—“And how do I look? Am I not fair? Have I not a sweet voice?” “O yours is a different case!” added the Rani and again fell to dilating on the histrionic capabilities of Bepin Kishore.

The tables were now turned. He who used to praise, now began to deprecate. The Rajah, who was never weary of indulging in high-sounding panegyrics of Bepin before his consort, now suddenly fell a-reflecting that after all unthinking people made too much of Bepin's actual merits. What is extraordinary about his appearance or voice! A short while before he himself was one of those unthinking men, but in a sudden and mysterious way he developed symptoms of thoughtfulness!

From the day following every good arrangement was made for Bepin's meals. The Rani told the Rajah, "It is undoubtedly wrong to lodge Bepin Babu with the petty officers of the Raj in the Cutchery; for all he now is, he was once a man of means." The Rajah ejaculated curtly "—Ha" and hushed up the matter altogether. The Rani proposed that there might be another performance on the occasion of the first-*rice* ceremony of the "royal" weanling. The Raja heard and not heard it.

Once on being reprimanded by the Raja for not properly trimming his cloth, the servant Puté replied, "What can I do? According to the Rani's behests I have to look after Bepin Babu and wait on him the livelong day." This angered the Raja and he exclaimed highly nettled, "Pshaw!

Bepin Babu is a veritable Nawab I see! Can't he cleanse his own dishes himself!" The servant as before took his cue and Bepin lapsed back into his former wretchedness.

The Rani liked Bepin's songs—they were so sweet—there was no gainsaying it,—she stood on, her husband sitting with Bepin to the wonted discourses of sweet music of an evening, when she would listen from behind the screen in an adjoining room. Not long afterwards, the Raja recommenced his old *role* of dining and sleeping at the regular hours. The music came to a stand-still. Bepin's evening services were no more in requisition.

Raja Chittaranjan used to look after his Zemindary affairs at noon. One day he repaired earlier to the Zenana and found his consort reading something. On his asking her what she was perusing, the Rani was a little taken aback, but promptly replied—"I am conning over a few songs from Bepin Babu's song book. We have not had any music since your musical hobby abruptly subsided." Poor woman! it was she who had herself made no end of efforts to eradicate the hobby from her husband's mind.

On the morrow the Raja dismissed Bepin—without a thought as to how and where the poor fellow would get a morsel henceforth!

Nor was this the only matter of regret to Bepin. He had been bound to the Raja by the dearest and most sincere tie of attachment. He served him more for the affection than for the pay. He was fonder of his friend than of the wages he received. Even after deep cogitations, Bepin could not ascertain the cause of the Raja's sudden estrangement. "'Tis Fate! all is fate!" Bepin said to himself—and then, silently and un-murmuringly he heaved a deep sigh, picked up his old guitar, put it up in the case, paid the last two coins in his pocket as a farewell *Bakshish* to Puté and walked out into the wide wide world where he had not a soul to call his own.

KESHAB CHANDRA BANERJEE,
Zemindar, Moorapara.

PLEA FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TECHNOLOGICAL LABORATORY

WE find year after year students are being sent to various parts of the world to learn industries. We are glad to note that this movement is responsible for some of the new industries started here and there on Western lines. But a good deal still remains to be done. The majority of scholars who are sent abroad, are fresh from college without any the slightest idea of what an industry is like or what a business concern means. The consequence is that much time is wasted by such scholars in learning the A B C of the technology of the subjects chosen. Besides, when we look into the number of failures and understand its reason, the project of sending raw youths for technical industrial education loses half its glow. Most of the scholars going abroad finish their education in a technological school and only the fortunate few get a chance of entering into business concerns and get an actual idea of what an industry is like.

There is a vast difference between what is taught in a laboratory and what is actually done in a factory. The school training is independent of the knowledge of some of the essentials of manufacture, such as an intimate knowledge of the sources of supply, price and quality of raw materials, the requisite climatic conditions and those of transport and disposal. These can only be learnt with reference to the country and place where the manufacture is to be done, and in lieu of that a glimpse of such knowledge can be obtained by intelligent factory practice in another country where by learning the manufacturing conditions of that country the difficulties of manufacture can be realised and an idea can be formed of what sort of information and experiments are requisite before a factory can be established in this country. Without such knowledge the education is a sham and only failure can be

the natural consequence unless the scholar has got very exceptional capacities.

If for example a scholar goes out and learns the manufacture of pencils, he generally sees in the technological laboratories raw materials ready stocked in the shape of clay, kaolin, graphite, wood. He sees the machines and works them to get the finished article—he understands and perhaps thoroughly masters the working of the different machines and rests contented that on his return he will be a successful pencil maker. He starts the industry here and disappointment surrounds him as he finds that he has to learn everything anew, for neither the clay, the graphite, nor the wood, would yield to his treatment under the new conditions—or suit his machines. He has to begin a campaign for finding suitable wood, good clay, proper graphite, for none of which there is any existing market here, and of most items he is the only purchaser. If on the other hand the student learnt here in the Technological Laboratory the art and practice of pencil making he would have a knowledge of all the available information and particulars on the subject—the institution doing it for him. His education will be only considered finished when he has tried with his own hands every variety of raw materials available in the country and made his own choice under superior guidance. If such students went out with previous arrangements to work in established factories of repute, in this or the other side of the water by payment of a premium if necessary, to serve his term as an apprentice, what a guarantee of success would lie in store.

There being no proper institution, scholars are invariably sent out at heavy cost to learn every bit of trifle, even so simple an operation as Buttons Manufacture is to be learnt from abroad. If there be a technological laboratory for giving preliminary

industrial education our young men may be trained in various crafts easily and with much less cost.

The necessity of a Technological Laboratory (an institution for imparting industrial education) being admitted, next comes the question of ways and means, of teachers and students.

A large sum is necessary to establish a really efficient Technological Laboratory. If the country is alive to the necessity, the task is not impossible. The initial expenses may be realised by liberal donations from the rich. Current expenses may be met from the substantial fees and premiums paid by students.

Efficient lecturers may be recruited from the returned scholars of the existing Scientific and Industrial Association. There are several of these gentlemen living at or near Calcutta. There is every reason to expect that an efficient staff may be created partly from these gentlemen and from others who are in charge of other industrial concerns. Special care must be exercised in the choice of lecturers, for upon this factor will largely depend the depth and quality of education imparted. If funds permit, specially qualified teachers may be induced to come over from abroad. Even this will be less costly than the prevalent procedure of sending students out.

Graduates and other young men having proper preliminary education may be taken in as students and from what can be read from the sign of the times, the institution will not suffer for want of students even if a heavy premium of say Rs. 500 and monthly fee of Rs. 12 is asked from each student.

To begin with, the proposed laboratory may be started on a small scale with provision for only a few lines to which more may be added as funds increase or as lecturers come forward.

The following is a sketch of some of the industries which may serve for a beginning:

- (a) Oils, oil-products, perfumes, soaps.
- (b) Acids, alkali, bleaching, heavy chemicals, refining of such products as nitre, borax, shellac, bees wax.
- (c) Sugar manufacture, purification, fermentation of alcohol, beers.
- (d) Foods, biscuits, canning, preserving.
- (e) Inks—writing and printing.
- (f) Dyeing, bleaching, mercerising.

(g) Tanning.

For each of these, a separate room will be provided in the laboratory which will also have a general room in which all appliances of common use in chemical industries will be situated, such as boiler engine with shafting, vacuum, compressed air, water and gas mains, digesters, centrifuges, steam pans, grinding mills, disintegrator, ball mill, edge runner, extractor, vacuum evaporator, rotary driers, vats, mixer, sifter, furnaces of types, etc.

There is also to be a laboratory for pure chemical work fitted with choice and useful apparatus for commercial analysis and experiment. Here research work and commercial analytical work may be conducted. Graduates in chemistry joining the institution will be admitted at once to the special industrial classes he has paid premium for. Under-graduates and others will have to attend lectures in pure chemistry, physics, mechanics and qualify generally for the special subject of his choice.

Advanced students will have to tour over prescribed centres to obtain first hand information of commercial importance touching their subjects.

The establishment of an institution as sketched above will inaugurate a new phase in the industrial situation of the country. The students passed out of such an institution will raise the status of some and save from the inevitable ruin and decay others of our present industries by expert guidance. Many industries are now in the hands of mere agriculturists the produce of which are to compete with those from well-equipped expert-supervised factories of abroad. Our youngmen with a scientific and practical industrial training will not only be able to find room for themselves in the numerous occupations now neglected but will also help in making room for more workers by expanding and improving their lines of work.

It is a mistake, a very ruinous mistake, to suppose that for every scrap of information on manufacture you are to run out of your country, and that there is nothing to learn at home. Quite contrary is the case. If you are really willing to learn and start an industry, the existing industries will furnish you an inexhaustible field for work and experiment. Only the industry is to

be learnt from those who are employed in it for generations, and one should improve upon their knowledge by laboratory work and patient study. How very few of our youngmen who have gone and come learning an industry such as that of essential oils know the manufacturing centres of our oils which the agent of any manufacturer from Germany or from France can tell you at a wink. How very few even are those who know the Indian perfumes materials and the processes of manufacture. Let it be the first principle—"Learn all that you can in your own land and then strive for education abroad." I find every year students go out to learn applied chemistry but how many of those who go or even come finishing their education know the existing state of chemical industry here or care to gauge its possibilities. Gentlemen going out as scholars are very often led to think like this—such and such an industry, say the industry of manufacturing essential oils, is a good thing, so I shall go abroad and learn it,—where to go? Well anywhere, say Japan, that is nearer and less expensive, or Germany where everything can be learnt, or say Grasse—the home of perfumed oils industry. But before doing any such thing is it not rational to know the chemistry of essential oils generally (which by the way is not to be learnt in any of the colleges), then to know by name and appearance the very vast number of substances available in India for that industry and then to subject each to chemical treatment in approved ways in a laboratory and then to see the distilling and manufacturing centres, learn their

methods, critically study the trend of the industry and its possibilities, then if you feel inclined to go and learn abroad? The proposed institution is expected to be the guide and educator to such an enquirer. The student will learn, for example, the elements of perfumes in the lectures given, will see the specimens of oils yielding articles in the museum, subject these to experiments in the laboratory, will read the literature on the subject in the institution library, will learn the positions of the different articles according to their commercial importance from the current reports and finally complete his education by tours. Is it not ridiculous that students should be going abroad to learn things when a very substantial education can be imparted here if there is such an institution as proposed? It is simply disheartening to find how few of our enthusiastic scholars care to avail themselves of the ready made information in the shape of government reports upon their special subjects. Let this craze for going abroad to learn something of anything, merely for the glory of becoming a foreign student, let this craze pass out and we shall learn to think how many things there are that can be learnt nearer home.

Should any one evince an interest in the proposal submitted I shall be glad to work out the scheme in detail.

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THE DATE OF KALIDAS

[I was greatly surprised to learn only recently from Professor Banamali Vedantatirtha of Gauhati Cotton College that a gentleman of the name of Ramavatara Sarma has been claiming the discovery of the allusion by Kalidas in the *Raghuvansa* to Maharaja Samudra Gupta in the line *राघवस्य वंशीयस्य* to be his own. It is not simply the reference to Samudra

Gupta, but to the other Maharajas of the Imperial Gupta line that I detected long ago. In my paper on "The Date of Kalidasa" published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1909 I have also elaborately discussed other historical facts which Kalidas has referred to by way of pun in the *Raghuvansa*. I must also inform the reader that my discovery of the

puns, whatever may be the value thereof, has not even been so recent as 1909. In January 1905 I composed a poem entitled (श्रीत प्रभाते) "Sita Prabhate" and made it over to my friend Babu Debkumar Ray Chaudhuri of Barisal at his request. This poem was published in a magazine named *Bharat Suhrid* in its issue of the first year (1905) on pp. 36-37. In the third stanza of that poem of mine, Kalidas's reference to Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta in the Raghuvansa was spoken of by me and was explained in a foot-note. I distinctly wrote in the foot-note to the line "वाससुद्रचित्पति कवे हिमः सुमं गुप्त कथा" that "कालिदासेर कथा यथायथं ऐतिहासिक ये महाराजा समुद्रगुप्त इत्येव गुप्तकुल वाससुद्रचित्तौह इत्यस्मिन्।" This will leave no doubt in the minds of my readers that whether my suggestion be right or wrong, it has been my suggestion in the beginning that Samudra Gupta and his successors were referred to by Kalidas in his poems.

I also publish my whole paper on "The Date of Kalidasa" to remove all doubts on the point.]

THE DATE OF KALIDASA.

By reference to the description in the *Raghuvamsa* of the military expedition of Raghu against the Huns, the earliest and the lowest limits of the time during which Kalidasa flourished have been approximately fixed by many learned scholars.* The accounts which we get of the movements of the Ephthalites render it highly improbable that Kalidasa could have flourished earlier than the fifth century of the Christian era. But it appears to me extremely doubtful whether the state of things disclosed by the poet in his description can justify us in placing him in the time of Yasodharman.

The main proposition of Dr. Hoernle (J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 80-144), that the Sakari-Vikramaditya, with whom the Malava era is associated in the popular tradition of India, is no other than Yasodharman, has been, in my humble opinion, very ably propounded and established. My contention is only in respect of a corollary regarding the time of Kalidasa.

Anticipating as it were the suggestion of Dr. Hoernle, I scrutinized some time ago very carefully the writings of Kalidasa to find out if there be any mention, by way of pun or otherwise, of any persons or incidents of historical note. It is the result of this investigation that I publish now to show that Kalidasa could not be the court poet of Yasodharman, and that the former must have preceded the latter. I shall set forth some historical facts first, and shall then show that we find them mentioned in the works of the poet.

1. However extensive the conquests of Yasodharman

may have been, that he, born in the country of Maru (Malava), was known principally as the mighty king of Ujjayini, is amply proved by the very documents which have been adduced by Dr. Hoernle to make out his case. We learn also from his Mandasor inscription that Yasodharman, far from acknowledging the overlordship of the Imperial Guptas, most openly defied their authority.

It must again be noted regarding the Imperial Guptas that during their prosperous times they had at Puspapura (no matter whether it is Pataliputra or not) a royal residence (F.G.I., pp. 5, 6). From the information which we can gather from the Puranas, we can say that though they had now this town and now another for their capital, these Guptas were regarded in local consideration as the lords of Magadha. On reference to the list of countries conquered by Samudra Gupta, we can see that excepting the Magadha-desa all other countries are mentioned as annexed to his kingdom. Even though they were overlords, the Imperial Guptas were "Magadhesvaras."

Bearing these historical facts in mind, let us refer to stanzas 20-36 of the 6th canto of *Raghuvamsa*. In the assembly of the Rajas of all India, the "Magadhesvara" is described in very clear and unmistakable words as the overlord in India (vi, 22). It is for this reason that Indumati approaches him first (vi, 20); and though she does not elect him as her husband, she bows down to him (vi, 25) to do the honour specially due to the overlord of the country. The name of the capital of this overlord is given, as Puspapura (vi, 24), the very name which we meet with in the inscription just referred to. The mention of continual celebration of the Vedic sacrificial rites in the 23rd stanza is of much importance, for we know that the Imperial Guptas have repeatedly mentioned in all their records that they restored the Vedic rites of sacrifice which had been long in abeyance.

I should also mention in this connection that though we do not find either in the *Ramayana* or in the old Puranas, that the Raja Dilpa celebrated any Asvamedha, yet this is a special subject for the delineation of the poet in the 3rd canto of the *Raghuvamsa*. It is also evident that the poet alluded to the lords of Magadha of his time, for neither according to the *Ramayana*, nor consistently with the poet's own statement of the unrivalled supremacy of the Rajas of Kosala in the 1st canto, could the lords of Magadha be described as overlords in India when Aja married Indumati.

The Raja of Ujjayini is only third on the list (vi, 31), while Anga-raj, belonging very likely to the Licchavi family, is second. Of the "Samanta" Rajas, no doubt the Raja of Ujjayini is described as the leader (vi, 33); but all the same he is but a "star" before the moon (vi, 22). Could such description be pleasing to Yasodharman, who declared himself superior to the Imperial Guptas? Even if it be conceded that Kalidasa flourished in his time, it cannot be said that Kalidasa was the court poet of Yasodharman.

2. We get the name of Sri-Gupta as the first Raja of the Imperial Guptas. The first Raja of the kings of the Solar family has been described in the *Raghuvamsa* by the words *Pranavas chandasam iva* (i. 11). *Pranavah*, as is well known, is represented by one compound letter *Om*. The name of the first Raja

* Vide Bhow Daji's Research regarding Kalidas and R. C. Dutta's Civilization in Ancient India, Vol. II. Book V. Ch. 1 (Ed. 1888).

of the Guptas is also required to be written by one compound letter *Sri*.

Clearer becomes the reference when we come across the words *Asamudrakshitishanam* (i, 5). Those who became *kshitishas* (lords of the world) from the time of Samudra (i.e., Samudra Gupta) may be another meaning of the words. That a pun was intended by the poet is evident from the following fact:—*Asamudrarajaya*, or a phrase similar to that, would be the usual expression according to grammar and idiom. This construction, namely, the lords of the *kshiti* which is *asamudra*, or extended to the seas, is rather round-about, though quite correct. We know that it was from the time of Samudra Gupta that the Gupta emperors assumed the title Maharajadhiraja, and thus we can discover the allusion easily.

We then notice the line *Dilipa iti rajendur induh kshiranidhav iva* (i, 12). Like Indu (i.e. Chandra or moon) from the *kshiranidhi* (i.e., Samudra or sea), it suggests the name of Chandra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta.

The words *kumaranma* (iii, 16) and *kumaro' pi Kumaravikramah* (iii, 55), with reference to Raghu, son of Dilipa, point perhaps by way of pun to Kumara Gupta I, for he is also said to have derived his lustre from the sun (Vikramaditya), like a Bala-Chandramah (iii, 22). The words *a-kumara-kathodghatam*, etc. (iv, 20), are similar in meaning and almost in form with what we read in the 12th line of the Bhitari inscription (F. GI., p. 54). Again, the words *Sriyam Mahendranathasya jahara* seem to allude to the title Mahendraditya of Kumara Gupta I (iv, 43).

Then again, with reference to the birth of Aja, it has been said that the queen of Raghu delivered (*susuve*) a Kumara (son) who was Kumara-kalpā (like Kumara himself) (v, 36). The pun is quite complete here, for Kumara and Skanda are the names of one god.

If all that I have stated be not considered untenable, can it not also be supposed that the work *Kumara-sambhava* was so entitled with a view to please or humour the Raja Kumara Gupta I? There is a special reason for offering this suggestion. It was believed in the olden days, as we learn from the works on rhetoric, that the composition of a Mahākavya had the effect of removing and avoiding diseases and calamities. If, however, during the composition of such a work any new disaster befell, the work might be considered to be inauspicious. We know that Kumara Gupta met with some reverses, and Skanda Gupta (then a Yuvaraja) had to restore the family glory. It is not unlikely that for some such reason the completion of the *Kumarasambhava* was abandoned, and some choice stanzas of that work (vii, 56–67), as might be fittingly introduced, were inserted subsequently in the *Raghuvamsa* (vii, 5–16). I need hardly mention that Kalidasa is the author of only the first seven cantos of the *Kumarasambhava*.

Following thus in regular order the names of the Imperial Guptas, when we come upon the line *Skandena sakshad iva Devasenam* (*Raghuvamsa*, vii, 1), in the description of the happy union of Aja and Indumati, we are inclined to regard it as an allusion to Skanda Gupta.

3. Let us suppose, just for the sake of a theory, that Kalidasa commenced his career as a poet when quite a young man during the last decade of the reign of Kumara Gupta I (say, by about 445 A. D.), and

died a few years after the death of Skanda Gupta. We may proceed then to test the possibility of it by the facts which we may gather from the works of the poet.

I have already suggested a reason for the unfinished condition of the *Kumarasambhava*. I consider next a point of some importance regarding the purpose which Kalidasa had in view when he commenced the composition of the *Raghuvamsa*. It has been stated in the introductory portion of the poem that the poet would sing the unmixed glory of the heroes he undertook to describe (i, 2–9). But the subsequent development of the poem shows another state of things. From the 16th to the 19th canto the decline and fall of the Kosala Rajas has been depicted. Laksmi (the goddess of good luck) grew restless when a partition of the kingdom was effected. The pitiable condition of the empire as described by the goddess may be easily imagined to be the exact picture of what took place at the death of Skanda Gupta when the Huns became powerful (xvi, 1–22).

Consistently with the original purpose of the poet as declared in the beginning of the 1st canto, the poem perhaps ended with the 15th as the last canto where the career of the ideal hero Rama comes to an end. Cantos xvi to xix may have been added subsequently to impart some wholesome advice to the unworthy successor or successors of the departed Maharaja, when a gloom was cast over the whole country.

We know that after the death of Skanda Gupta one branch of the family commenced to reign in the eastern country, while another branch was exercising its influence over the tract lying between the Kalindi and the Narmada (F. GI., p. 89). The partition mentioned by the poet in the 16th canto refers very likely to such a state of things, for in the word *Purojanmataya* of the 1st stanza the name of Pura Gupta seems to be suggested.

4. We are not in possession of any definite information regarding the Pusyamitras who had to be subdued by Skanda Gupta when he was Yuvaraja. In view of the political condition of India in those days it may be supposed that troubles came from or arose in Malava. It might be that when Skanda Gupta was Yuvaraja he had to stay for some time in Malava to quell some disturbance. It is a supposition merely, but I seek to connect with it the stanza of *Meghaduta* (pt. i, 47),* wherein the cloud is asked to shed flowers and holy water on the head of Skanda while going to Dasapura from Ujjayini. Skanda is there said to have been stationed by his father to subdue the enemies.

5. I now examine the accounts of the military expedition of Raghu against the Huns. Whatever may be the true interpretation of the passage in the *Kathasaritsagara* (T. K.S., ii, 563 ff.), there is no doubt of the fact that during the early years of his reign Skanda Gupta had come in contact with the Huns before the latter conquered Gandhara (F. GI., p. 56). Even if as a matter of fact Skanda Gupta did not make any such expedition as a *Digvijaya*, a poet admiring him for his success in the conflict with the Pusyamitras and the Huns may invent a *Digvijaya* for him. The only thing we have carefully to consider

* The edition of G. R. Nandargikar is referred to. In other editions this is the 44th stanza of the *Purva-Megha*.

is whether the description of the poet is consistent with the state of things of the time of Yasodharman.

When, during the last days of the reign of Baladitya, Yasodharman defeated Mihirakula, the Huns had their settlement in India proper, and the town of Sialkot was the capital of Mihirakula. But the Huns are described by Kalidasa as foreigners like the Persians, and Raghu's soldiers had to proceed farther north (*kauverim disam*), after having defeated the Persians, to meet the Huns in their own land (iv, 66—68). As Kambojas were conquered next in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Huns (iv, 69), the Huns had not become by that time the lords of Gandhara. The Bhitari inscription proves clearly that even before the Huns acquired supremacy over Gandhara, Skanda Gupta had to fight against them.

6. It remains to be seen whether Dignaga, the famous disciple of Vasubandhu, could be a contemporary of Kalidasa, if for the literary career of Kalidasa, who produced so many works, a period of thirty-five years, from 445 to 480, be assigned.

Without going into minor details in respect of dates, it may be asserted on the authority of Dr. Takakusu (J.R.A.S. 1905, 33 ff.) that Vasubandhu was very old when Skanda Gupta was the emperor of Northern India. This fact is alone sufficient to show that what Mallinatha writes in his commentary in the thirteenth century A.D. on the 14th stanza of the *Meghaduta* can be easily reconciled with the date set forth above. As Dr. Takakusu accepted wrongly the year 480 A.D. as the date of Skanda Gupta's death, he set down 420—500 as the whole lifetime of Vasubandhu. Vasubandhu, who was very old when Skanda Gupta was reigning, and died only a short time after Baladitya had ascended the throne, cannot be supposed to have died twenty years after 480 A.D. Conceding the date 480 to be the correct time when Skanda died, the date of Vasubandhu's death cannot be later than 485. In that case Vasubandhu was 40 years old in 445. The disciple of his, who was very intelligent, can be taken to be younger than him only by ten years or thereabout. Dignaga can be imagined to have been a grown-up man of some fame when Kalidasa composed his *Meghaduta*.

Let me, however, consider carefully as to the exact date of Skanda Gupta's death. When a loyal governor of the Guptas at Dasapura recorded the fact of some repairs having been done to a temple originally built during the time of Kumara Gupta I, he did not fail in his loyalty to mention the name of Kumara Gupta in 472 A.D. (F.G.I., pp. 79—84). Could it be possible for such a loyal governor to omit the name of Skanda Gupta (even though the latter might have been reduced to insignificance) if he were then alive? Merely because no epigraphic record can be found of the successor of Skanda Gupta earlier

than 480, it cannot be held that Skanda Gupta lived till that date. It is difficult to believe that Skanda Gupta Vikramaditya was transformed into Pura Gupta Prakasaditya (J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 129).

The plate of Bandhuvarman just referred to disclose also the fact that many other Rajas became powerful since the time of Kumara Gupta I (F.G.I., p. 83, l. 20). What this means we can understand by reference to the then rising power of the Huns, and also with reference to F. G.I., p. 89, which informs us that the tract of the country lying between the Kalindi and the Jamna came under the rule of one who was in some way or other connected with the Gupta family.

It is pretty certain that Skanda Gupta died without leaving any male issue. In that case he must have elected a son of his brother (as was, and is still, customary in India) as his successor, and made him a crown prince. Possibly Pura Gupta, taking advantage of the situation, himself became the king. It may also be possible that Pura Gupta and Baladitya commenced to rule the eastern countries simultaneously by splitting up the kingdom, as is expressed by Kalidasa by the words *bhinno 'stadha viprasasara vamsak* (*Raghuvamsa*, xvi, 3).

Thus, as in 472 A.D. the duly elected successor of Skanda Gupta did not become supreme over Malava, the loyal governor of the Guptas at Dasapura had reasons not to mention the name of any overlord when the temple was repaired.

Skanda Gupta then must have died some time between 468 and 472 A.D. According to this calculation the date of Vasubandhu's death must be fixed at about 480. Re-adjustment of these dates has become very necessary, and scholars like Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hoernle may be requested to undertake the task.

7. I must mention another fact before I conclude. Kalidasa does not appear to have been the court poet of any Raja at all. He must have earned a good deal by writing his works, and by being rewarded by the Imperial Guptas. He seemed to have lived principally at Ujjain, where he composed his drama *Sakuntala*. He did not dedicate this drama to any Raja, but presented it for being enacted at the local festival of the god Mahakala. It may be that during his last days the poet became very closely associated with the Imperial Guptas.

When the poet commenced to compose the *Raghuvamsa* he must have had the Imperial Guptas in view; for, had his subject been only the ancestors of Rama, he would not have stated that his imagination was fired by hearing only the glorious deeds of the heroes, and not by reading them. *Tad-gunaih karnam agatya chapalaya prachoditah* is the line in the Introduction (i, 9). This also shows that the poet lived far away from the capital of the Guptas, though he was attached to the Rajas.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

DELHI

Ancient of days am I, the cradle
Of kingdoms and empires I rocked
On my lap with a mother's care!

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JUNE, 1911

The Titans of the Mahabharata looked at my face
And found it fair and they nestled in my bosom ;
They built kingly halls and lordly palaces
Of sweet-scented pine and gold and amethyst.
Dark and mystic flowed the Jumna lapping my feet.

Anon came the din of war from the field
Of Kurukshetra, the clash of arms, the thunder
Of chariots and the conch-calls of mighty warriors
Deafening the ears and filling the heart with awe ;
Then the peace of death and all was still !

Another turn of the cycle-wheel, Kuru and Pandava
Had passed and another was reigning in their stead.
Then came the Moslem from the west
And I passed to him by the right of the sword.
Change after change I saw, and the fame of my wealth
Drew men from afar as the light draws the moth.
Nadir, the man of blood, at whose word
The imperial streets ran with blood.
Incarnadining the blue waters of the Jumna ;
He came and went like the thunderblast and I mourned
The innocent and the slain. And the centuries
Wheeled and brought the Mogul and the heyday of my glory.

He too passed and the race from the Far West
Came and held the land and my glory departed ;
I lay neglected while a rival Queen rose in the east.
I am the cradle of empires and their grave !
Round about lie the remnants of empire,
And my imperial fame is but a memory.

They tell me that from across the sea
The great white Emperor is coming to Ind,
And once again the Imperial Crown
Will be placed in my ancient house.
I see the men at work ; I hear the coming and going
Of men in authority. They are making me ready
To meet my King and Emperor face to face.

Many memories come crowding to me :
The vision of my imperial grandeur crowned
With the halo of years, the scenes of carnage,
The busy brains uprearing empires,
The plots and counter-plots, the wiles
Of imperial women, the fierce passions of men
Seeking love and the power to rule ;
All have vanished as dreams and are still !

My King, doth he come to tarry ? To bid me stand forth
Once again in all my glory as the Queen of the East ?
Ah no, he comes but to return across the wide waters
Back again to his own island kingdom.
He will smite the chord of memory but once,
And I shall hie me back to the past and to the dead !

N. GUPTA.

INDIAN MUSICAL EDUCATION

I.

THE IDEAL OF ART-EDUCATION. EAST AND WEST. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

IT is the duty of all artists to be beautiful. The ugliness of false asceticism has no place in their lives. They should be adorned, and in turn adorn all things both subtle and physical, with the same chaste and ceaseless and impassioned grace with which nature for ever beautifies her children; and, like nature, they should be inspired of God.

Says the Mundakopanishad (I. i. 8).

"With brooding thought does Brahman swell; thence unto substance birth is given; from substance, life, mind, being, worlds, and deathlessness as the result of (sacred) works."

To teach the sacredness of labour, then, is the first principle of all artistic education;—to teach that beauty and truth are one; that Brahman is both truth and bliss, which is only another way of saying that Brahman is beauty; that if there is wrongness and sinfulness in any activity, these lie not in the actions but in personal desires; that, like Mother Nature, beauty heals and blesses as the praise of God, but, blights and curses, if of the creature. Humanity, evolving in communal life, often shut away from nature outside, and from poetry within, needs men and women in its midst, whose lives are consecrated to the synthesising and generating, for the common weal, of the essential glories of the Supreme. The arts are nature's beauties as they exist in the subtler human experience; and we can no more rightly live without them, than could the flower and streams and clouds and mountain ways, bereft of their abounding graciousness. For whether in nature or in man, graciousness—being "in a state of grace"—is the mood of which all loveliness is born.

The ancient music of India is a noble art which is too little heard in Indian homes to-day, and of the higher forms of which European musicians are, mostly,

ignorant, and cultured Indians, mostly, contemptuous. Nevertheless, in spite of many untoward circumstances, it cannot die, because its roots are deep in the heart of the people, mingling with every phase of their rich imaginative natures, and with each cherished aspect, personal and familiar, mystic and transcendental, of their archaic but vital religious and social organism.

The best Indian music seldom reaches European ears, and *vice versa*. Our knowledge of the art is usually based upon *quasi* Vaudeville *nautch* music, or upon second-rate *bravura* singing, to the accompaniment of portable harmoniums and deafening drums—the results of missionary and brass-band influences; or upon the rhythmically chaotic, mongrel European orchestral performances, by which modern Indian patrons of the art are stifling Indian musical genius, without, however gaining the spirit of European. There is no artistic reason, of course, why, if they want them, the principles of European music should not be rendered accessible to Indians, but this should be done in such a way as would not injure their national genius.* If Indians of influence were sufficiently appreciative of their own music to insist upon its general performance; if the fine attainments of Indian musicians were thus brought to the knowledge of Western artists, and more especially of the persons concerned in Indian educational matters, then we might expect that these in their turn would

* There is a genuine tendency towards the assimilation of Western musical ideals in India to-day. At the last Annual Meeting of the Gayan Samaj of Poona, the Hon. Secretary, Mr. B. T. Sahasrabudde suggested that in course of time the Samaj should direct its attention towards giving its boys and girls lessons in Western music. The movement is not confined, however, to this one Samaj. The danger is that it is an unconscious growing instead of a well-defined ideal, and that it is not in the hands of sensitive and fully-equipped artists of both races, who are the only persons who can steer it to mutual artistic advantage.

present their musical ideas to the Indian consciousness in a more sympathetic, truly educative and assimilable form than they do to-day. Doubtless they would gain enormously for their own art in such an exchange, which, being sympathetic and scholarly, could only work good all round. The large importation of pianos, harmoniums, and gramophones into India for trade purposes, and the indiscriminate teaching of second-rate Western music to Indians, have done a great deal of harm; whilst, apart from these internal considerations, the half-heartedness of the majority of so-called 'cultured' Indians about their own splendid art has too long deprived the musicians and public of Europe of its treasures. I firmly believe that we need to bring the best of each to the other, if the finest results are to be obtained, and that in the great musical works of the future the elements of East and West will mingle in perfect harmony. Hitherto each has known, almost exclusively, only the worst of the other. Now an exchange of musical ideas does not imply, as some think, a "cosmopolitan art devoid of character," because *true national traits emerge stronger under the stimulus of true international communion*.* There is everything to fear from international relations which are based upon self-complacency on the one hand and thoughtless imitation on the other; but everything to be gained from artistic intercourse which is based upon mutual respect and mutual desire for self-unfoldment. I do not believe that the current of *real* European musical influences can or should be stemmed in India, any more than that the Indian should be stopped in Europe; but if the national art is to continue on healthful lines, then obnoxious compositions and instruments, which are now welcomed by the majority of Indians as representing the highest standard of Western art, should be sternly refused.

* Whatever outward divergence there may be between their present conditions, the melodies of East and West are, moreover, not essentially different. It would be easy to show by analysis that the melodic types called *ragas*, have been unconsciously adhered to by many Western composers. The types—and the time-patterns, as exemplified in *tala*, also—are universal and fundamental, and we can trace their offshoots and characteristic development in the Western art. Hence, the finest Western music, which is as yet unknown to India, is but another of her beautiful wandering children!

An eminent Western musician once severely punished his only and beloved daughter, because he heard her singing a second-rate song. No European artist would touch these things. A harmonium has never been heard inside a Western concert-hall. It is looked upon by European musicians as beneath contempt. Yet in the second Annual Report of the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1910, we read of 111 out of 217 instrumentalists wasting their energies in the study of that rasping machine, and in all other teaching associations the conditions are as bad. It is not Western musicians but Western trade which would force these things upon Indians.

Those few Western musicians who have lately heard something about real Indian music, are enthusiastic in their praises of it. They have much to teach to Indians, certainly; but these artists of the West are the most ardent lovers of the little Indian music they have been able to hear, and if they would teach, they would also learn. Are Indians going to be ready to teach them?

Indians do not realize the magnificence of the art which is in their midst. Their musical instruments are full of marvellous beauty and resource. I recently took a *Vina* into Messrs. W. E. Hill and Sons in London—instrumental experts of Western fame. They examined it and commented upon the perfection of the bridge, which they presumed was of Western manufacture: "Not so," said I, "such bridges were in use in India when we were still living in the wild wood caves. It is more likely that the patterns of *your* beautiful bridges, Mr. Hill, came from India"—in which conjecture he was not loth to acquiesce.

Indian drums excel the Western in every way. Our drums can only make one note at a time, whereas I find, experimenting with Indian drums, that more than one clear note can be produced on the same drum, without tuning between. An Indian drummer might laugh at this, as an exhibition of my ignorance. "For the drum is simply out of tune," he would say! Custom might call this out of tune. I am only concerned here with the actual tonal capacities of the drum, however, and although I have not heard this done in

India, the fact remains that the superior tonal capacity is in the instrument, and it only awaits the composers and performers who shall bring it out. Then the rhythmic strong accent and sub-accent and sub-accentual tonal contrasts which can be produced, by fingering alone, on these instruments, are matters of astonished delight to European connoisseurs. We have nothing to approach them in the West, and no technique of drumming to come near to that of the Indian expert. In India, however, the drum is considered to be a low-class thing! But Shiva beats the rhythms of the Universe on His drum—have not His devotees heard it?—and even if this were not so, the little drums of India speak their defence for themselves. They are beautiful and wonderful, and 'tis Indians that have made them low, these things which are gifts of the Gods, for human joy and enheartening. There is something pathetic in the fact of an alien artist pleading with Indians for the proper appreciation and fostering of their own exquisite instruments. But I do not plead for India's sake alone, but because I know that a higher musical education in India will mean a greater awakening of spirituality than has ever yet fed the souls of men, throughout the music of the whole world.

Then there are the *sanai*, and *sitar*, and *esraj* and *saranghi* and many other wind, bowed and plucked instruments. Judged separately, each of these possesses individuality of tone, beauty and ingenuity of construction, and capacity for technical development in a larger way than is usually attempted in modern India; though of course the superior construction of the instruments points to great technical achievements in ancient times, since it is players who evolve instruments, and not *vice versa*.

The preservation and improvement of Indian instruments, by fostering the crafts which are concerned with their making, and by finding means to keep the most advanced musical geniuses of India in practical touch with instrument-makers, so that every detail of their construction and improvement may subserve the requirements of modern composers and performers, are amongst the first and the most urgent necessities in any movement towards Indian

musical education on a large scale. There is little doubt that some Indian instruments will be found in the Western orchestra of the future. They cannot be heard in Europe without being wanted. In exchange for the gramophone, India will send to Europe—the *vina*!

II.

THE INDIAN ORCHESTRA AND MODAL HARMONY. NOTATION. VOCAL EDUCATION. CHORUSES, AND MULTISONANT IMPROVISATION IN RAGAS. MUSICAL LITERATURE OF INDIA.

There is a spontaneous tendency towards co-operative or orchestral music in modern India; and, so far as I can observe, there are many ragas which admit of the harmonic treatment which must be followed in the majority of concerted works. Hence there is no reason why these works should not be composed along purely Indian lines. Up to now, however, this important fact,—a fact which opens up a vast and hitherto unexplored field of Indian musical activity—appears to have remained either unobserved or ignored; and the few Indians who have studied harmony have done so along the orthodox Western lines, with the result that any attempt to apply these Western non-modal* harmonies to their own art has completely obliterated its most essential characteristics. If anything of artistic value is to be accomplished along Indian harmonic lines, it will have to be through the adoption of modal harmony—i. e. harmony which is based strictly upon *melakartas* and *ragas*, either used singly or in combination; and in the musical education of the future, therefore, the inclusion of this study will be imperative, else Indian bands will continue to make discord in the national life. But such training cannot come from the type of European teachers who

* I use this expression in a general and not in a technical sense. Strictly speaking there are some modal harmonies in Europe, which have been used in the modern treatment of folk music; and all harmony which is *diatonic*, i. e., on the notes of the key-signatural, is modal. The bulk of Western harmony is, however, *chromatic*, i. e., employs notes which are contrary to those of the key or mode; but even could this not be so, there are only three modes in general use in Europe, whilst in India we have to deal with a wealth of material—with 72 root-modes and innumerable ragas derived from these!

are not willing, or perhaps as yet able, to adapt the harmonic principles of Europe to those of the Indian melodic ideal as embodied in *ragas*. The spirit of harmony must indeed come from Europe,—from European pioneers, may be—but not under the old Philistine conditions. I hope to deal more fully with this subject in a future article.

The question of a musical notation which could be accepted throughout India, and which, without unduly infringing upon vital traditional names and signs, but by supplementing them, would be adequate to express the musical development of the times, is also too complex for the present article. Such a notation is, however, amongst the first needs of Indian musical educationalists. The notations which I have hitherto examined I have found inadequate to express the full musical genius of the country; especially in concerted music, they would prove clumsy and confusing. A proper notation, having due regard to the quite peculiar exigencies of the art, could not, however, be constructed at once. It would have to grow by degrees, with the revival and expression of India's creative musical genius. The ancient songs can be expressed by existing Indian notations; the productions of the future will require something more complex.

Whilst it is certain that the general musical development in India is capable of still further acceleration in the directions of instrumental playing and of composition—by which no disparagement is meant of the beautiful achievements of individual artists—it is equally certain that along vocal lines a state of perfection has been reached which is comparable only with the grand—in India as yet unknown—instrumental art of the West, with which it stands parallel in greatness, though not in nature. The work of the future along lines of vocal education will be the removal of mannerisms, accretions, and conventions, which now in many cases deaden the powers of the singer. With these, again, it will be necessary to deal in a separate article. But to these already-developed powers, when freed, it seems, indeed, as if there would be no possibility of addition, so far as the individual is concerned; though it is not unlikely that, *without losing their marvellous spontaneity*, the Indian singers of the

next few generations may conquer fresh fields in the direction of choral amalgamation, voicing the awakened united national spirit in national choir. But such musical organisation as this implies could not be achieved without first adding a thorough knowledge of modal harmony and a careful training in co-operative work to the other branches of music which are or should be mastered by Indian singers. European choristers may perform with scarcely any knowledge either of *tala*, of *musical form*, i.e. the balance and meaning of musical idiom and of phrases in composition—or of *harmony*; but the improvisational nature of Indian music demands a superlative degree of culture along these lines, if the unique objective powers of the Indian musician are to express themselves in works of concerted art. For it is within their power if rightly trained, to improvise in concert—a feat which, according to the annals of musical history, has never yet been perfectly accomplished. Yet I have heard it attempted in a remarkable way by Indian amateurs of no special talent, when singing with them in Madras, and doubtless it has been better done on other occasions. The performances I heard were not works of art, but, given training, no limit can be predicted to such powers. We have nothing like this in the West. Why do not Indians foster these gifts? The art of improvisation in *ragas*, with its complex rules and arduous training, its psychic and physical discipline and control, may still be heard in its glory, amongst true Indian surroundings, where it wells up, bird-like, but with all the added powers of conscious creation, of human art. This splendid heritage, with its countless mythic and transcendental associations, it is a national duty to preserve, and to increase, from individual to multisonant perfections. And this can only be done by clinging to immemorial Indian traditions in music.*

It is a deplorable fact that the immense resources of Indian musical literature have not yet been adequately interpreted to the world. Captain Day, in his *Music of Southern India*, mentions over 100 Sanskrit treatises on the subject, and there are many others in Sanskrit and in vernaculars, scat-

* Traditions—not conventions. Let all young artists write upon their hearts that tradition is a living, but convention, a dead, thing.

tered about India. We should have expert translations of these, into English and vernaculars. To these ends, effort has not been wanting, but it has not met with the support warranted by its true zeal for national culture, its wise patriotism.

Beyond the immediately practicable aspects with which I have been dealing, Indian musical literature contains depths of essentially practical lore, occult and metaphysical—latent possibilities which still await the coming of the genius who shall give them birth in sounds divinely inspired and divinely scientific. For, according to its noblest traditions, the archaic science of Indian music is a purely magical science, and its performance, a magical art. May be, that magic is now overgrown with superstition; but Indians should beware lest in rejecting the accretions,—which they must do in any vitally educative movement—they do not lose also the treasures which are concealed beneath. The task of sifting the treasure-heap is one which will occupy the lives of many students both of the East and of the West; but when, to some extent, it has been accomplished, we may expect an influence from the East in the music of the West, as genuine and as enduring as that which has lately descended upon Western literature and philosophy, through the exertions of Sanskrit scholars. I lay this stress upon the advantages which are also to be gained by the Western nations from Indian musical education for Indians, because among the greatest privileges of true education, and tests of its worth, is that which is within the reach of every Indian by birth, if not always by merit,—the privilege of teaching, after he has pondered, the wisdom of his sacred land.

III.

SCHOOLS OF MUSIC. PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS, THEIR TRUE CHARACTER AND DHARMA,

It would be contrary to the spirit and tradition of Indian music to endeavour to establish ordinary schools for its culture, or to foster it by public examinations; for it is an expression of a mood so intimate and abstract, so compelling, so regardless of mundane restrictions, that the artist would be cut off from its very being in the ordinary attempt to discipline and render him 'normal'. It is largely because they have

tried to run schools, along European lines, that Indian music-lovers have not been able to produce anything musically great—of national importance—from such centers. The Indian musician must always be abnormal; but he needs special training nevertheless—or rather, just because of this,—a training which should be neither haphazard nor amongst degraded surroundings, nor in any sense as separating him—or—her—from the social organism of which he—or she—should form an integral part. In fact, he does not require modern school discipline at all, but training along ancient traditional lines. Under present conditions, professional musicians are not in all cases desirable persons. But Indian music cannot progress far without professional musicians, and therefore, it is of first importance, that they should have expert training, and that their calling as a calling, should be so honoured, socially, as to make it impossible for individual musicians to disgrace it, without meriting the censure of the whole body to which they would belong. It must be remembered that there cannot be expert teachers, fine orchestras and dazzling choruses, in India, until the musical profession is raised to a high level. Only those who spend their strongest energies in pursuit of the art,—in other words, professional musicians—, can be *ultimately* responsible for diffusing it amongst amateurs; though it is amateurs, who by the fineness or coarseness of their tastes, the right or the reverse exercise of their patronage alone determine the nature of the art which shall be diffused, the heights or depths to which the majority of the artists, who depend upon them, shall reach. Indian amateurs should not therefore condemn Indian professional musicians, unless they are willing to take condemnation to themselves.

Under the altered conditions of modern times, it is therefore difficult to see how music, where practised in a large way, is to be severed from professionalism. But it is not at all difficult to see how professionalism in any art might become a noble calling—as it is intended to be—and how discerning amateurs and aspiring musicians of to-day might combine to educate Indian talent in the spirit—if not altogether in the letter—of the ancient ideal, which has been successfully restored in other educational directions, and which is so essential to the

proper unfolding of powers so subtle, and so dangerous if undisciplined by spiritual living, as those with which the Indian musical genius is gifted.* If, as I believe, it is impossible in the nature of the case to establish 'schools' of Indian music, this does not mean that Indians have no responsibility in the fostering of the professional musicians who are in their midst; and wherever a truly great musician is found—and true greatness is *always* inseparable from spirituality, though that spirituality may not at times be able to shine through adverse circumstances, especially those of early training—there should be help forthcoming to protect it from worldly cares, and to enable it to form in itself the centre towards which pupils from all classes might naturally gravitate. This indeed is the only kind of 'school' which succeeds in music, and which lovers of India should revive and hold up as an example to the world—i. e., the true heaven-inspired teacher, and the loving disciples: from the one a spontaneous flow of wisdom—unrestricted by 'system,' unfettered by scholastic 'red-tape'—and from the others, affection and happy study and the assimilation of that which they can take naturally without haste, without the blighting fear of exams or the grinding need for 'punctual attendance,'—other than that which is prompted by eager enthusiasm, under the benign influence of calm and fostering social conditions. It is for Indian amateurs, in the first place, to make these conditions; surely they will then have little to complain of on the score of professionalism in music. For it is in their power alone to convert the bread of shame into offerings to revered and beloved teachers and inspirers, men and women whose whole duty it is to court divine ecstasy and to sing of God in His creation. This is no mean calling, and nothing less than this is the *dharma* of the Indian musician. His is a perpetual profession of faith, and such a labourer is indeed "worthy of his hire."

I plead even for the most degraded, and

the most unfortunate of my fellow-musicians, for I know that there are few indeed of these, to whom the message of the higher things of which music is the living channel, is not still the deepest note hidden within their hearts; and in whom a dawn of better conditions would not bring to birth that greater hope, and with it a flood of the divine melodies which can scarce transfuse their saddened lives to-day. Be it remembered that many have fallen, only because that which was demanded of them was less than that which they had to give. I believe—in spite of my knowledge of external facts which would seem to prove the contrary, I *still* believe—that the nature of the Indian musician is unique in the world, wonderful, and totally misunderstood. If it were wisely dealt with, it would be with few exceptions, neither lazy nor vicious, as it so often is now. It is a rare thing, and its wrongness—worst of all—is the wrongness of a rare thing crushed. Like all rare things it needs—as we should understand and foster some strange wayward child—beautiful and harmonious surroundings in order that its true quality may become manifest. It needs understanding and leniency, else it turns to venom and to revolt. Birds do not sing their best when they are unhappy; and deep beneath the surface there is a common nature in the bird and in the human songster. The Indian musical genius is entirely subjective. It rests on Brahma "The Song out-thinker" (Taittiriyaopanishad, Part II.) One of its peculiarities, scarcely ever realized, is that it can never fully manifest itself, if it is concerned, or worse, hurt, with the discordant concerns of the outer life. It is not foolish and lazy. Its *dharma*, on the contrary, is an intense inner activity, and therefore its duty is to neglect the outer. It should be served, it should be protected, for it serves us by rescuing us from our lesser selves. If and wherever, these its true nature and function are frustrated, there, maddened in the attempt to find itself, it may resort to every kind of excess, striving to obtain by abnormal means the sympathy, ecstasy and self-forgetfulness which are necessary to its true existence and manifestation, and which the injustice and callousness of its fellows will not permit it to attain, normally in profound dreams, unbroken by a harsh and philistine civilization, and to share, normal-

* The writer is of course aware that there are professional musicians of great culture and high ideals in modern India but when the case is broadly viewed, these are found to form the exceptions. We need that—as in Europe—they should form the rule, the *status quo* of musical professionalism.

ly, in assemblies of men or of women who do not fear to exult together in the love of the divine, who do not shrink from—and deface—the myriad things fashioned by its tenderness, whose might, hid in these, the singer celebrates. Like birds and children and all things which bear the mark of heaven fresh upon them, true musicians never grow old, but play and play, listening to the eternal harmonies, forgetful of what men call 'life', until at last they sleep. They should never be expected to be otherwise, these herb-ringers of youth perennial; and if they are—crushed among the stricken hordes of an unlovely humanity—do we blame the birds, or the blinding heat and dust, when the days are silent, and our hearts unmoved by song? Dear to Christ were natures such as those of the musicians of India! Did He not say "Because thou art neither hot nor cold, I will spue thee out of my mouth?"—and in these musicians, men and women, are the sacred fires which well guided, may burn through life to the beyond. Let us not, then, despise even the

least among these fiery ones, for have we not communed with the Gods through them?—and shall we not again, and more wondrously, when we seek at all times, not sensuousness, but SARASVATI in all, without exception, of these, Her embodiment on earth? It is only for us to seek, when they will surely respond.

Wherever music is beautiful, there resides a glorious soul, fit indeed for our worship—yea and ever more so, the more our ignorance in its training may have soiled its vestures. For "out of the fulness of the heart, the mouth speaketh." Let us then again honour our musicians—not by our lips alone—which we have done, too long, to our own shame—but by our acts, remembering that our honouring must bear richest, purest fruit, wherever we believe, and expect our artists also to believe, that the most perfect songs are less than the Singer, and the holiest words, than He Who speaks.

MAUD MACCARTHY.

SAUNTON, April, 1911.

A VISIT TO DHARMPUR

I had long ago promised my old friend, Babu A. C. Majumdar, of the Panjab Brahmo Samaj, to say with him and see the work which was being carried on in the Consumptive Home, at Dharmpur, on the lower Simla Hills. Time after time I had been prevented, but just before Good Friday this year I was able to fulfil my promise. At such a time, my mind was naturally engaged with memories of the suffering of mankind, typified by the cross, and each step of the way I went up that hill-side with the Superintendent, visiting his sick patients and hearing his kindly words of good cheer and comfort, I felt that here indeed was a Christ-like work. The words of Christ came vividly before me,—'greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends.' Certainly here was one way of carrying out in daily service that great word; and it was a privilege to be there and witness the efforts that were being made to help the suffering in their hour of need,

Dharmpur! The very name itself was significant! The City of *Dharma*! There could not have been chosen a more appropriate title. And yet there was no choice in the matter. The name was there already before the site was chosen. But that is just what the new little town, which is springing up on the hill-side, appears to be,—a city of *dharma*!

My thoughts went back to those buildings depicted in Buddhist sculpture,—the hospitals and homes of rest founded by the great Indian King Asoka and his successors,—perhaps the earliest hospitals in the world. And then my memory carried me on to the sacred associations of the Hills in Hindu thought,—the peaceful abode there in days gone by of the saints and rishis, the pathways trodden by the feet of countless pilgrims seeking the presence of God. The very hills themselves seemed to be the fitting place for the new acts of mercy which modern science has set before mankind. Here was a *dharma*, worthy to be

compared with that of ancient times. Here was a pilgrim's path, which led in our own days to the presence of God.

The evening sun was setting as I approached the Hospital. There were a few clouds on the horizon in the West, and the waning light had tinged them with crimson and sapphire and gold. I had just seen the great snow-clad peaks in the far distance flashing for a moment into sudden flame and then sinking back into a dream-like haze of soft, delicate grey. The stillness of evening was settling down upon the landscape as the light disappeared, and the silence called the soul to communion with God.

The patient in the first house I visited was standing in the twilight, gazing at the departing glory of the sun-set, breathing the pure air from the pine woods which scarcely moved their branches in the hush that had fallen upon nature. He had come only a few days before from the heat and dust and suffocation of crowded city life upon the Plains, where he had been seated in an office breathing foul air into his weakened lungs. Now each breath he took was a gift of new life to him. Already there was a glow of health visible on his face, and I was not surprised to find that the dread consumptive fever had begun to leave him and the continual hacking cough had greatly improved. He was gaining also in weight every day, as he drank copious draughts of pure milk and took mild exercise up and down outside his room. We talked a little while together, and I found that the vision of beauty which had just passed before us in the setting sun had not been lost to him. 'This place,' he said to me, 'seems like an earthly Paradise, and the kindness that I have received from everyone has been more than I can express.'

'Did you find much difficulty,' I asked, 'in reaching the Home?'

'None whatever,' he replied, 'the journey from Kalka is a very easy one, and every mile that the train climbed up the Hill I seemed to get better'.

He then went on to tell me, how he hoped soon to be well enough to return, as he had family duties to perform. I urged him, with all the strength I could, not to hasten his departure. To run the

risk of a relapse would be worse than useless. It would throw away all the good that had been done.

Just here is one of the great difficulties and disappointments of the work in its present early stage. The cure begins, and the patient becomes full of confidence that it has already been accomplished. The pressure of modern life sends him back to some unhealthy occupation, with the inevitable result that the disease comes back again in a worse form than before.

It is estimated that the number of people who die from consumption in India is considerably greater than in England. The cause is due to the lack of careful treatment in the early stages. The evil is most serious, because it is just the highly-nervous and artistic temperaments, which succumb most quickly to the disease. The names of Keats and Francis Thompson in England, and of Toru and Aru Dutt in Bengal, at once occur to the mind. The loss in early youth of such natures as these is irreparable. Their value to the nation is beyond all reckoning. I could not help being struck, even in the small group of patients whom I saw in Dharmpur, with the high type of nervous force that was represented, and the potential talent, if only health should be regained. A nation which neglects the warning which modern medical science gives, and allows some of its most talented members to succumb to an early death, which might have been prevented, is self-condemned. It is none too soon that educated Indians have begun to face the great problem for themselves, and to take in hand its solution.

I was surprised to find the immense distances which some patients had travelled to reach Dharmpur, and the numbers of applications which had come in from every province in India. A hundred and forty seven had applied from the Panjab alone during the first year, twenty-eight from the United Provinces, twenty-four from Bombay and Central India, twelve from Bengal, four from Madras, and two from Burma. The great preponderance of applications from the Panjab is due partly to the fact that the Home itself is in that Province, but also to the fact that the severe cold of the Panjab winter brings on a weakening of the chest and a liability to catch the disease. It was



DHARMPUR SANATORIUM.

also noticeable that a very large proportion of the patients were Hindus. They numbered nearly eighty per cent. There is probably some cause in social customs,—possibly the extremely early marriage system,—which needs to be diagnosed and remedied. As the present patients come chiefly from the Panjab the disproportion cannot be due to the greater numbers of Hindus in India. For in the Panjab the Hindus are in a slight minority. There must be some deep reason for the disproportion, and for the sake of the good health of the Hindu community no effort should be spared to discover exactly what it is.

Only one out of every four of those who applied for admission could be taken in last year, on account of want of room. It is clear that the need of such consumptive homes is overwhelming, and that there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of sufferers who have no chance offered them of obtaining relief from their sufferings in health-giving surroundings. It needs to be widely known, that there are large numbers of men and women and children in this land, to whom the open air treatment would bring

untold benefit, but who are unable to get it, under proper conditions, because of the feebleness of the effort which has hitherto been made to supply the need. It has been often pointed out that a considerable proportion of the deaths scheduled as malaria, or common fever, are probably due to consumption. If every case of consumption in its early stages were rightly diagnosed, we should be surprised to find how widespread the disease is, and how great is its danger of increasing under the conditions of modern Indian life.

The site of Dharmpur for a Consumptive Home is in many ways an ideal one. The Khadam pine forest, in which it is situated, is about seventy acres in extent with many available spaces for building, and a railway station close at hand. The journey from Kalka, at the foot of the Hills, is only two hours in a comfortable train. The railway also makes the prices of food practically the same as those charged in the plains, while fresh vegetables and good milk can be had in abundance. The altitude of 5,000 feet gives a temperature not too severe in winter, and the air is not too



DHARMPUR RAILWAY STATION.

rarefied for patients whose lungs are already very weak on account of disease. The best positions in the forest have been taken up and a great many buildings erected. Indeed when I had carefully examined all that had been done in the way of ground-clearing, road-making, reservoirs, houses, etc., and the comparatively low cost at which the work had been carried out, I did not know whether to admire most the indomitable energy of the Superintendent and staff, or their business capacity. I can truly say that I have rarely seen money better spent, or more economically laid out. There are the beginnings of a really fine sanatorium already in existence. It only remains that further funds should be provided in order to carry out the whole design.

Of Dr. Banerji and his assistant, together with the Superintendent himself, it would be difficult to speak too highly. Their work has been a labour of love, and they have overcome obstacles which would have proved too great for men of much older experience and technical training. I went in and out among the patients during my visits and talked with them quite freely, and never heard one single complaint.

I take from the first report which has been published some typical cases which have been dealt with. It will be noted how many of them are of that cultured type which the country can ill afford to lose.

Into one block a Kashmiri Pandit had brought from Benares a lady relative. Along with them was a precocious little boy and a tiny sister, both of whom spoke faultless English. In the next block was a Bengali lady who came at an early stage of the disease and has been practically cured. In the same block used to live a cultured Hindu lady from Ferozepur, who read the Yoga Vashishta in Bhasha, and had a bright little child of five. In another cottage was a young student from the Arts College, Lahore, and not far away a teacher from the Gurukul in Gujranwala, who has rapidly regained his health. A Sikh youth from Nabha, with his old grand-father to attend him, lived in another block. The old man would recite the Jap ji while his grandson listened from his bed of sickness. Many of the new blocks are being built in such a way that a family may occupy them, for it is found more acceptable to Indians generally to allow

one or more near relatives to live with the patient. Such relatives are often able to give useful voluntary help in the Home.

In one of the quarters last year a refined Parsi lady was lodging. She was to have become one of the Seva Sadan Sisters, when it was discovered that she was consumptive. However she has already improved in health, and if she is cured, she hopes still to join the Seva Sadan Sisterhood, and serve as a nursing sister at Dharmpur. I was surprised at the number of ladies who had sought admission to the Home,—ladies of great culture and refinement. Among them consumption seems to accomplish its most deadly work.

A Muhammadan gentleman, from my own city of Delhi, came up last year. He had suddenly discovered, when it was too late, that the disease was virulent in his own family. His daughter, whom he loved very much, died of consumption before she could be taken to the Home. This terrified the father, and he came up immediately with his son, a very bright, intelligent child, who was at a very early stage in the disease. The boy rapidly regained his strength as soon as ever he was put under special treatment, and there seems every likelihood of a permanent cure being effected. A few days ago, an orthodox Jain came up to the Home, for whose food special arrangements had to be made; but the Superintendent is always ready for such emergencies and soon set his mind at rest.

There are three European patients in the Home. Two of them come from immense distances, and all of them are improving. They are tended and cared for by the Indian medical staff and the Superintendent, and they all expressed to me their deep gratitude for the unwearying kindness which they had received. One of them was a Captain in the Transport Service. As I walked round the quarters, I found the son of an old Indian Christian Padre, a friend of my own. I had no idea at all that he was in the Consumptive Home; indeed I supposed that he was well and strong. But the disease attacks people very suddenly and unexpectedly. Now in the Home, however, there is every chance of his complete recovery.

In this healing work of mercy all races

and religions are mingled. It is well worth paying a visit to Dharmpur if only to see how the human suffering, which is shared by all in common, knits hearts together, and breaks down every barrier between man and man.

Some practical steps in the way of prevention of consumption are clearly needed in India. This was borne in upon me very strongly by all that I saw and



BABU ABINAS CHANDRA MAZUMDAR.

heard. The chances of recovery are enormously increased, when the disease is detected in its earliest stages, and among children. Medical examination should, therefore, be insisted on, as far as possible, during childhood. All the public schools of the country should be under frequent medical inspection, not merely for eye-sight, though that is also a subject of first importance to the community, but for consumptive tendencies. The record of the weight of children should be carefully kept, and any symptom of bodily wasting ('consumption' is a word taken from that *wasting tendency of the disease*) should at once be notified, and the case attended to with care.

It would be well to have in every Province certain very simple and inexpensive buildings called Homes of Prevention. Wherever the consumptive tendency, especially in children, was suspected, the individual

could be taken here first for open air treatment. In many instances this would be sufficient to arrest the disease. Where however traces of consumption still lingered, the fuller open air treatment of the pine forests and the Hills would be necessary.

From such careful treatment of the early stages a double gain would accrue. The chances of recovery in the patients themselves would be enormously increased and they would not spread infection to others. A consumptive patient in a crowded neighbourhood is a fruitful source of new infection. His cough leads to expectoration, and this, when it dries, sends up into the air millions of germs of the disease. In Dharmpur each patient has a supply of blotting-paper cups, covered with stiff brown paper, and a bowl of disinfecting fluid in which to throw them when they are used. Thus, under careful medical supervision all the germs are destroyed, but without such care and segregation of patients, the control of the spread of the disease is practically impossible.

It is a tribute to the practical instincts and wise foresight of educated Indians in the Bombay Presidency that the Consumptive Home at Dharmpur should have started from that Province. Through the interest of B. M. Malabari and Dayaram Gidumal, and the sympathy and support of the Seva Sadan Sisterhood, a beginning was made. Two large contributions of 25,000 each, from the Maharajah of Gwalior and the Wadia Trustees, gave the financial help required at the start. But there is urgent need of regular monetary support from the general public. The Home, which is entirely under Indian management and direction, should be made the best of its kind in India. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, whose sympathy with a work of this kind is assured, will visit the Home on his way up to Simla, and greater publicity will thus be given to its existence. But this will mean also a greater number of applications for admission and therefore greater expenses. Financially, the present time is critical, and the great burden of finding the necessary funds should be taken from the shoulders of the Superintendent.

On Easter Sunday, Babu A. C. Majumdar invited me to conduct a religious service, chiefly for the little group of Indian

Christians who were undergoing treatment in the Home. But soon I found that others of different religions were ready to join with me in prayer and worship, and we gathered together there, with all our burden of sorrow and suffering, in the name of the one common Father of us all, whose children we were,—Hindu, Musalman, Christian alike.

I spoke on the great universal theme of Love, taking as my text the Thirteenth Chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. As I spoke of the tenderness, sacrifice and true humility of love my heart went out to the brave little band of workers who have been struggling through summer and winter to help their fellow-men, and I longed that other voluntary workers should come forward and devote themselves to the work. There is a special need for some Indian lady with medical or nursing experience. The wife and daughters and niece of the Superintendent have been able to render valuable help in the past, but their time is not wholly free and two permanent lady-workers are sorely needed. Another doctor also who could offer his services as an honorary worker would be an inestimable boon.

My own thoughts were full, on that day, of the Easter message of Resurrection and Immortality and Love Triumphant. There, in the midst of that grim struggle with death, where love was winning its slow conquests and pressing forward to fresh victories, the message seemed to come home to me with a new meaning and intensity. After the service was over, we all shook hands warmly, and with good-byes and kindly hopes my visit came to an end. It has been my happiest Easter memory for many a long year, and will give, I trust, a new incentive to my prayers.

For it needs to be stated clearly that the cures to be wrought in such a Home of suffering as that at Dharmpur are not merely physical, but mental and spiritual. Modern medical science is just beginning to understand and appreciate the mysterious power of mind over disease, a power which was evidently known in India from earliest recorded times. Faith and prayer can reach the spirit of the patient and help forward the cure, equally with those external means which are rightly employed in accordance



HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA.

with the laws of science. Body and soul, so we are learning from psychical research, —are intimately united; and the healing power, to be wholly effective, should influence both sides of our nature and not the body alone. Such at least is Babu A. C. Majumdar's belief and hope, and his work each day is begun, continued, and ended in prayer. With that belief and hope I would whole-heartedly associate myself, and would ask for the help of others, who have confidence in the power of prayer.

I would ask specially for remembrance of Babu A. C. Majumdar himself upon whom the heavy responsibility chiefly falls. I cannot end better than with a quotation from his last published paper, which shows the spirit in which the work is being undertaken:—

"We have to fight", he writes, "a great disease. I will consider myself well requited, if I can arouse the sense of responsibility of my educated fellow-countrymen to that

danger which threatens us. My entire trust is in God. The more I am coming in contact with diseased young men and women, the more I am feeling for them. I am shuddering with fear at the gloomy result which is fast overtaking us. Workers are needed to help in this noble work of a bold fight with consumption started by Messrs. Malabari and Daya Ram Gidumal. May God help us with a band of noble-minded, self-sacrificing workers, is my constant prayer."

I would only add to these words, if I may be permitted to do so, that I will most gladly acknowledge and forward any contribution, however small, that may be sent to me personally for the great work that is now being undertaken. My own means are extremely limited, but it would be a great happiness to know that my pen had been able to call forth some help for so noble a cause.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

IN MEMORIAM SARA CHAPMAN BULL

HOW many of those who had met her, in the course of one or other of her Indian visits, were deeply saddened by the announcement of the death, on January 18th last, of Sara Chapman, Mrs. Ole Bull, at her residence in Cambridge, Massachusetts! Mrs. Bull was one of the small and distinguished number of American women, who have been noted for the sympathy and aid they have extended, to all the great causes that came their way. It is curious, in the West, to see how much this function is assumed, nowadays, by women, rather than by men. Europe, during the Middle Ages, like India to the present day, owed almost everything she possessed, of culture and workmanship, to the great patrons. Especially was this the case in Italy, where the presence of the Church brought all effort under the very eye of a class that had power to appreciate and means to support. In America today, universities, research organisations, and educational experiments, have often in a

similar way, to remember the sympathy and understanding, as well as the means extended to them at essential moments, pre-eminently by women. Amongst those who gave, Mrs. Ole Bull was a lavish giver. Her gifts were hidden, constant, guided by a sense of justice that never forgot the rights of those who belonged to her, and undeniably based on personal economies. It is this last fact, indeed, that makes their memory so exalted to those who knew her. If there had been any desire for fame, it would have been so easy for the donor to have captured it! As a matter of fact, however, no one knew, no one ever suspected, the ramifications of her wide charity. It constantly expressed a deep personal knowledge of the character and circumstances of those who were assisted. She had the rare and beautiful gift of ennobling the receiver in his own eyes, by her kindness; for she knew how to bestow an intimate respect and encouragement, with a benefit. Her charity

reached out to large things as well as small, but always with an equal hidden-ness, always with the same care for the personality at the centre of the need. "Sattvic charity, the highest charity," says the Hindu *Gita*, "is extended to the right person, in the right place, and at the proper time." And, says the Christian scripture, "He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity."

By her marriage, in 1870, Mrs. Ole Bull, then a girl of nineteen, entered the ranks of the few whose names belong to the world. Her husband was the great Norse violinist, whose fame was European. He was more. Under the dreams engendered by his passionate patriotism, men now at the helm of affairs in Norway, were born to the idea of Nationalism. Like all men of genius, in matters of this world, Ole Bull was easily deceived. Time after time he would earn large sums of money, with the idea of sinking it all in some scheme for his country's betterment. And time after time the dishonest lawyer, or the quarrelsome manager, or some other proverbial source of disaster would place it safely out of his reach. Yet some of his splendid hopes are still remembered: There was the great stretch of country, that he bought in America, to be a Norwegian colony. There was the National Theatre that he opened in Bergen, in 1850, of which the first young manager appointed became Hendrik Ibsen, and the second Bjornsterne Bjornson. In this theatre, the restraints of a taste that despised Norwegian, and preferred Danish, were thrown off. The language used was the local dialect; the humour was of the countryside; the actors and actresses were recruited from the neighbouring villages; the music depended on Ole Bull and all the peasant players of the province; and for the drama itself, do not the great early plays of Ibsen still remain, to tell us that this set forth the heroic episodes of the national history? All this in an age when Norwegian had for generations been accounted a tongue too rustic for polite conversation!

Politically, the life of Ole Bull was devoted to two ends, Pure Flag, as it was called, and the establishment of the national celebration of Norway Day, on the 17th of May,—the day on which in

1814, Norway had received from Sweden an independent constitution. As long as Ole Bull lived, neither of these causes could be said to have completely triumphed. Sweden, it is true, had to retreat from the attempt to place her colours in the corner of the Norwegian flag, for any purposes save those of commerce and the consulates. And a few earnest hearts and minds had been trained to a realisation of such rallying-points as this cause, and that of the Nation-Day provided. But neither Ole Bull himself, nor any of those who surrounded him, could have foreseen that on the 100th anniversary of his birthday, the centennial would be celebrated by Norway as an independent country, under a king elected by herself. Norway stands alone in Europe, in her power of worshipping individuals, and the celebration of this centennial was



SARA CHAPMAN BULL.

the last triumph of the heart, to the widowed woman in America whose long and devoted watch beside her husband's memory, was now so nearly ended. On the morning of the fifth of February 1910, the first telegram that she opened—as she lay already in the grasp of her last illness,—

was signed "Haakon." It was from Norway's king, congratulating her on "This day all Norway is celebrating."

It was the incomparable good fortune of the young American girl who in 1870 became wife of Ole Bull, to be associated with him in all his hopes and all his modes of thought. Whatever might be the form of reasoning, or the method of activity, in which Mrs. Bull, in subsequent years might seem to express herself, it was always, in the deepest things of her life, the impulse and the training received from her great husband, that really found expression in her manifold interests. Ole Bull had been of the nation-makers, and when he died, he left behind him a wife who was also a disciple. It was a heart capable of feeling motherhood for peoples, that remained to mourn him. A curious mixture of this synthetic imagination, and of a certain housewifely thrift, was Mrs. Bull, throughout the years of her maturity. She—who had seen what the cosmopolitan fame of a violinist ("the old Norse fiddler from Norway," was Ole Bull's own description of himself) could do for a great people,—knew always how to appraise the value to a nation, of a single individual's greatness and distinction. And having served this nation-making genius in the close neighbourhood of daily living, she would always thenceforth relate great men to the ideas they represented, and would exercise what can only be called a motherly craft about the holiday, or the invitation, or the journey, or the gift, that would serve to tide one or another over a crisis here, or an illness there, make him forget a heartbreak, or conceive new hope. "We could ill afford to lose such a voice," she would sometimes say privately, in self-justification of the hand secretly stretched out to someone—someone, it might be, with whom her own intellectual agreement was only general, and by no means particular. She had an eye for a man's value to his own community, quite apart from any pleasure he might bring to herself. A doctor, a journalist, an artist, some poor author, some struggling school master, any of these, in any country, might be the object of her generous interest, as of one who kept the lamp and distributed supplies from the storehouse of the very mother of the People. And her gifts carried

no conditions. Room to live and breathe and work, was all she strove to secure, for those she would protect. Never a word as to the mode of the work. Never an idea of dictating the purpose of the struggle. She had a science in these things that was all her own. "It has been my *pride*," she said on her deathbed, "to be the *servant*!" But in the selection of the thing to be served, and in her appraisal of its value, she had undoubtedly been inspired and moulded by Ole Bull.

Her marriage itself had been the result of her love of music. As a girl of nineteen, born and brought up in what is known as the Middle West of the United States, in Madison, Wisconsin, she had somehow taught herself to play the piano—to play it, moreover, with such delicacy and tenderness as to win the delighted attention of the great violinist, when as a guest in her father's house, he invited her to accompany his morning's practice. No doubt, under his influence, these qualities were deepened. In her last years, her touch and her phrasing had a beauty all their own. The aroma of the great styles hung about her fireside playing. A well-known pianist, meeting her twenty years ago, on a steamer, confesses to have modified her own rendering of Grey, ever since, in consequence of five minutes gentle suggestion, on her part. In marriage, she shared Ole Bull's musical, as she did his national, life. Acting as her husband's accompanist, she visited Europe, and met his musical friends—Liszt, Rubinstein, Strakosch, and others—in Vienna, Paris, Brussels and elsewhere. She often told of the extraordinary likeness between her husband and Liszt, which was so great that Liszt's valet, on the occasion of their first call in Vienna, left them standing at the door, and ran in to announce that 'the Master's twin-brother had arrived'. Many of his friends in Europe had long believed Ole Bull to be dead, and it was a proud moment for the young wife, when one of them, after hearing him play, on his last great tour, rose and shook him warmly by the hand, saying "Why in the world didn't you tell me that you played as well as ever?"

During the last three years of her husband's life, they practised together everyday for five or six hours, and to the wife, the room

in which they studied became a veritable church. It was in the beautiful music room overhanging the fjord, in their Norwegian home, that she, with all the heroism of a supreme obedience, played Mozart's Requiem while her husband died. In the hour that followed, she felt the whole realm of great music closed to her, for years to come; and in her heart-strickenness, this promise of silence was her only intuition of a future healing and peace. Music, it seemed to her then, would have been an agony past bearing. It was with something like dismay that those about her in her last illness, heard her now and again say, "I feel sure I am soon again to hear great music!"

Throughout the years that followed, there were few Norsemen in America who had not cause to realise, in one way or another, the fact that the widow of Ole Bull was a Norsewoman at heart. The bond was held as firm and close as an unquestioned faithfulness could keep it. But as years went on, and her daughter grew to maturity, the mother deliberately effaced herself more and more, in things Norwegian, that there might be the more scope given to her child. It was for this reason that she declined to be present at the Coronation festivities a few years ago, in Bergen. Her own last public appearance there, had been at the unveiling of Sinding's statue of Ole Bull on May 17th, 1910. Later in the same year, she entertained Mr. R. C. Dutt amongst her guests.

Mrs. Ole Bull's interest in India began so long ago as the winter of 1886-7, when she with other friends, attended the readings of the Bhagavad Gita, given by Mr. Mohini-mohan Chatterjee in Boston. The two points that attracted her, in the literature which she then began to study, were in the first place its scientific treatment of the whole question of immortality, and in the second, the freedom it postulated for individual religious conviction. She was accustomed to say that she had been taught to love and value Christianity, by this exposition of the Hindu texts. Her eagerness as to the continuity of human personality, needs no comment. The Gita had come across her path within five years of her husband's death. In 1894, she became interested in the Swami Vivekananda, and in 1898, she spent a year in the North of India and in Kashmir. During a

large part of this time, the Swami was amongst her guests, and the opportunities which she consequently enjoyed, of observing Indian life, were quite unexampled. Her great faithfulness to any interest once assumed roused the admiration and respect of all who knew her, and in the Order of Ramakrishna she was known by the name of "Dhira Mata," the Steady Mother. From this time on, she added India to the serious preoccupations of her life, and proved as warm and staunch a friend to men and things Indian as she had ever been to anything. Her adhesion to his cause, is to be regarded as the turning-point in Vivekananda's American career. She was not the first great lady who had attended the lectures of the red-robed monk. Many of far greater fortune had been interested in him before: but there was no other who could bring such a depth of impersonal generosity and affection to bear on the ideas for which he stood; none with Mrs. Ole Bull's sense of responsibility; none with her trained capacity for serving and guarding that which she revered. Henceforth his cause had found a mother or more. It was no wonder that when a discussion arose, in some American house where he was visiting, and the whole party suddenly turned to him laughingly for his definition of a saint,—he paused a moment, and then in a hushed voice answered, "Mrs. Ole Bull."

Under the guidance of her friend and secretary, Dr. Lewis G. Janes, Mrs. Bull's house became a recognised centre, during the next few years, for the discussion of philosophical ideas in general, with special care taken that things Indian and Vedantic should have an adequate place. For to this far-sighted and catholic intellect, anything like a one-sided partisanship was intolerable. She had a dread of conversions (or perversions?) from one faith to another. To her, a true growth must justify and endear the old, as well as reveal the new. Her peculiar temptation, indeed, was to be prematurely insistent on a synthetic view, rather than to commit the commoner error of taking one side of the obelisk for the whole.

Even in her Indian interests, it was her husband again whom she consciously followed. He had left a passage in his Notes tracing the genesis of the violin to

India. It delighted her, to think that he had thus expressed an obligation. This fact she must often have mentioned, for on the first afternoon of being at home, in her bungalow at Almora,—the first day of her Himalayan housekeeping, in May 1898,—the Swami Vivekananda came over from the house where he was visiting, to call on her, and with him brought a toy musical instrument and its bow (literally a military bow although only a toy) which had always stood in his mind as the model of the violin-origin to which her husband had referred. This fragile object was treasured by her with the greatest care, and lay on her drawing-room table on the day of her death.

But her husband was more than her inspirer. He was also her guide and teacher in the attitude she assumed, and the help she rendered, to things Indian. Hers was always the forth-looking eye, of the constructive impulse. Her view was kindly, but at the same time wise. She saw in Indian women, from the first, something that was too precious to see calmly surrendered. She was eagerly interested in their education, but still more eager that that education should be right in form and method.

From the beginning of her contact with the Indian mind, she had felt a curiosity as to the quality of the *mothers* of men so trained. This question gave place, on actual acquaintance, to a deep satisfaction and respect. Indian women have never been read more sympathetically or regarded more hopefully, than by this truest and best of friends. She saw the importance to the future of the people of all the higher forms of intellectual activity. Art, history, science, education, all had the meed of her unstinted faith and hope. And the need of perfect self-direction and responsibility was also entirely obvious to her. Seldom is such warmth of conviction and enthusiasm held in such exquisite restraint, by depth of experience and sanity of judgment.

Mrs. Ole Bull visited this country a second and a third time, in 1902 and 1903. It had been the hope of many of her friends that she would still have returned again, to take up a longer residence; but this was not to be. At dawn on the 18th of January last, she passed out of one sleep into another. One of the noblest of American women had stepped down into the waters of death.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

INDIAN INTERESTS IN MAURITIUS

IT is very gratifying to note that the Hon. Mr. Gokhale has drawn the attention of the Government of India to the two principal grievances of the Indians of Mauritius. Though the Hon. Mr. Clark has not given any answer committing the Government of India to any definite policy or action, it is hoped, and even expected, that in due course of time there would be a public announcement that emigration of indentured Indians to Mauritius has been stopped for various reasons, the ostensible one, among others, being overpopulation, as the actual density is over 559 per square mile. Even before the Indian Government takes any action, the Right Hon. Harcourt, the Secretary of State for the Colonies seems to have practically given the planters

to understand that there would be no more immigration of indentured labourers from India. It is, however, important to have a definite pronouncement from the Indian Government on this subject.

Already the Indian labourers on sugar-estates have begun to demand higher wages or more rations or both before they enter into new contracts of service or "indentures." They have also begun to receive a prettier amount as "bakshis" or *bonus* as inducement to indenture; and it may be hoped that there would be some improvement in the matter of treatment, which has hitherto been, in practice, very much akin to slavery. The free labourers, here called "journaliers," will certainly have the nicest time for the next five or six months as some of them are



Manilal M. Doctor, with a group of political sympathisers and co-workers for the emancipation of the Indians of Mauritius.

sure to get as much as Rs. 4 per day. I, however, do not mean to say that there are no cases of ill-treatment; far from it—there has been a case of brutal beating from Deep River estate and one of general ill-treatment of the whole body of Indian labourers and their *Sirdars* (numbering 120 in all) by their manager, in consequence of which there has been a strike on Astroea estate. Besides there are complaints from Belle Vue and other estates that a considerable number of labourers have been re-engaged against their will by questionable means, which escape exposure on account of the social position and official rank of magistrates and their clerks, whose evidence to the contrary would unfortunately make the victims suffer for the sins of the guilty. One may be morally certain of a great many things; but it may be impossible to redress some wrongs with the apparently perfect legal machinery, because of the rules of procedure, evidence and even legal tactics, which do not promote

the interests of "honest justice". The indenture system has lent itself to such abuses and scandals that the sooner it dies the better. The planters of Mauritius have the unenviable and unique distinction of having been the fathers of this wretched system which has been copied subsequently by other colonies, who depend upon Indian labour; but it is better, in the interests of civilization, that this ugly child of Mauritian capitalism be killed and buried once for all with all its children and grandchildren in other parts of the world.

Coming to the question of Hindu and Mahomedan laws for the benefit of the overwhelming majority of this "little India beyond the Seas" (to quote the words of *The Statesman*) it must be observed that the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909 goes

so far as to say in para. 63 of their report (Parliamentary Blue-Book Cd. 5185):—

"Perhaps one of the most important (causes of the prevailing lack of capital in Mauritius) is the combination in Mauritius of extremely large families with French law and French ideas concerning succession to property....."

And again in para. 65—

"In short the maintenance of the French law of succession, in the absence of the small families, which mitigate its results in France, renders it difficult—in what is on the whole a poor country—for capital to be accumulated in amounts sufficiently large for individuals to carry on an industry like the manufacture of sugar".

If the French laws of marriage and succession are thus detrimental to the best interests of the self-styled French population (minority), it is high time that this ruinous burden be lifted off the shoulders of the small Indian planters, who are just making headway.

Fancy Hindus and Mahomedans, who outnumber the rest of the population by two to one, and "upon whose progress and



MANILAL M. DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B., BAR-AT-LAW.
prosperity the future of the colony must largely depend," (so said the Mauritius Royal Commission of 1909) submitting to

the provisions of the French law of marriage, in consequence of which almost all Indian men and women are taken to live in concubinage, though married by priests of their respective religions, and most Indian children considered illegitimate before the local courts.

Though Government had made some provision for giving instruction in Indian languages—Hindi, Tamil and Telugu, to Indian children and other children, if they or their parents so desired, in practice the tendency of the Education Board, most of whose members have sympathies only for French at the expense of even English, not to speak of Indian languages, has been to abstain from encouraging Hindi, Telugu, or Tamil from certain political motives. In order to remedy this condition of things, it is necessary to send a few educated Indians as missionaries to teach and spread the knowledge of Hindi, Tamil and Telugu among the different sections of the Indian population of the colony, "who play so important a part in the industrial life of the country and without whose proportionate representation on the legislative council the so-called Mauritian council of Government cannot pretend "to speak authoritatively for Mauritius as a whole," (according to the Report of the Mauritius Royal Commission, 1909.)

MANILAL M. DOCTOR.

THE SHASTRAS ON INTER-MARRIAGE

WE have already seen what the last Hindu Law-giver, Raja Rammohun Roy, the patriarch and father of New India, has to say on the question of intermarriage. His views on the point are unmistakable. It is now incumbent on us to ascertain what path the ancient law-givers, the *Smritikaras*, chalked out for our adoption. There are old women of both sexes in all countries who are hard to be satisfied until chapter and verse are quoted on a particular point. The Shastras are appealed to in season and out of season in favour of the perpetuation of anything that is in vogue and has been so for some time past. They are a potent instrument held in reserve to be hurled against any measure that is likely to prove beneficial under our altered circumstances. But these Shastras are not

always the repository of everything that is retrograde and the law-givers are not so many bores as they are represented to be. These Shastras are the results of social evolution and came into existence from time to time owing to the needs of the situation. Therefore in them we find a healthy tone of progress which is always ignored by these simple folk, on account of their partisanship of the social *status quo*. If we clamour, and do so justly, against the settled-fact theory in politics, consistency demands that we should not be too much biased in its favour in social matters. And it is not a matter of logical consistency alone. Higher self-interest too requires it. With a stationary social system progressive politics is a dream. With an ideal of justice daily carried into practice before our very eyes

which naturally excites our respect and admiration in the majority of cases,—and no human heart can be so callous as to consider, without a wondering gaze, the fact that the King himself has to come to the court of justice and go through all its formalities before he gets a redress of his personal wrong,—we can not consistently tolerate inequalities of the most flagrant kind in our social life. If we are to base our political claims on this ideal we must at once begin to practise it at home. "To base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men," says Henry George in his *Progress and Poverty*, "are theoretically equal is to stand a pyramid on its apex." One day the whole edifice will unexpectedly come down with a crash and demolish all our hopes and aspirations root and branch. If we are to survive in the struggle for existence with the most scientific cultures and civilisations, we can ill afford to be unreasonable, much less unscientific. We must live with all our eyes about us. With the sanction of science on our side we can search the Shastras with open eyes and if they too help us there would be left nothing to be desired.

When the Aryans were dispersed from their original home, located nobody knows where, though Mr. Tilak has made bold to definitely assert that it was in the Arctic circle, they turned out a wondering race for sometime. One current went to Europe. They were mixed up with the primitive people there who came to be the forefathers of the modern European races. These primitive European peoples had a white complexion like the Aryans. So there was no scruple felt by the latter to be thoroughly identified with those people. But quite otherwise was the case in India. Aryan currents came hither and they too were mingled with the original inhabitants of this ancient land. They had to do so as a matter of course. They had not had a sufficient number of women with them. But the white races have always and in all lands a natural repugnance to intermixture with coloured peoples, so in the later Vedic ages the Rishis saw with alarm that the purity of the blood of their race would be in danger if they allowed their tribes free blending with the natives. So hard and fast rules were framed for keeping the Sudras,

the conquered, apart. But all were not conquered. There were native princes and heroes some of whom had been already taken into the fold as Kshatriyas. Perhaps that was also the case with Brahmans and Vaisyas, at least through marriage connections. Many episodes of the Mahabharata are based on the traditional exploits of the native heroes of pre-Aryan and some of post-Aryan times due to the romances of Aryan and native societies. It is very difficult now to determine whether there was any pure Aryan Sudra caste. Most probably there was none. It was not likely that they would use some of their own fellows as menial servants—their number was not so large. Even the present-day Europeans living in Asia and Africa do not do so. Therefore the Sudra was left outside the pale of the Hindu Aryan brotherhood, already a mixed race. It is probable there were at least two streams of the Aryans that came to settle in India. One of them at first freely mixed with the natives. The other was more sparing in that respect. So they boasted of their purity and treated with scorn both the Hindu-Aryans and the natives alike. So in the Rigveda we find a triangular fight for supremacy. One Rishi, perhaps Hindu-Aryan, invokes Indra,—

"Thou, O Indra, dost strike both our foes
The Aryan and the Dasyu."—

—Rigveda, VII. 33.3.

"O glorious Indra give us an easy victory
Over our foes—thy foes—be they Dasyu, be they
Arya."

—Rigveda, X. 38.3.

Though ultimately they seem to have been merged into the dominant Hindu-Aryan race, and the Dasyus, who would not submit and settle down as Sudras, driven to the hills and jungles. As to the origin of the two thousand and odd castes there is a reasonable difference of opinion, among the savants. But about the original three castes, there is no difficulty. Formerly these were the three most ordinary social functions among the Aryans to be performed indiscriminately by all the members of the community for the safety and improvement of society as a whole. The same family, the children of the same parents would constitute the three castes. Gradually the functions were delegated to different families, but there was yet formed no caste in the modern sense of the term—interdin-

ing and intermarriage having not been yet prohibited. The rigour of caste really came into existence when the loss of the purity of blood was apprehended. The distinction of caste was made on the basis of greater or less purity and greater or less mixture of blood. The Sudra was never counted, because he was a pure "blackie." But during the Buddhistic age all lines of demarcation were obliterated. Brahmins and Sudras were mixed up beyond recognition. It is at this period that we find the Emperor of Sudra origin, the records of whose achievements surpass any that we have ever had in any period of our annals. It was very easy for Buddhism to draw the allegiance of the neglected Sudra. Made wiser by the blow dealt to them by Sakyamuni the Brahmins of the new Hindu age made room for the Sudra in their social polity. They were by this time fully aware that unrecognised by the masses no leadership was worth the name. So though the Sudras were not given the Vedas, Puranas were made for them and they were made part and parcel of the body politic. Though this race distinction was the central idea of caste, other ideas also played no mean part to contribute their quota for the formation and growth of castes. There are guild castes, tribal castes, hygienic castes and geographical castes. However, caste as an institution was now thoroughly established, though intermarriage in a modified form could not be avoided. Sanctions were to be found for it. Even Manu accepts *anuloma* marriage as a settled fact, and he lays down rules how a Brahman should distribute his property among the children born of his Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra wives,—

ब्राह्मणस्यानुपूर्व्येण चतससु यदि स्त्रियः ।

तासां पुत्रेषु जातेषु विभागैश्च विधिः स्मृतः ॥

—Manu, IX, 149.*

There are three castes among the twice-born, the Sudra is one caste. There is no fifth caste,—

ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा विजातयः ।

चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु यद्वा नास्ति तु पञ्चमः ॥

—Manu, X, 4.

Consequently there is no room for subdividing one caste into so many castes without intermarriage among them. The

* Cf. Yajnavalkya II, 128 and Vashistha, XVII.

mixed castes are due to the *intermarriage* among the above mentioned three or four castes,—

अनन्तरासुजातानां विधिरेव सनातनः ।

द्वैकान्तरासुजातानां चर्क्या विद्यादिमं विधिम् ॥*

Manu, X, 7.

Manu has not refused to assign these castes an honourable position in his social system if they are offsprings of *anuloma* marriage (marriage of higher caste men with lower caste women). But he has not only wholly discouraged but heartily condemned and totally forbidden the *pratiloma* marriage (marriage of higher class women with lower class men). The offsprings of such unions are born with a ban of excommunication writ large on their forehead. This very condemnation, on the other hand, clearly shows that this system was in vogue in some former times, especially in the epic Buddhistic periods. So it is quite in keeping with the spirit of the Shastras to revive a custom under altered circumstances which needed its re-introduction for the good of society—a custom which was current in one age but was only discontinued according to the needs of a later period. However, it is evident that those of the mixed castes who stand in the way of intermarriage give a lie direct to their own origin. But this is reason and with old women reason does not count. So we must pursue our inquiry into the regulations of the Shastras. That these intermarriages were not null and void and the offsprings not out-castes without religious ministrations, at least the *Smriti-karas* did not take them in that light, are apparent from the fact that a Brahman could have Sudra *Sapindas* and at their births and deaths, a period of impurity was to be observed and such observances were as much binding as on the occasions the births and deaths of the Brahman *Sapinda*.

ब्राह्मणस्य अचवित् यद्रेषु सपिण्डेषु वक्ष्यामि विवर्तकतैः ॥**

Vishnu, XXII, 21.

This is a tale of a Brahman and his *Sapinda* Sudra brother, given us by those whom we,—is it mistakenly?—claim

** Cf. Usana, VI, 36; Shankha, XV, 17; Apastamba, XI, 12.

* Cf. Vishnu, XVIII, 1-2; Yajnavalkya, I, 57; Vyasa, II, 10; Shankha, IV, 6; Gautama, IV, 9; Etc. Etc. Etc.

as our lawgivers. The very thing sounds outlandish on our ears—a Brahman having a Sudra Sapinda. There is nothing like it in our present social scheme. We cannot call it ours. And if these Smritikaras paid us a visit today they also could not recognise us to be theirs. It is a bad bargain where both the contracting parties disown each other.

This is not all. An elaborate scheme has been propounded for the elevation of the mixed castes through intermarriage with the higher castes so that a Sudra caste may turn out Brahman after a few generations.* These

* Cf. Manu, X, 64; Yajñavalkya, I, 96; Gautama, IV, 10.

being the provisions of the Shastras in favour of intermarriage, it really sounds humorous that modern legislators should appeal to these Shastras against facilities being created for smoothing the way of such marriage. It is now futile to combat the proposed amendment of the Act III from the orthodox Hindu standpoint. Those who appeal to the Shastras against the amendment betray an incredible amount of ignorance either of the purpose of the bill or of the contents of the *smritis* or of both. Their opinions do not deserve the trouble of a refutation.

D. N. CHOWDHURI.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LIVE STOCK IN THE REIGN OF CHANDRA GUPTA

WE have in previous articles dealt with some of the public works of utility executed and maintained by the government of Chandragupta. We have seen how a special department was created for the development of mining, the impetus to the discovery of mines being given in the shape of a share in the mines discovered;* and how the department was placed in charge of experts conversant with all the processes of that difficult industry. We have also seen how the promotion of irrigation was looked upon as one of the duties of the state and was not left to the meagre resources of private enterprise. In connection with irrigation, we have also seen how the necessity of meteorological observations was recognized and even simple contrivances were in use for purposes of rain-gauge†

* If a private person discovered a mine, he got

$\frac{1}{6}$ of it as his share; if he happened to be a government servant, $\frac{1}{12}$; खनिरत्ननिधिनियेद्वेषु षष्ठमंशं निवेत्ता लभेत ।

षाड मंशं भूतकः । शतसङ्ख्यकादूर्ध्वं राजगामी निधिः । उनेषष्ठमंशं दद्यात्—Bk. IV. कारकचरणम् ।

† कोडागारे वर्षमानमस्त्रिसुखं कुण्डं स्थापयेत्—Bk. II. सन्निधाद्वेयकर्म । A vessel with its mouth 1 aratni wide

(वर्षमानम् कुण्डम्); and how for the efficiency of the government, a permanent system of keeping accurate information about the details of the life of the people which is akin to the modern census operations was established.

We shall now turn to other institutions of public utility maintained by the state. It is a noteworthy fact that the importance of live stock to India, pre-eminently the country of agriculture, was then fully realized, and special care was taken by the government for the healthy growth and improvement of live stock. Even at the present day Indian agriculture has been held to be suffering much from the want of proper grazing grounds and commons for cattle and the want of a proper supply of fodder;* but in Chandragupta's time we

was used as a rain-gauge and one such vessel was put before the store house. (1 aratni=24 angulas=about 2 ft.—an angula=the middle joint of the middle finger of a middle-sized man—मध्यमस्य पुरुषस्य मध्यमाया अङ्गुली मध्यप्रकर्षोऽङ्गुलम्—Bk. II. दीशकालमानम् ।

* Compare in this connection the following extracts from the article on agriculture in the Imperial Gazetteer (new edition); "In the deltaic areas and in the rice-tracts generally, the cattle are miserably weak. Grazing lands are here limited or totally wanting..... General improvement is hopeless without assured fodder supplies".....Vol. III. Pp. 77, 78.

find that a special department to provide for pastures and grazing grounds, for a proper supply of fodder and for the welfare of live stock in general was maintained by the state. There were no less than six chief officers for running this department, all of whom had special duties to perform in connection with live stock. These were (i) गोप्यध्वज, the superintendent of cows; (ii) चिबीताध्वज, the superintendent of pastures and grazing grounds; (iii) रूमाध्वज, the game-keeper; (iv) हलध्वज, the superintendent of elephants; (v) कुष्याध्वज, the superintendent of forests and forest-produce; (vi) चन्दाध्वज, the superintendent of horses.

Let us first turn to the first of the officers named above. It must not be supposed that the superintendent of cows, as the name indicates, had to take care of cows alone. In fact, he had to do with other animals also, such as buffaloes, sheep, goats, asses, camels and even of pigs, mules and dogs. One of his chief duties was to appoint milkers (दोहक), churners (मयक) and hunters (शुभक) for fixed wages and each of them was assigned a herd of 100 heads.* He had also to see that the bulls were tamed and trained to the yoke by the cowherds (गोपालक) and that strings were put through their nose.† He had also to settle terms with herdsmen for the tending of animals under their charge. These terms were of 4 kinds, viz.---

(i) Appointing on fixed wages cowherds and buffalo-herdsmen each of whom was placed in charge of 100 heads. This arrangement was called वेतन प्रतिपादिक‡.

(ii) Appointing, on payment of a certain fee, cowherds each of whom was placed in charge of a herd of 100 heads, containing in equal numbers the following five classes of cattle, viz. aged cows (वृद्धगु), milch cows (धेनु), pregnant cows (गर्भिणी), young cows (पट्टीणी), and female calves (वत्सतरी). The fee was 8 barakas (i.e., $3\frac{3}{20}$ seers) of ghee as well as the tail

* गोपालक-पिच्छारक (buffalo-herdsmen)—दोहक-मयक-शुभकः शतं शतं धेनूनां चिरस्थभताः पालयेयुः। चौरद्वयतभता हि वत्सानुपह्वयति वेतनोपपादिकम्। Bk. II. गोप्यध्वजः।

† दोहकालमतिक्रामतस्तत्फलहानं दण्डः एतेन नस्य दण्ड युग-विन्धन वर्तनकाला व्याख्याताः—गोप्यध्वजः।

‡ Same as the 1st of the above two passages.

and the branded* skin of dead cows. This system was called करप्रतिकर।†

(iii) Appointing, on the principle of profit-sharing cowherds whose herd comprised cattle with diseased limbs (व्याधिताङ्गजानि), those which could not be milked or were difficult to milk (अदोहदोहाः), and those that killed their calves (पुच्छघ्नीनाः). Each herd was composed of the above four classes in equal numbers. As the tending of these herds was difficult, it was rewarded by a share in the out-turn from the herds. This arrangement was known as भगोत्प्रेष्टक।‡

(iv) Engagement of the services of the superintendent by private parties for tending their herds in the event of their own inability to do so either for danger from thieves or for apprehended danger from forests. In these cases the charge of the government was a tenth of the produce. This system was termed भागानुप्रविष्टक।§

One other particular regarding these herds should be noted in passing. The total number of each herd was fixed at 100, but the number of male animals to each herd varied with the composition of the herd. A herd of 100 heads of asses and mules was to contain 5 male animals; that of goats and sheep 10; and a herd of either cows, buffaloes or camels was to contain 4.||

There seems to have been something like a register of cattle which was framed and kept by the superintendent, who made an elaborate classification of cattle. Thus, there were noted the following varieties of cattle, viz.—male calves (वत्साः), steers (वत्सतरीः),

* There were special brands to distinguish private cattle from the royal. Tampering with royal brands was punishable: परपशूनां राजाङ्गेन परिवर्चयिता इषस्य पूर्वं साहसदण्डं दद्यात् ॥ (गोप्यध्वजः)।

† जरदगु-धेनु-गर्भिणी-पट्टीणी-वत्सतरीणां समविभागं रूपयतमेकः पालयेत्। घृतस्याटी वारकान् पणिकं पुच्छं चरुचर्मं वार्षिकं दद्यादिति करप्रतिकरः।—गोप्यध्वजः।

‡ व्याधिताङ्गजान्यदोहोदोहापुच्छघ्नीनां च समविभागं रूपयतम् पालयन्ताञ्जातिकं भागं ददुरिति भगोत्प्रेष्टकम्।—गोप्यध्वजः।

§ परचक्राटवी भयादनुप्रविष्टानां पशूनां पालनधर्मेण दशभागं ददुरिति भागानुप्रविष्टकम्।—गोप्यध्वजः।

|| पञ्चवर्षं खराश्वानामजावीनां दशवर्षम्

शक्यं गोमहिषोद्गाणां युष् कुष्याश्वतुर्वर्षम्।—गोप्यध्वजः।

ramable draught oxen (द्व्यावहिनी इवाः), bulls as impregnating the flock (उच्चवः पुङ्गवाः), oxen that pulled those carts that were drawn by two oxen (युगवाहनशकटवहाः इवमाः), cattle that were fit for the supply of flesh (स्नाः), buffaloes (महिषाः), draught buffaloes (इष्टस्नावहिनिः महिषाः), female calves (वल्किाः), heifers (वल्कतरी), young cows (पञ्चोहि), pregnant cows (गर्भिणी), milch cows (घेनु), cows and buffaloes that had not yet calved (अप्रजाताः) or were barren (वन्धाः), male and female calves only a month or two old or still younger (मासद्विमास-त्रातासासप्तपञ्चा वल्का वल्किाश्च).^{*} These together with the stray cattle that had not been claimed for a month or two (मासद्विमास पर्यविताः) would be branded and the Superintendent would register each of them according to its class as mentioned above and according to the brand, natural signs, colour, and the distance between the horns. This duty of the Superintendent was termed व्रजपर्यवेक्षणम् ।

The Superintendent had also to take note of those animals that were missing (नष्ट) and those that were lost for good (विनष्ट). Those that were stolen or had got mixed up in the herds of others or had disappeared in other ways were called नष्ट. Animals were regarded as विनष्ट when they met with either natural or violent and accidental death. Thus, they might die of poison, disease or old age or from being buried in mire and drowned in water. They might also be killed by tree or stone falling upon them or by being struck by lightning (ऋणान). They might also fall a prey to tiger, snake, crocodile or forest fire.†

It should be noted here that the state also fixed the scale and standard of diet which was deemed normally necessary to keep up the health, vigour and working capacity of

all live-stock. The following table gives particulars about the dietary of bulls which were provided with nose-strings and which equalled horses in speed and carrying loads.*

Quantities.	Approximate modern equivalents.
For the ½ bhara of meadow grass (यवस) aforesaid bulls	1½ seers.
1½ bhara of straw (द्वय) ...	3 seers.
1 tula of oil-cakes (घृत) with cheese if necessary to make them more palatable	2 2/5 chataks.
10 adhakas of bran (अधकाश्च) ...	12 chataks.
5 palas of salt (सुखलवण) ...	2-2/5 sikis about ½ kancha.
1 prastha of drink (पान) ...	1-1/5 kanchas
1 tula of मांस i.e., fleshy part or pulp of fruits.	2-2/5 chataks.
1 drona of barley (यव) or of cooked bean (माष) ...	4-4/5 chataks.
1 adaka of curd (दधि) ...	1-1/5 chataks.
1 drona of milk (घृत) ...	4-4/5 chataks.
½ adhaka of liquor (सुरा) ...	2-2/5 kanchas.
1 prastha of oil and ghee (जैष्ठ) ...	1-1/5 kanchas.
10 palas of molasses (क्षार) ...	4-4/5 sikis.
1 pala of ginger (अङ्गिर) may be substituted for drink (पान) ...	12/25 or about ½ siki.
1 kudumba of oil for rubbing over the nose (तेलकुडुम्बोन्नस्य) ...	1½ sikis.*

The same quantities of the above commodities less by one-quarter formed the food of mules, cows and asses; and twice the above quantities were given to buffaloes and camels. The quantities fixed above, however, could be varied to suit the needs

* वल्कीवर्दानां नस्याग्रभद्रगविवहिनी यवसस्यार्धमात्रः, &c.

—गोऽध्यायः ।

† किलाटी—(cheese)—चाणपिण्याक—oil-cakes—जै दार्यः

—गोऽध्यायः ।

‡ The above measurements have been made on the basis of गुञ्ज (gunja) seed or 2 माष's (mashas) being taken as the unit of calculation, equivalent to 1½ grains (Troy.) See the chapter entitled मुलामानपीतवम् (Bk. II) which describes the weights and measures then in vogue. It may be noted here that the measurements given therein coincide in the main with those arrived at independently from other Sanskrit works by Monier Williams in his famous dictionary.

* Vide "गोऽध्यायः" ।

† अथ विज्ञं वण शङ्काकरं च लक्षणेनैवसुपजानिबन्धयेदिति व्रजपर्यवेक्षणम् ।—Ibid.

‡ चौरकृतमन्ययुगप्रविष्टमवलीनं वा नष्टम् पक्ष-विषम-व्याधि-जरा-तोषाधारादृष्टं इत्यतःकाष्ठमिलानि-इतनीयाप्रव्यालसप-याह-दाबादि-विषयं विनष्टं प्रमादादव्या भवेयुः—गोऽध्यायः ।

of particular occasions. For example, the rations allowed to oxen kept to work were proportioned to the length of period they were worked and in the case of cows that were milked an increase was made in the amount of food.* The main items of food were of course water and straw which were always given in plenty to all cattle† while whey (उदशित्) was given to pigs and dogs.‡

There were various rules regarding the milking of cattle and the standard of dairy produce of all kinds. The milkers had to milk the cattle once or twice a day according to the seasons. Thus, in the rainy and the autumnal seasons and in the first part of winter (हेमन्त), they had to milk both in the morning and in the evening, while in the other seasons, only once in the day; and if any one violated this rule and milked a second time, he was visited with the cruel penalty of having his thumb cut off. They had to milk at stated hours and had to make good any loss caused by neglect of this rule.§

The churners had generally to conform to certain fixed proportions in the matter of the yield from the milk of cattle. Thus, it was fixed that 1 prastha i.e., $1\frac{1}{2}$ kanchas of ghee would be produced from 1 drona i.e., $4\frac{1}{2}$ chataks of cow's milk, $\frac{1}{3}$ th as much more from the same quantity of buffalo-milk and $\frac{1}{2}$ as much more from the same quantity of a goat or sheep's milk: where any variation of the above proportions occurred, as it must occur through a change in the quantity and quality of the food given to cattle, the exact quantity of ghee was ascertained by actual churning and was fixed as the modified standard to which churners had to conform.||

Besides the rules relating to the yield of living cattle, there were also rules regarding

* पादोनमशतरगोखराणां, विगुणं मद्भिषोद्ग्राणां कर्मकरवलि-
वर्दानां, पायमाणां च धेनुनां, कर्मकालतः फलतश्च विषादानम् ।

† सर्वेषां तृतीयदक प्रकाशमिति गोमण्डलं व्याख्यातम् ।

‡ उदशित् श्ववरादिभ्यो ददुः ।

§ वर्षाशरद्धेमन्ताभ्यतः कालं ददुः । शिशिरवसन्तशीतानिक-
कालम् । द्वितीयकालदीर्घुरदुष्टच्छेदो ददुः ।—दीर्घकालमतिक्रान्त-
स्तत्फलहानं ददुः ।—गोऽध्यायः ।

|| चौरद्वीणे गवां दत्तप्रस्थः । पञ्चमागधिको मद्भिषाणां ।
हिमामाधिकोऽजाषोनां । मयो वा सर्वेषां प्रमाथं भूमिद्वितीयदक
विषेवादि चौरद्वतद्विभक्तवति ।—गोऽध्यायः ।

that of the dead. In case of the natural death of a cow or a buffalo, the herdsmen had to surrender the skin with the branded mark. The same rule applied to the cases of goat, sheep, ass, camel, &c. The herdsmen had also to give up the fat, bile, marrow, teeth, hoofs, horns and bones of the dead animals.*

Again, animals like goat, sheep, &c., were shorn every 6 months for their wool (ऊर्णा), which was made over to the Superintendent.†

MEDICAL TREATMENT OF CATTLE.

It was also the duty of herdsmen to apply medicines to animals that suffered from diseases. The due discharge of this important duty was secured by a healthy rule providing that when owing to defects in medicine or carelessness in the treatment, the disease of an animal became serious, a fine of twice the cost of the treatment should be imposed; and when owing to defects in the nature of the medicine itself, the animal died, a fine equal to the value of the animal was imposed.‡

Lastly there were several humane regulations to prevent the cruel treatment of animals. There was a fine of 1 or 2 panas§ with which, causing pain with sticks, &c., to minor quadrupeds was punished. This fine was doubled when the beating caused the animal to bleed. In the case of larger quadrupeds the above rates were doubled and in addition an adequate compensation was demanded to cover the expense of curing the beasts.||

Thus, we find it laid down that cattle

* कारणस्तस्याङ्गचर्मं गोमहिषस्य कर्णलक्षयमजाविकानाम् पुच्छ-
मङ्गचर्म चाश्वखरोद्ग्राणां बालचर्म-वत्सि पित्त-कायुदन्तखुरशङ्कास्थीनि
चाहरेयुः ।

† अजादीनां बाष्पासिकीमूर्णां ग्राहयेत् । तेनाश्वखरोद्गवराह-
व्रजा व्याख्याताः ।—गोऽध्यायः ।

‡ बालहृद्व्याधितानां गोपालका प्रतिकुर्युः—गोऽध्यायः ।

§ क्रिया भेषज्यसङ्गेन व्याधिहृद्वी प्रतीकारविगुणो ददुः । तद्वरीषेन
वैलक्ष्ये पदमूल्यं ददुः । तेन गोमण्डलं खरोद्गमहिषमजाविकं च
व्याख्यातम् । Bk, II.—अध्यायः ।

§ A pana is a weight of copper used as a coin=20
mashas=4 Kakims—Monier Williams.

|| क्षुद्रपशूनां काष्ठादिभिर्दुःखीपादने पणो द्विषो वा ददुः ।
गोषितीपादेन विगुणः । मद्भापशूनामिदं त्ववस्थानेन विगुणो ददुः,
समुत्थानम्ययश्च ।—Bk, III. दक्षपाठश्च ।

such as a calf or a bull or a milch-cow must not be slaughtered. A fine was imposed on those who slaughtered or tortured the animals to death.*

We have seen already how the diet of cattle was regulated in accordance with the scale given above. We shall now see what arrangement was made for grazing them on pastures. For the opening, preservation and improvement of grazing grounds, a separate superintendent called विवीताध्याक्ष was appointed. He had to observe various rules regarding the working of his department. We find it distinctly laid down that the same forest could not be used as the pasture ground for the cattle of neighbouring villages and towns throughout the whole year. Particular forests were assigned to particular seasons (चतुर्विंशत्तरण्यम्). Thus a system of rotation was introduced by which the pastures were kept up unimpaired without their resources being exhausted by continuous use.† Pastures were generally opened in forests, in uncultivated tracts, and in intermediate areas between dangerous places infested by wild animals, thus promoting at the same time the reclamation of waste lands.‡ There were thus several pasture grounds in a locality and it was the business of the herdsman to choose which of them would suit the cattle under his charge; and in his choice, he was naturally guided by two considerations, viz., the physical strength of his cattle and the degree of protection from danger available to them either from persons or from the security of the place.§

As to the kinds of animals that were allowed admission into the grazing grounds, we have information from two

† वत्सी इवो धेनुषैषामवध्याः । घातः पञ्चाशत्को दण्डः ।

क्रिष्टघातं घातयत्यम् ।

* लुब्धकशृगभिर्भिरपालः स्नेन व्यालपरवाधभयस्तुविभक्तमरण्यम् चारयेत्—Bk. II. गोऽध्याक्षः ।

† अजगन्ध्यायां भूमौ पशुभ्यो विवीतानि प्रयच्छेत्
—Bk. II. भूमिच्छिद्रविधानम् ।

भयान्तरेषु च विवीतं स्थापयेत्—Bk. II. विवीताध्याक्षः ।

and चतुर्विंशत्तरण्यम् चारयेत्: (supra.)

§ उपनिवेशद्विभागे गोप्रचारान् बलान्वयते वा गवां रक्षा-
सामर्थ्याच्च—Bk. II. गोऽध्याक्षः ।

passages.* The first passage mentions that a herd may be either of cows, or buffaloes, or goats, or sheep, or asses, or camels, or horses, or mules. The second passage, which appears in a different context, refers to cows, horses and camels being animals which flourish on pastures and are the source of power to the king.

The safety of the cattle was one of the chief concerns of the superintendent of pastures. It was ensured by the appointment of hunters who maintained a pack of hounds to aid them in their work of watching thieves and enemies and warding off danger from snakes, tigers, &c.† The hunters had recourse to the following means of calling in the aid of the king and the king's men:—

(i) Blowing conchshells and beating drums (शङ्खदुन्दुभिश्चन्द्रम्).

(ii) Remaining concealed amid trees and mountains and afterwards sending the information (शैलवृक्ष-विहङ्गाः).

(iii) Shooting away on swiftly running horses, &c. (शीघ्रवाहनाः).

(iv) Flying carrier-pigeons belonging to the king's household with royal passports attached to them (राज्ञः सुद्रायुकैः गृहकपोतैः).

(v) Announcing danger by a succession of beacon fires (धूमप्रिपरम्परया).‡

Besides these general precautions that had to be adopted by the superintendent of pastures, the duty of taking special protective measures was thrown on the herdsmen themselves. They had to attach bells or other sounding instruments to the necks of timid animals. These served the double purpose of scaring away snakes and other undesirables and of helping the herdsmen

* (i) गोमहिषमजाविकं खरोद्गमशूतराद्यैः व्रजः—Bk. II. समाहृतं समुदयं प्रस्थापनम् ।

(ii) गवाशूरयोद्गानां च व्रजः—Bk. VII. हीनशक्तिपूरणम् ।

† चौर-व्यालभयन्निकरण्यानि शोधयेत् । लुब्धकशृगभिः परिव्रज-
युररण्यानि—Bk. II. विवीताध्याक्षः ।

लुब्धकशृगभिर्भिरपालः स्नेन व्यालपरवाधभयस्तुविभक्तमरण्यम् चारयेत्—Bk. II. गोऽध्याक्षः ।

‡ तत्क्षरामिवाभ्यागमे शङ्खदुन्दुभिश्चन्द्रमप्राच्याः कुर्युः । शैलवृक्ष-
विहङ्गा वा, शीघ्रवाहना वा, अमिवाटवीसञ्चारं च राज्ञोगृहकपोतैः
सुद्रायुकैर्हारयेत्, धूमप्रिपरम्परया वा । Ibid.

to easily find out, by following the direction of the sound, the animals that went astray.* When the cattle required drinking and bathing, their safety was secured by leading them only to those streams and ponds which were marked out as being free from mire (चकईस) and crocodiles (चवाइ), and the approaches to which were gradually-sloped instead of being abrupt and steep (समव्यूढतीर्थ).† One other direction for the guidance of the herdsmen was that they should divide the cattle while grazing into groups of ten according to colour‡. The object of this was evidently to avoid confusion between herds and to facilitate the herdsmen's work of singling out his herd after grazing. The cow-herds were strictly prohibited to allow the bulls under their charge to fight in the grazing grounds and a violation of this rule was visited with fines.§

* सर्पव्यालवासनार्थं गोचक्रनुपातज्ञानार्थं च एकूनां चण्डालीयं च वक्षीयुः।—Bk. II. गोऽध्यायः।

† समव्यूढतीर्थमर्कईसयाइङ्गदकमवतारयेयुः पालयेयुश्—(Ibid).

‡ वर्णावरीषेन दशवीरका—(Ibid).

§ यूषडव इषेकावपातयतः पूर्वं साइसदस्यः चातयतः उत्तमः। (पूर्वं साइसदस्य—a fine ranging from 48 to 96 panas) —गोऽध्यायः।

There were also a few rules applying to losses of cattle by theft or otherwise. If any animal were stolen, or killed by snakes, &c., or died through old age or disease, the herdsmen had to report it forthwith to the superintendent of cows; otherwise, they had to pay as penalty the price (रूपसूख्य) of the animal lost.* If an animal belonging to the flocks under गोऽध्यायः was killed or stolen, the crime was visited with capital punishment; but if it was replaced by another a fine was inflicted. Rewards were also given to those who recovered the stolen cattle from thieves.†

NARENDRANATH LAW.

* सोमव्यालसर्प-याइ-गृहीतं व्याधिजरावसन्नं च आधिदैवियुरव्यया रूपसूख्यं भजिरन्।—(Ibid).

† स्वयं हन्ता घातयिता हतां हारयिता च वध्यः। परपशूनां राजाङ्गेन परिवर्त्तयिता रूपस्य पूर्वं साइसदस्यं दद्यात्। स्वदेशीयानां चौरहतं प्रत्यानीय पणितं रूपं कुरेत्। परदेशीयानां मोचयितार्थं कुरेत्—(Ibid).

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE

(March-April).

I. THE NEW THEOLOGY.

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS READJUSTMENT.

THE modern spirit has been as much at work in Europe as in Asia. It is the spirit of the modern man everywhere. The ordinary Christian missionary may think that it is only Hinduism or Islam that stands in need of adjusting itself to this spirit, Christianity feels no such need, and the problem of religious reform has no existence for Christendom; but the student of contemporary thought in Europe knows that the same forces have been equally at work here, transforming people's faiths and ideals as widely and effectively as in India or Persia.

The plea for a rational re-adjustment and re-explanation of Christian faith and dogma had been publicly entered here more than twenty years ago, by the authors of *Lux-Mundi*. Canon Farrar represented a school of Anglican Christian thought which boldly denied the dogma both of eternal punishment and the "blood sacrifice" as a way out of it. People are fast forgetting these old heresies. Even the disturbance caused in the dovescotes of Anglican orthodoxy about ten years ago, by Dean Freemantle's interpretation of Scriptural authority and Christian dogma, has been quietly forgotten today. The fact is that everywhere religious thought and life evolve through these protestant heresies; and by a natural course of evolution, the heterodoxies of one generation

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quietly become the orthodoxy of another. People are crying out against the so-called heresies of our day also. The most powerful of these is associated with the Rev. R. J. Campbell, of the city temple. Mr. Campbell's "New Theology" has caused as much disturbance in orthodox non-conformist circles, as Deans Farrar's or Freemantle's heresies caused in Anglican circles. At one time it seemed as if Mr. Campbell would have very serious trouble even with his own congregation. But the storm has completely blown over, leaving the movement which he represents stronger than it ever was. Christian orthodoxy still looks askance at Mr. Campbell's new interpretations of Christian faith and dogma, but that is the common characteristic of orthodoxy everywhere. It first shows fight, then grows indifferent, through sheer impotence, and finally adopts in some form or other the very dogmas or doctrines that it at one time so stoutly resisted. And there is little doubt that Mr. Campbell's heterodoxy also will in course of time be regarded as quite orthodox by the successors of the very people who, had they the power, would have gladly burnt him as a heretic today.

* * * * *

NOT DENIAL BUT ASSERTION.

Their is, however, one predominant feature of most of our modern heresies here, that they are not as those of the nineteenth century, heresies of denial, but on the contrary, they are what may be called heresies of assertion. The spirit of denial dominated all the liberal religious movements of the last century: the chief feature of present day liberalism is its spirit of assent. The older heterodoxies were all more or less antithetical and protestant, the newer thought is distinctly assimilative and synthetic. Mr. Campbell, for instance, does not deny the Christian dogmas at all, except perhaps the dogmas of original sin and eternal damnation. But there are many people in all the Christian churches whose claims to orthodoxy would not be questioned, who too do not, in our day, accept these dogmas. Apart from these, Mr. Campbell fully accepts, I think, both the incarnation and the divinity of Christ. Christ is not to him a mere man. In this Mr. Campbell is different from most uni-

tarrians. Yet he differs, equally, from most Trinitarians also, in as much as it is not merely Christ, but every human being is to him no mere man. There is no mere man in his dictionary. The difference between Christ* and ordinary humanity is a difference of degree, but not of kind. The difference between God and Christ is also one of degree and not of kind. The fullness and perfection of the Father was in the Son, as much as it is in every human soul: in the Son more fully realised than in the others. Yet Christ too was human, human in his limitations. He no more knew, in his earth-life, the whole of Divine Providence than any of us knows. Had he known it, says Mr. Campbell, his "passion" would have no meaning and message for us. In his last Sunday (April 23) morning's sermon, he says:—

I have often heard it said that the task of Jesus in his most dreadful hour was not so hard as yours and mine, because he knew for certain what lay on the other side. That is not true. He knew in part, but full knowledge was withheld from him just as it is from ourselves. He knew that he had held sweet fellowship with the Father, but this knowledge seemed to fail him utterly when he came to Gethsemane and Calvary; he could not realise it—hence that awful cry of dereliction, "My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" But we know what followed. He had gone unflinching to Calvary's foot, and now, when he was helpless and least conscious of his divine resources, the Father stooped from the infinite and bore him triumphantly through the dread experience which has seated him on the throne of power for evermore.

The "New Theology" does not deny any of the fundamental dogmas of the old orthodoxy. Such a denial would be utterly inconsequential and unscientific. Some of these dogmas are based upon what is declared to be a fact. The Resurrection is one of these. "The empty tomb"—is not an opinion, is not a question of faith, but a statement of fact. It is a fact verified at the time, but both unverifiable and unrefutable today. The same is true of Christ's re-appearance before his disciples. The eighteenth century attitude, and it persisted throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century also, was to dismiss all these summarily as either cunning concoction or childish hallucination. We no longer do so today. We know too much of psychical possibilities, to recklessly refuse the truth of these Biblical stories. But w

ask, what if these be true? And says Mr. Campbell—(Sermon—Christian Commonwealth, April 19, 1911):

But the great mistake made by many devout and earnest Christians is that of supposing that Christianity stands or falls by belief in an empty tomb. It does nothing of the sort, and to say so is indeed to seek the living Christ, the in-dwelling Christ, the life of God in the soul of man. Beside this nothing else matters; given this cardinal principle the religion of Jesus is perpetually renewing its youth. The true resurrection, the resurrection to the newness of life, is the rising of the Christ in human nature and human society into higher, fuller, and richer modes of expression. That resurrection is continually going on, and its correlative is the ascension of human consciousness into perfect oneness with the all-embracing mind of God in the sacred fellowship of love.

* * * *

MATTER AND SPIRIT.

And this attitude of assent of Mr. Campbell's "New Theology" is born of a philosophy which is very closely akin to the predominant thought in Hinduism. Some would, perhaps, call Mr. Campbell's theology to be Pantheistic. All the deepest religious thoughts have, I think, been always more or less touched with this pantheistic spirit. Pantheism is with some, a dogma:—certain intellectual conclusions arrived at by an intellectual study of the world problem. This is lower pantheism. But there is also what may be called a higher pantheism, which is the fruit not of intellection, but spiritual experience and intuition. There comes a stage in spiritual progress when the universe ceases to have any meaning or existence apart from God. The Hindu Vaishnava is not a Pantheist. He considers it a sin, indeed, to think that the human and the Divine are one and identical. All his religious ideals are dualistic—all his disciplines are calculated to help him to live eternally in loving submission to the Lord. Yet even this Vaishnava devotee, in his ecstatic moods "sees, yet sees not, the forms of things moving and stationary, but on all sides or everywhere, there is the bursting forth of his Lord." This is practical and not theoretic, spiritual and not intellectual, Pantheism. This is also the nature of Mr. Campbell's Pantheism, if pantheism it may at all be called. It is, therefore, that he feels no need of denying, for instance, any part of the Bible-story regarding the bodily resurrection of Jesus. There are people who try to explain away

the difficulties of this story by interpreting the resurrection, as the appearance, not of Christ's physical, but of his "thought-body." But Mr. Campbell boldly declares that he sees no more reason in accepting the truth of Christ's physical resurrection, than in believing in his thought-body. He says,—

"I hold and the whole scientific world appears to be coming to the same position—that there is no such thing as matter apart from mind; it has no independent existence; the physical is but the language of the spiritual on a certain limited plane of experience. A physical body is no more and no less real than an apparition, and Jesus might very well make use of it as language wherewith to convince those who loved him that there was no such thing as death; this end once achieved, the body could be materialised as easily as a cloud will melt into the clear blue of a summer sky. To this view it may be objected that such an occurrence would be altogether unique; quite so, but the whole work of Jesus was unique of its kind, and unique things are taking place around us every day."

* * * *

HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

But the most striking thing in the teachings of Mr. Campbell's "New Theology," especially to the Hindu, would, perhaps, be found in his general view of cosmic experience and evolution. If Mr. Campbell's theology be pantheistic, it is the kind of Pantheism with which the student of Indian Vaishnavism is pretty familiar. This Pantheism does not reduce the manifold of experience to mere illusion; but rather posits not merely duality, nor even a mere trinity, but almost an infinity of differentiations in the Being of God. The central conception of Vaishnavic theology, so far as I have been able to understand it, is that of *Lila*. And *Lila* is of two kinds—*Nitya* and *Naimittic*—that which stands beyond and behind the time series,—in the *Biraja Baikunthaloka*,—and that which is revealed inside this series; the eternal sport of the Lord in His own Being, and the reproduction of it on the stage of the world. The meaning of cosmic processes is not to be found *here*, but *there*, in the Being of the Lord, in His Eternal *Lila*. Side by side with this the Vaishnava thought, like practically all Hindu thought, except that which is either absolutely ritualistic of the type of Jaimini's or absolutely agnostic or atheistic like that of the *Lokayatas*,—believes in an endless hierarchy of spiritual beings. These are, really, the gods of what is called popular Hinduism. And one

notices a very strange likeness between Mr. Campbell's New Theology, in its view of the Cosmic Government, and the popular Hindu view. In the popular Hindu view the world is peopled not only with animals and humans, but with celestials and gods. The student of the Bible knows that the Old Testament speaks now and again of the Sons of God. To quote Mr. Campbell (Sermon, Sunday morning, March 12,—*Christian Commonwealth*, April 19):—

Again and again the Old Testament refers to these heavenly personages, or divine beings, as dwelling with God in the super-sensible world. Sometimes in our version they are spoken of as angels, but that is not a strong enough term wherewith to describe them. It would be more correct to say that they were archetypal expressions of the being of God himself, personal creative centres through whom God acts upon the universe of universes. It cannot be supposed that this comparatively tiny world of ours is the only one in which God is carrying out His mighty plans, and therefore it cannot be the only one with which great creative agencies have had to do. I dare say many of you noticed Sir Oliver Lodge's remark in his address before the Free Church Council at Portsmouth the other day, that he considered it highly improbable that we human beings, as we know ourselves now, represent the highest order of intelligence in the universe visible and invisible. Quite so; but the Old Testament goes farther than Sir Oliver in declaring that before the foundations of the earth were laid majestic spirits dwelt with God in the life and light eternal; in fact, as I say, we are justified in inferring, from what we are told about them here and elsewhere, that these mighty ones were actual sharers in the complex being of God—out-breathings, so to speak, of his own nature. It is not only the Old Testament which tells us this, but other ancient Jewish religious literature also, such as the Wisdom books, the Talmud, and the writings of Philo of Alexandria. One thing which has greatly interested me of late is to find that Jewish thought, both before and after the beginning of the Christian era, dwelt much upon this idea of the existence in heaven of great spiritual beings—emanations of God, as it were—who have presided over the birth and development of innumerable systems of worlds. It is quite a reasonable thing to believe; nay, more, it is almost inevitable if we are to believe in the spiritual origin of material things at all. It is a sublime and uplifting thought that behind the stately panorama of the heavens, the inconceivably enormous host of suns and stars that take their way through boundless space, are guardian intelligences, hierarchy upon hierarchy, mightier and more awe-inspiring in their wisdom and greatness than the worlds they watch over. The scientific mind may see in the star-strewn heavens nothing but a bewildering mass of flaming orbs, and yet feel awed and subdued thereby; what if he could see the Elohim, the sons of God, beyond and above them? Doubtless this was that William Blake was thinking of when he wrote his famous line: "When the sun rises in the morning you may see nothing but a bright yellow disc, whereas I behold an infinite multitude of the heavenly host, crying, Holy, holy, holy!"

It is a long quotation, but will amply repay perusal; and it shows how closely this New Theology in Christendom approaches even what is being discarded by some of your own "educated" countrymen as mere superstition. But let me not be misunderstood. This New Theology while recognising the reasonableness of a belief in a hierarchy of spiritual beings, infinitely superior to man,—“personal creative centres through whom God acts upon the universe of universes,”—in no sense or way weakens, much less does it deny, man's direct and personal relations with his Maker, so far as his spiritual life and destiny are concerned. It is not only these Sons of God,—these Elohim who were with God “when the foundations of the earth were laid,”—but even man too was there. “Even the meanest human consciousness is in some way a projection, a raying forth in the darkness of matter, of an intelligence older than the earth itself.” Says Mr. Campbell in the Sermon already quoted:—

Let me tell you plainly that you yourself are one of the Elohim, one of the sons of God, partially manifest here on earth but only partially; your true home is with the glorious host above. I must be doubly careful now not to mislead you. All I am trying to insist upon is that there is something in you which is older than the world you live in; the deepest fact in you, whatever it is, the spiritual substratum, the true you, is not of earth, but of heaven; not of time, but of eternity; it is divine. The answer to the ringing interrogation of my text, God's call to the spiritual consciousness of man, “Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth . . . when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy,” is “I was there, my Father, there in thy heart, being of thine own being, soul of thine own soul, the pattern and archetype of great things to be.” I do not mean that you, poor, ignorant, sinning, suffering mortal, were there; I mean that you, the you beneath all that sins and suffers, the you imprisoned not only by the flesh, but by the mind itself, were there; it is where you belong, and where you will find yourself when you awaken from the dream of life. That is the truth I want to drive home to your imagination this morning. I want to declare your origin and, therefore, your goal.

WHAT IS CHRIST.

But the most important aspect of this New Theology is its interpretation of Christ. The rationalistic denial of Christ was a very serious loss to Christian life—the denial of Christ as a Divine Revelation, nay even as a special Dispensation from God. The Unitarian's denial has been, practically, of this kind. And Unitarianism, therefore,

while helping to rationalise and purify and modernise the Christian dogma, has failed to save the deeper notes of its own spiritual life like all protestant nationalistic movements. Unitarianism practically ignored the fact that the spiritual life is not identical with the intellectual, or even with the ethical, or the emotional life. It is fed by all these, and in its turn feeds them all, but yet stands beyond and above these planes of human experience. The spiritual life does not contradict but simply transcends the intellectual verities. It does not regale, but harmonises and interprets the multitudinous contradictions of our ethical and emotional experiences. It stands above these. Ordinary rationalism has a very feeble grasp of this supreme transcendence of the spiritual life, and it, therefore, frequently identifies that life with the rational or the ethical life. The attitudes and beliefs against which this rationalism declares relentless war, on the other hand, themselves are subject, frequently, to the same error, and they identify the emotional life with the spiritual. But between religious emotionalism and ordinary, protestant rationalism, emotionalism stands decidedly nearer to the deeper currents of the true spiritual life than mere rationalism. It is this emotionalism that has, to a large extent, helped to save the spiritual life of some, at least, of the modern rationalistic liberal religious movements of India. Emotionalism is the saving grace, it seems to me, of your Brahmo Samaj, for instance; and it is this which makes that movement infinitely sweeter and deeper than its Christian counterpart here. In fact, even among Unitarians the more spiritual are exactly those who have not completely cut themselves off from the deeper idealism and emotionalism of the orthodox Christian Churches,—men and women to whom Christ is not, exactly, a mere man, but a real, and the best and highest manifestation on earth of the Life and Love of God. They may deny the dogma of the Trinity, but have not, really, cut themselves off from the basal spiritual facts upon which this dogma is clearly based. The New Theology,—so far as I have been able to read and understand it,—does not even deny the dogma. Its spirit is not, as I have already said, the spirit of denial at all. It seems clearly to under-

stand the great truth that denial in itself is no disproof of any fact or theory. Errors are not dissipated by mere denial. Even errors have a natural history of their own. Religious errors, like scientific errors, are essentially associated with some fact of actual experience and observation; and are due to some unwarranted inference or generalisation from, or to some wrong and fanciful interpretation of that fact. To dissipate these errors, this fundamental fact must be first got hold of; its course of evolution carefully traced, and then, it will be possible to lay our hands upon the real source of these errors.

This is, it seems to me, the method of this New Theology. It seems to approach all religious dogmas in the strictest scientific spirit, to weigh the reasons for their truth and validity as carefully and conscientiously as those for their falsehood and rejection. Doing this, it has come to realise that even popular Christian dogmas are not absolutely false. They express, however, inadequately it may be, great and basal truths of man's spiritual life and experience. And realising this, this new school has applied itself to a thorough re-interpretation and re-explanation of these dogmas.

Christ, thus, to this New Theology, is not a mere man. He is not a mere idea or Ideal, either. He is historical. His life on earth was real. His life in the bosom of his Father, from eternity to eternity, is also equally real. He is the Word, that was with God from the beginning, the Word that is God. He is the Light of the world too. He is not only in the Church,—“in this church or that”—as Mr. Campbell puts it,—but as often as not he is outside these Christian Churches.

We think to find Him only where He is recognised by name; most of the really wonderful work that is being done by the spirit of Christ in the world to-day makes comparatively little use of His name. We sectionalise and limit, as poor human wisdom always has done, the operations of the truth of God; divide the world up into sacred and secular; call some human interests heavenly and others earthly; and permit to the former a mere corner of our attention in contrast with the latter. How well you know this to be so! Does not the

average man think of religion as a sort of departmental portion of human activity, a sort of excrescence upon life instead of life itself?

And, Mr. Campbell asserts that—Religion is not a part but the whole of life. It is life itself. And "all human life, on this side of death and on the other, is the resurrection of Christ and his ascension to the Father."

Here then you have the truth about life; it is the resurrection of the God-man in you and me and all mankind. Individually we are but cells in a spiritual organism, the soul of which is God. The lesser is always the symbol of the larger. The resurrection of Jesus in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago was the epitome of a resurrection of Christ which began with the appearance of life on this planet, and will complete itself when all the myriads of human beings who have lived and suffered and died have been gathered into a perfect unity in Him and become a perfect reflection of the eternal love of God. Never let us go back in our apprehension of this truth; never let it be confined within narrower forms. Let the limited give way to the unlimited, the partial to the universal, the material to the spiritual. The Church that is to be is mankind; its temple is the universe, visible and invisible; and God Himself is the life that is offered on its altars.

2. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL OF THE NEW THEOLOGY.

The Christ of the New Theology has, indeed, three aspects; first, he is the second person of the Holy Trinity, second, he is the indweller in every individual man and woman, and third, he is the life of Humanity. I cannot just now say what are the exact conceptions that Mr. Campbell and his school have of Humanity, whether it is more or less of a mere abstraction, an idea or ideal, expressing itself progressively in the collective life and evolution of mankind, as it undoubtedly is with a host of people who often very ardently swear by it, or whether this Humanity is a being, of which this thing that we call so in this world, which is subject to all these processes of historic evolution, is a mere manifestation and a shadow and appearance. Mazzini called this Humanity a "Being," by which evidently he meant to attribute to it all the ideas that inhere in our mind to the concept God. When Christ and Humanity are so completely identified, as they are done in this New Theology, the conception of Humanity cannot possibly be a mere idea or abstraction. Indeed, in Mr. Campbell's

philosophy everything in this world seems to have its archetype in another place,—in the Being of God. He sees clearly that if we are to believe in the spiritual origin of this world, all its multitudinous objects and relations must exist from eternity to eternity in a state of absolute perfection,—a perfection which their prototypes, so to say, on the earthly plane, are persistently trying to reach through the course of their respective evolution. The evolution of Humanity indicates, therefore, a perfected type and ideal of it,—and as this Humanity is a self-conscious thing, composed of self-conscious human units,—this Ideal Humanity, must also be self-conscious; only in that self-consciousness are subsumed the unity of conscious units, standing in an organic relation to one another and to the whole in which they are united. The conception of Christ as humanity comes very close, it seems to me, to the conception of your own Vaishnavic Narayana. Narayana has many aspects: He is the Cosmic Soul; He is the Witness who testifies to the phenomenal life and experience of each individual human being and thus stands as the basis of the unity of their individual lives, and He is also the Indweller, in the collective life of all sentient and self-conscious creatures. This is exactly the conception of Christ, it seems to me, in this New Theology. It is, of course, not an altogether new conception. In some shape or other, this conception has always been the common Christ-idea of Christianity. Even orthodox Christianity cannot boldly deny the truth of this conception. But what the New Theology is doing is to apply the old orthodox Christ-idea to the conditions and problems of the modern life and to re-interpret and re-explain it in the fullest light of the modern culture.

And this Christ-idea as identified with Humanity,—the Being, as Mazzini called it, that stands at the back of human history and evolution, and which is shaping and moulding human society to its own ordained end, so that it may fully meet the demands of the self-expression of this Being, has revealed a new social ideal, which is closely and organically bound up with this New Theology. It is the ideal of Christian socialism. It is the interpretation of all our

modern humanitarian and socialistic movements in the light of Christian life and piety. Christ being identified with Humanity, with mankind, that is, in its collective aspect, as well as with the *real* life of each individual human unit, social service is transformed into worship, social communion into divine communion, and social relations into so many vehicles for the realisation of the life and love of Christ which is, really, the life and love of God manifested here below. Poverty and ignorance, privations and disease, human misery and degradation,—all these have a reference to the Christ-life in humanity. These are all manifestations of the vicarious sufferings of the Redeemer. In the life of the poor, it is He who suffers Himself to be vicariously crushed by poverty. Their sufferings, their degradations, their pains and miseries, were all part of this Cross. It is not only once in

Calvary that Christ was crucified; he is being daily crucified in the flesh and spirit of humanity, through every act of injustice or oppression. And this idea has supplied a new inspiration of devoted social service to the adherents of this New Theology. Mr. Campbell is closely identified with the Labourites and the Socialists here. From some points of view he is doing far more for the socialist cause in Great Britain than even the most pronounced representatives of this Party. Indeed, I feel that the salvation of Socialism will come ultimately from Mr. Campbell's New Theology. But to discuss this question I shall have to consider at length and in detail the principal characteristics of the Socialist Philosophy, and that is hardly possible in this letter. I must leave it to some other day.

E. WILLIS.

AUSTRALIA

BY PROF. J. NELSON FRASER, M.A.

THE strangers came to settle in Australia; and between settlers and savages no lasting peace is possible. It has generally happened that savages have recognised in white settlers a superior power, have sought to placate it and abstained from acts of provocation till provoked themselves. But every act of the settlers provokes them. Their hunting and fishing grounds are appropriated and they are offered the choice of starvation or war. War follows. Some acts of savage cruelty follow, and the settler has an excuse, if excuse he needs, for crushing the savage. This at any rate was the order of events in Australia, where finally, in many districts, the savages were shot off along with the kangaroos or exterminated by poisoned grain. The Tasmanians, in particular, were ground into dust between the upper and nether millstones of fate; hear what the Government compiler, B. Smyth, says of them:—

"From all that could be gathered respecting this extinct race, it appears that the people were originally,

when they first came into contact with whites, mild, diffident, willing to be friendly and rather afraid of the invaders of their territory. But when the convicts began to steal their wives and daughters and slaughter their warriors, when the settlers began to occupy their lands, they evinced stronger feelings. They attacked the settlers whenever an opportunity occurred and their energy and persistence, if they had succeeded in ridding themselves of their enemies, would have placed them high in the ranks of patriots."

The situation thus created passes human powers of judgment. I heard a minister in Melbourne, a distinguished man, a good and pious man, preaching from the text "Be fruitful and multiply," justify the extermination of the blackfellows on the ground that they had neglected to use and develop the country. He may have been right; perhaps only want of courage prevents one from meeting him with a hearty assent. But surely he did not see the dreadful import of his views!

Be it noted that white civilisation is neither better nor worse than others in its fierce self-assertion; let the extinguished

Coreans and the slaughtered Formosans testify against Japan. And there is this to the credit of the white races, that they do not shirk the truth; they bear witness against themselves. Moreover their responsible Governments have generally, to the best of their power, fought the hopeless battle of the native. Phillip's first instructions to the colony were to live in amity and kindness with the natives; "Any man who takes the life of a native will be put on his trial the same as if he had killed one of the garrison;" and succeeding Governments punished the murderer of blackfellows with severity, hanging as many as seven whites together on one single occasion.

There has never been any racial feeling against the blackfellow. Early settlers wrote of them often with great sympathy; listen to Captain Trench (1793) on the charms of a dusky maiden:—

"She excelled in beauty all the females I ever saw.* Her age was about 18; the firmness, symmetry and luxuriance of her bosom might have tempted painting to copy its charms. Her mouth was small; her teeth white and unbroken. Her countenance was distinguished by a softness and sensibility unequalled in the rest of her countrymen, and I was willing to believe that these traits indicated the disposition of her mind."

At the present day such blacks as work, work on the same pay and in the company of white labourers; black children are not excluded from any Government School.

They are so far better off than the "untouchables" of India.

The remaining aborigines, quite numerous in the centre of Australia, are now treated in the main sensibly and kindly, and efforts are made to bring them round to civilisation. Unavailing efforts! Steady work they cannot endure; it breaks their spirits and ruins their health. The missionaries, (much contemned by scientific men,) struggle with the problem; it is the weakness of their system, here as elsewhere, that they require too much religion and produce too many pious frauds. There was however a great scandal during my visit over a moderate chastisement of a little black girl by a missionary; so queer is the course of history, that the same people who once shot the Australian without mercy are now spoiling him by silly kindness. I was once at an entertainment by the children of an abori-

gine's school; it seemed that the work done was a spurious and decadent kindergarten.

It is a relief to turn to the growth of the white colonies of Australia, a subject admirably illustrated by the historical records published by the N. S. W. Government. We have already noted that Australia got a bad name from early explorers, it was long before any Northern nation thought of colonising the country. Some such idea was suggested to England by the loss of her American colonies, and schemes were put forward for replanting the American loyalists in Australia.* Some of these schemes were excellently planned, notably those of Mr. Matra and Sir George Young, but they came to nothing; the Government had no views of Empire. What finally set them in motion was the crowd of criminals in English prisons, a crowd numbering 1,00,000 in 1785. † Government at last decided to thin them out by depositing some of them in Australia. This was in no sense a philanthropic project or one framed in pursuit of an ideal. Bacon long before had declared it "a shameful and unblest thing to take the scum of people and wicked and condemned men" to plant a colony; and for all the British Government knew he was right,‡ but they proceeded with their scheme. It found no friends;§ the Gentleman's Magazine and the Monthly Review pronounced it "most extravagant." Had Mr. Stead been alive perhaps he would have foiled it; however, those were aristocratic days, and Government went its way. Lord Sydney was Home Secretary, and the officer he chose to command the enterprise was Phillips.

I pause here to reverence the name of Phillips; he is one of the forgotten great men of England, not a town or street in Australia bears his name; the city he founded is called from the negligent and incapable Sydney. But the Records show

* Not generally known by this name till after 1800; previously "New Holland."

† Australian authorities assert that more than 120,000 criminals were previously deported to the U. S. A. I have heard this denied in America, and have not explored the point.

‡ Strange to say he was only partly right; the example of Australia's history does not vindicate the claim of philosophers to be kings.

§ That verbose Irishman, Edmund Burke, ignored it.

* He was only a naval officer!

what sort of man he was; a truly great organiser, farsighted, patient, humane and just; he is the one really great man connected with Australian history. The hour found him out; when his work was done, he retired into obscurity. One can hardly understand what led him to accept the thankless office to which Sydney called him; probably it was a mere sense of duty.

Anyhow there were handed over to him 775 persons, sailors and convicts, men and women, and a ship to be victualled and stored for the voyage. Over the victuals and stores Government showed incredible meanness and apathy. They did not even provide arms, there were no musket balls, no paper for cartridges, no armourer's tools, no medicines, no hospital diet, no supplies of such things as leather, no women's clothes. Month after month Phillips continued his applications for them, showing marvellous patience and self-control; at last he was forced to sail without them.

We cannot follow him on his long voyage; it lasted 36 weeks and covered 5021 leagues. During that time only 25 persons died, a proof of excellent dispositions on the ship. A brief trial of Botany Bay led Phillips to move on to Sydney, and there he founded the colony. It was a long and weary task. Even amongst the free men discontent was rife; Phillips had no friends or supporters. The soldiers refused to act as gaolers. The surgeon declared "it was a country so hateful as to merit only execration and curses." The chaplain* returned to England by the first ship that sailed there, finding the place "an awkward and unpromising corner of the Lord's Great House." But amid cowardice and mutiny Phillip persevered. He wrote in his first despatches that Australia was "the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made"; and all his thoughts were directed to improvements. Meantime he lived on the same food and the same rations as the convicts, and during the first winter these sunk to a point at which they barely supported life.† The convicts, who did not include a

single farmer and gardener, much less a botanist, whose tools were "the worst that ever were seen", were long before they raised any food for themselves.

It has only to be added that when Phillips left the days of doubt and gloom were over; free settlers were arriving, and brighter views were being taken of the future. But the only recognition the leader had, so far as I remember, were the words, on receipt of his first despatches, "His Majesty is graciously pleased to approve of your conduct." Let those who are not ashamed of low ideals fix their thoughts on medals and ribands, on fame, even on pensionary allowances (for which last weakness there is some excuse!).

Shall we pause now a little 'to explore the convict world of those vanished days?' The literary relics are all we have left. I did indeed at Sydney visit "the Rocks," a group of the first Sydney houses, empty and vanishing, which had seen the convict days, but there is really nothing left to speak of the system itself. Books there are about it, yet even here we miss the spiritual life of the old thieves and ruffian; it has never passed into literature. There is a glimpse of it in *Oliver Twist*, much melodramatised, and with that we must be satisfied. Australia yields us nothing, except a few hard facts.

I had the fortune to find these in a hotel, the Newgate Calendar, a moralising work which relates the trials of famous criminals. It shows some dark spots in human nature; if you wish to try your faith in man, the Newgate Calendar will supply a test. Among the nobles of England, Lord Ferrers, Colonel Charteris, Lord Baltimore—what monsters of lust and cruelty! In the professed criminal classes, what hardened perseverance in crime! One is amazed at the prevalence of seduction and rape; the ill-treatment of children and apprentices, and in general at the impunity of evil doers. Indeed the nobleman was really above the law, and the vulgar criminal easily escaped beyond it. Had there not been righteous men whom nothing could

* One chaplain was sent with the expedition at the last moment, on the urgent request of Sir Joseph Banks. A Roman Catholic Chaplain volunteered, but Government refused him permission to go.

† There was a real danger of the colony being starved to death. In 1581 Phillip II (of Spain) fitted

out a colony of 500 men for the straits of Magellan. An English ship passing later found 16 of them alive. Of these only one was at hand when the ship appeared; she took him off, but did not wait for the other 15.

quell, the civilisation of such an age must have perished.

The great feature of life in England then was a marvellous hardness and toughness. In the military and naval service we read tales of incredible endurance, both mental and physical. Flogging was the common punishment; and in the service directions the wielder of the "cat" was enjoined to run the lash through his fingers between each stroke to remove the flesh and blood from it. This single fact shows us what flogging was like; yet men survived hundreds of lashes. Their food was such that one fails to perceive how they ate it at all, much more how they lived and flourished on it. But complaint would have been useless, and hardness of body had to be fortified by hardness of mind. If harsh injustice was not the rule, it was certainly a common exception to the rule, and a man of a brooding temper must have perished quickly in those days. Yet I do not remember even to have read of a suicide in the service,* and acts of personal vengeance were very rare. What saved the situation was partly the presence of some men in authority both strong and just, and partly the general spirit of fair play among the masses. We must add in other directions the influences of religion and of humanitarian sentiment—at that time not yet an evil. Those who spread these influences were fortunately men of the same tough fibre as their enemies.†

We know now what sort of men the convict ships brought to Australia. There were no doubt other types, swindlers and sneaks, as well as men scarcely criminals at all, poachers for example, and many transported for petty crimes, or convicted on false evidence.‡

But the mass were rogues, and in judging their treatment we must not forget this. If we remember it, that treatment seems to have been on the whole, sensible and humane. It is astonishing how many good officials one reads of, captains, surgeons,

* Not even in the days of the press gang.

† Reader, if ever you are in Melbourne, observe the picture "Food for powder" in the Melbourne Gallery.

‡ Once or twice a prisoner falsely convicted established his innocence. Such a one was William Barber, whose misfortunes and heroism are amongst the most moving tales I have read. If any sort of men deserve statues and stained glass windows is it not such as he, who are forgotten?

chaplains, and even warders. Some of the Governors, like Macquarie, were notably indulgent to convicts. The general system was to grant leave to men of good character, finding them to work for free settlers. The system was sometimes abused, but on the whole it worked well. It seems a fair inference from the record that any convict who deserved it could in a few years secure his freedom, independent means and a good character. Violent punishment was not common; re-convicted convicts were sent to Norfolk Island. Here they had a good and healthy climate, and a hard life; vice and cruelty were rife; but at least those who suffered suffered the reward of deliberate and incurable rascality.

As the free settlers increased in numbers, they objected more and more to the transportation of convicts. Finally in 1851 the discovery of gold made the system impossible. About 80,000 convicts reached Australia before that date; and it is an interesting question what effect their presence has had on the colonial character.

One institution certainly it conferred on the country—the bushranger. The early bushrangers were escaped convicts. Naturally, the convicts sometimes tried to escape, by sea and land, though very rarely they succeeded. One party did actually make their way in a boat to Timor, (an astonishing feat), where by accident they were recaptured and without compunction sent back to servitude. Other parties struggled as far as the Blue Mountains, where they perished of thirst or even murdered and ate each other. A few eked out a desperate living in the bush, plundering farm houses or holding up coaches. There was little romance about their lives, and they were much hated by the settlers. When this generation passed away, native born Australians began to take to the bush, and sometimes caused much public inconvenience. The story of the Kelly Gang is well known, at least in Australia; it cost the State of N. S. Wales £80,000 to catch and destroy them.

I have heard it said that the Kelly Gang owed their long life to the slow wits of the Australian police; that a few Americans from the wild west would have shot them down much sooner. Very likely this is true; but things Australian have never

followed the same course as things American. Though Australia absorbed so many convicts, in the Australian gold fields the law took its usual course, while in such scenes in America it has always been powerless. The source of this difference I have never fully explored." I am told it was visible in Klondyke, directly you crossed from American to British territory; lynch law and private shooting ceased. Every body knew that a murderer would, sooner or later, be hanged; this had a sobering effect even on bullies who were masters of their weapons.

The wider question remains whether Australian tone has been affected by the convict element. In one way obviously it has been affected; the Australians dislike references to the past. You must not speak of ropes in the presence of a man whose father was hanged; and one colonial Governor, neglecting this adage, had its truth severely rubbed into him. He congratulated the Australians on having lived down their birth stains, and public opinion expelled him from the country. Public opinion could have been wiser and more manly had it accepted the compliment in the spirit in which it was intended; in Australia it should be no libel to inform the world that a man's grandfather was a convict. I can say this because I feel that Australia really has lived down its origin. No one would have predicted this a hundred years ago, and it shows a great vitality in the Australian people. New Zealand, their neighbour, was colonised by the chosen few, (and New Zealand does not forget this), yet I think no visitor who has travelled in both countries will say any thing he met with recalled this difference to his mind. There are differences between Australia and New Zealand; not always in favour of Australia; but the manners of good society in both countries are similar, and there has never appeared any decadent class of whites in Australia, (such as one may find in the southern states of America.)

To proceed, I leave untold the wonderful story of Australian inland exploration. It may be found in any history and yields to no story of the kind in the great qualities which it records. It brought to light a disappointing interior. The great want of Australia is water; why did not Providence

pour the superfluity of Canada into the waste of Australia?

If indeed the earth was designed for man, it is wonderful how little of it yields him a comfortable habitation. A few corners and fringes of the great continents—that is all. Australia has such corners in the South-East. I have spoken already of the Liverpool plains, and artesian wells have changed much of the North-East, perhaps are destined to change still more. Humanly speaking, however, most of the country is dry, hot, and cheerless. The South-West is chilly enough in winter, and the days are as variable as those of our own British isles; but passing northwards you soon come to regions with the summer temperature of Sindh. Hot winds from these regions blew down to Sydney occasionally, and the Bombayite recognises Bombay, but the breezes sweep up from the ocean, rain pours down and the demons of the sky retreat inland again.

So we are now approaching Australia of the present; it is time to speak of the cities and city life of the country. Let me not pass without a word of gratitude to the quiet town of Albany; its trim little streets, churches, schools and Town Hall. After three weeks of the Southern Sea I found myself once more at home, though not at home; everything familiar and unfamiliar; contrasts arising everywhere. White labourers on the quay working about half as hard as the niggers in Africa. On the door of the Post Office was chalked up by some optimist "Co-operation will abolish poverty." I bought some sprays of *Baronia*, a new flower, a new colour, a new smell, and returning to the Karoolah voyaged on to Melbourne.

Melbourne is the Paris of Australia. It owes its wide handsome streets to a far-sighted surveyor, who died in poverty; it is a city of fine vistas. In its situation it is unfortunate. Some miles of a winding river separate it from the bay, and the bay is itself an unsightly piece of water. The river has been dredged and broadened, but is still a problem; its scenic value is *nil*. The charms of the city lie within its own boundaries; and it is truly a wonderful creation. In 1835 there was not a house in Melbourne; it has now 500,000 people, and its public buildings are all worthy of a

great city. There are two museums, one popular and one scientific. Nowhere else have I seen this plan of division so well carried out; and there is much to be gained by it. The popular museum has all the relics of old Melbourne, many illustrations of life in England, and all those odds and ends which are instructive and interesting to common people, but lumber up a scientific institution. The scientific museum is strong in the antiquities of Australia—the furniture of the poor savages is tended far more carefully than their own bodies and souls. I forget in which museum I saw the statue of Ten Thousand Years, with an inscription relating that it was looted by the N. S. Wales Contingent at the sack of Peking. This is the only piece of downright plunder I have ever seen in a British museum, though many articles have doubtless been wheedled or bullied out of savages. But then, is it not just as fair to pillage your enemy as to kill him?

The Botanical Gardens are very beautiful; there is a pleasant aquarium, and an excellent picture gallery. The Library is a noble institution, and all the shelves are open to the visitor. This plan is general in Australia and New Zealand; it increases the value of a library manyfold and its possibility shows great progress in the culture and morality of the people. Is not this enough in praise of Melbourne? Melbourne people do not envy Sydney, in spite of its harbour; they are satisfied with Melbourne. They have their own country resorts; I did not visit them, but went on to Sydney.

Sydney is the London of Australia. It did not spring up in a night like Melbourne, but grew by a growth rapid enough, but unconscious and undirected. One of its chief streets still follows the zig-zag of the old carts, as they made their way up the hill before the street existed. And all its streets are more or less narrow and crooked. But they teem with a life which recalls that of London, and the type of buildings favours the comparison, tall, massive and irregular. The public institutions are not so well housed as those of Melbourne; their contents are perhaps in each case on a level. The Sydney Museum draws from the South Sea islands rather than from Australia. There is a botanic garden and a Domain or

public parks, the Hyde Park of Sydney, where the revolutionaries preach. But the glory of the city is its situation; "What do you think of our harbour?" There are hundreds of miles of this harbour, sheets of water and winding creeks, without end, countless thousands of villas line the heights which surround it, yet there are still reaches where not a house can be seen, and the old fragrant bushes line the shores. For use and recreation there is hardly such a sheet of water in the world. And then you can easily pass from Sydney to the open shore, where the long rollers wash the crags, and the whole world, if they would, could spend their holidays.

Great cities like Melbourne and Sydney imply great industries somewhere. What are the industries of Australia?

Mining, of course, but I did not see anything of it. Since 1851 £500,000,000 of gold have been produced in Australia; and of silver £38,000,000. Other minerals are also found; New South Wales raises yearly about 10,000,000 tons of coal. Iron exists in many places but is yet little worked. I saw nothing personally of Australian mining save indeed the alum mine near the Miall Lakes. You could hardly call it a mine: it was a mountain of alum, a glorious mass of rosy crags, clothed with trees and ferns. Broken Hill, the great silver mine, from photos seems to be a dark place of the earth, a chaos of wheels and chimney stacks, shrouded in poisonous fumes.

But the wool industry is the true gold mine of Australia. Its history has been written by Mr. Burfitt; I draw a few facts from his absorbing pages. Wool had always been a staple of England, and Governor Phillip did actually take some sheep with his convicts to Australia. These sheep all perished, and the question of the sheep's future in Australia became a subject of discussion. It was suggested that the Spanish merino would flourish there and the British Government invited the opinion (among others) of Sir Joseph Banks. That really great botanist and practical man, himself familiar with Australia, replied.—

"I have no reason to believe that the climate or soil of New South Wales is at all better calculated for the production of fine wools than that of other temperate climates, and am confident that the natural grass of that country is tall, coarse, seedy and very different from the short and sweet mountain grass of Europe,

upon which sheep thrive to the best advantage. I have never heard of any luxuriant pastures of the natural growth of New South Wales at all fitted for the pasturage of sheep till I read of them in Capt. Macarthur's statement.....I am not inclined to advise their Lordships to recommend any special encouragement to be given at present to perfect what as yet is a mere theoretical speculation."

The Captain Macarthur here mentioned landed in Australia as an army officer in 1790. He it was who guided the first plough that broke Australian soil, and he early took the step of obtaining those rams and five ewes of the merino breed from South Africa. He sent to England a specimen of the wool he grew, and Sir Joseph Banks had seen these specimens when he wrote his discouraging report.

From which we learn:—

(i) That expert opinion is fallible,

(ii) That *a priori* reasoning is fallible.

And yet expert opinion and *a priori* reasoning are apparently all we have to trust to in this world.

Be that as it may, the British Government did not actually crush Macarthur, but allowed him some land, (out of

millions of unused acres!) and the services of thirty convicts—on condition of his maintaining them. The next Governor, the famous and ill-famed Bligh, tried to take these advantages from him, but Governor Bligh was himself deported by the colonists. And Macarthur, before he died, in 1834, saw Australia producing over £2,000,000 of wool a year.

In 1910 I met in N. S. W. an old man named Denny, who had known Macarthur. He was the first white man born in Australia, and his age was verified at 98. His step was firm, his eye bright, his mind and memory clear. In features and character and even in speech he belonged to an earlier age of Englishmen; "King Jarge," he said to me, (George III!) "would ha' hanged you or me if we'd stolen a sheep;" (pausing and with emphasis), "he had a flock o' sheep *stolen* from the King o' Spain!" Mr. Burfitt does not put the transaction in this light, and I cannot say what happened, but this is what Mr. Denny believed. He had been over 60 years a ship's carpenter, and had never married.

(To be continued).

AN INDIAN MUSICIAN'S HYMN AT NIGHTFALL, BY THE SEA

O my Blessedness
Come into my heart!
What is the song without the singer?—
And what is the singer, without Thee?
O my Blessedness
Come into my heart!
And set its music free.

I have wander'd too long away from Thee,
My grief and joy!
A moment is eternity away from Thee;—
How many eternities?

O count them not!
But let them melt in Thee.
O my Blessedness
Come into my heart!

These waves, they say, are singing praise of Thee;
But seemeth me they moan, away from Thee!
That bird anigh me, singeth sweetly, too;—

Yet, in mine ears, O Dearest!
The chants of dawn and even
Are but as sighs upon Thy lotus feet.

E'en tho' I hear the cosmic melody—
Psalmings of *devas*, saints, all nature's minstrelsy,
Steeping my sense in deepest ecstasy,—
Lord! Break their echoes! Come into my heart,
And *Thou* its music be!

Would that I might not reach Thee in this dream,
But in the living day instead,
My dear, my only One!
Say'st Thou I cannot find Thee so—not yet?—
Then, let me sleep, or let me die,
So that I may dream on!
O my Blessedness
Stay within my heart!

MAUD MACCARTHY.

THE ABORS

ON account of the recent Abor outrages these tribes have filled columns of space in the newspapers and been talked of even in the British Parliament. Thinking that it would, therefore, be interesting to know something about their manners and customs and religious beliefs, we give some account of them, compiled from Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* and the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, etc.

This is not the first time that the Abors have had a brush with the British Government. Since 1848 they have occasionally shown their unfriendliness towards the British Government, and since then the Government has had to send occasional military expeditions to punish these freedom-loving aborigines. In 1857, when the Government was busy quelling the Mutiny, the Abors, too, became restive and raided the border villages, killing and looting whatever fell in their way. The expedition sent against them returned quite baffled and then again some regiments with guns were sent. This time the Abors were defeated and peace was restored. Again in 1861 they raided the British territory, and to prevent their repeated attacks, the Government was obliged to build a line of fortresses along the boundary.

In 1884 Mr. Needham was the political officer of Assam, and with him it was a difficult task to cope with the aboriginal Abors, who were ready to rise against the Government at any moment. He being an able and clever officer managed some how or other to keep them in subjugation, but there were clear indications to show that this state of things would not last long.

In 1893 the Abors all on a sudden attacked and massacred the armed police stationed in their country to keep the peace. This rebellion Mr. Needham quelled with a strong hand, and a severe lesson was taught them, and it was shown that their mountainous country could be traversed, any of

their villages could be visited and their stoniest stockade could not stop the British troops. This struck terror to their hearts and they were quiet till then.

Recently Mr. Noel Williamson, the political officer at Sadya, accompanied by the local doctor Mr. Gregorson and some forty coolies went to the Abor country on some "friendly mission". About the exact motive of the mission opinions differ. Some say they went there for sport and some say for discovering unknown regions and to get an opportunity for ethnological work.

Whatever the motive might have been, this intrusion excited the suspicion of the Abors and they all on a sudden fell on the party and murdered them. Only four coolies survived and after much hardship reached British territory to tell the tale of the sad disaster.

For the present the Deputy Commissioner with a detachment of military police has taken up the task of teaching a lesson to the turbulent Abors and after the rains a regular expedition will be sent, and then they would come to know the extent of the British power, against which their poisoned arrows, long swords, stone fortresses and hilly lands would be of no avail; and then they would be Abors only in name.

The term 'Abor', signifying barbarous and independent, is, by the Assamese, applied very indefinitely to all the independent hill tribes on both sides of the valley of the Brahmaputra, but it is more especially the appellation of the great section inhabiting the hilly tracts north of the Luckimpur and Dufrung districts, and Dibrugarh, and along the rivers Dibong or Dihong and Dirjmo. They are subdivided into four different clans, *viz.*, the Padams or the Abors proper; Hill Miris; Dophlas; and Akas. The Padams generally style themselves as Bor Abors, signifying that they are the Abors proper or Great Abors. They were called Abors by the Assamese because they never were subjugated or interfered with by the old

Assam Government and seldom appeared at all amongst the Assamese.

At the Census of 1901, only 231 of them were recorded as British subjects, of these 53 were described as Hindus, 7 as Buddhists, and the remaining 171 as animists.

The Abors live in villages, which are a cluster of 20 or 30 houses or even more. These villages are governed strictly on democratical lines, and each village is independent by itself. Sometimes great councils of the different settlements are convened, and then if they agree, they act together as confederate states, but each community in its internal affairs is governed by its own laws devised and administered on purely democratical principles.

The houses are nearly all of the same size, about 50 feet in length by 20 in breadth, with a verandah or porch, one hearth, and no inner enclosure. They are apparently not intended for the accommodation of more than one married couple. Girls till they are married occupy at night the same house as their parents; boys and young men are not permitted to do so, and when a man marries, he and his bride leave the paternal roof and set up a house for themselves. In building this they are assisted by the community, and all the component parts having been previously collected, prepared and arranged, the house is framed, floored, thatched and ready for their reception in four and twenty hours. In trimming and fitting the frame work of timber some art is displayed; the flooring of bamboos is four feet from the ground; the walls and the doors are of planks, and the thatching which comes down on all sides as low as the flooring to keep off the high winds, is of grass, or more commonly of dried leaves of the wild plantain. The Miri houses are called *chang-garh*, i.e., houses with raised floors, and space underneath for the pigs, poultry, etc. The houses of the Akas are like those of the Miris but more carefully and substantially built. The flooring is of well-smoothed and close-fitting planks.

In a conspicuous part of the village is the Morang or town-hall. This is in the same style of architecture as the private houses, but it is 200 feet in length and has 16 or 17 fireplaces. There assemble at night hundreds of adult males and an infinite number

of small boys, who take up their positions on the rafters.

The headmen, elders or Gams, congregate round the central fireplace of the Morang. In the middle sits the chief or Bokpang as chairman or president of the assembly, being especially in charge of the foreign relations of the state. Then comes Loitem, the Nestor of the republic, the first of their orators, the great repository of traditional lore. Next comes Julong, the war minister. Then there is a factious demagogue called Jaluk, who is the leader of the opposition. These notables meet daily in the Morang for the discussion of affairs of state, and are kept amply supplied with liquor all the time they are so employed at the public expense. The most important and the most trivial matters are there discussed. Apparently nothing is done without consultation, and an order of the citizens in Morang assembled is issued daily regulating the day's work. The result is rapidly promulgated by the shrill voices of boys who run through the village giving out the order in a clear monotone like a street cry.

No presents could be openly taken by the Gams or notables for themselves. Everything given on public grounds is lodged in the common treasury for the benefit of the whole body corporate. Fines, forfeitures and escheats are similarly appropriated. The crime of an individual is treated as a public disgrace to be expiated by a public sacrifice. The culprit has eventually to bear the expense of this. There is no power vested in the Raj or community to take life or inflict corporal punishment on a free-born citizen, but slaves may be put to death, and slaves seducing a free-born girl are often punished with death.

The Morang is occupied every night by all the bachelors in the village, both freemen and slaves, and with them the old, infirm, cripple and incapable persons are lodged and supported at the public expense. A certain proportion of the married men associate themselves with a detachment of bachelors nightly on duty, so as to constitute together a sufficient available force for any contingency of attack, fire or other public emergency. They have no fear of thieves, as they have perfect confidence in the honesty of their fellow-villagers of the commonwealth.

Losses of children are of frequent occurrence. They are most probably kidnapped by the Chulikata Mishmis, but this the Padams will not admit. They assert that the spirits of the woods hide them, and they retaliate on the spirits by cutting down trees till they find them. To search the lost children is the duty of the Morang men, who do their duty most willingly and in perfect harmony and order, without any discussion, or mandate; no apathy is shown, no excuses are made. They even search at night by the light of torches.

To guard against these accidents the villages are surrounded by loose stone walls, and all round them bamboos and jack trees are planted and carefully fenced; here and there a grove of beautiful palms could be seen.

The Bor Abors always appear poor and improvident, but the Akas use metal utensils, large copper vases for water vessels, obtained from Tibet or Bhutan, and brass pots and brass plates for cooking in and eating out of, obtained from Assam. They breed a kind of hill cows called mithuns and common cows, and have large herds; they eat the flesh but do not touch the milk. They also breed pigs and rear fowls and pigeons in great numbers, but ducks and geese are forbidden to them by their gods. Their God Hari has not been however very severe on them; he only objects to and curbs their predilection for the flesh of dogs and other animals not ordinarily eaten by civilized beings. The main occupation of the Miris is to procure and dry meat and fish. A Miri encampment may be sniffed from afar, and the unpleasant odour clings most disagreeably to the people. They have various methods for entrapping animals of all kinds from an elephant to a mouse, and all is fish that comes to their net. The flesh of a tiger is prized as food for men; it gives them strength and courage. It is not suited for women; it would make them too strong-minded.

The religion of the Abors consists in a belief in the sylvan deities, to each of whom some particular department in the destiny of man is assigned. They have no medicine for the sick: for every disease there is a spirit, and a sacrifice to that spirit is the only treatment attempted. A mountain called Rigam is the favorite abode of the

spirit, and is held in great awe. They acknowledge and adore one Supreme Being as the great father of all and believe in a future state, the condition of which will in some measure depend on the life led here below. They have a judge of the dead called 'Jam,' which is no doubt Yama, the Hindu god of death, with its Bengali pronunciation.

The Abors are apparently but little affected either by Hinduism or Buddhism.

They have no hereditary priesthood, but there are persons called Deodars who acquire the position of augurs or soothsayers from their superior knowledge of omens and how to observe them. The examination of the entrails of birds and of a pig's liver appear to be the most usual method of divination.

In cases of sickness or death when a mithun or a pig is offered, no one is allowed to share the feast with the gods but the old and infirm, who as poor and superannuated, live in the Morang at the public expense.

They hold as inviolate any engagement cemented by an interchange of meat as food; this is called sengmung.

They believe that the human family are all descended from one common mother. She had two sons; the elder was a bold hunter, and the younger was a cunning craftsman, the latter being the mother's favorite. With him she migrated to the west, taking with her the household utensils, arms, implements of agriculture and instruments of all sorts, so that the art of making most of them was lost in the land she deserted; but before quitting the old country she taught her first-born how to forge daos, to make musical instruments from gourds, and she left him in possession of a great store of blue and white beads. These arts he transmitted to his posterity the Padam, and from him they received the injunction to mark themselves on the forehead with a cross. The western nations, including the English, are descended from the younger brother, and inherited from him the knowledge of science and art.

Absolutely the Padams have no knowledge of arts, except what they thus account for. Their implements of husbandry are their long straight swords or daos, crooked bamboos to scrape the earth, and pointed sticks

to make holes, into which they dexterously shoot the seed. Nevertheless they have a wide area and great variety of cultivation, and get good crops. Industry and the richness of the soil make up for all deficiencies, and seasons of scarcity are rare with them. They cultivate rice, cotton, tobacco, maize, ginger, red pepper, sugarcane, a great variety of esculent roots, pumpkins and opium. Against unnecessarily breaking up new lands and destroying the forests they have a wholesome prejudice.

Abors consider dirt as an antidote to cold and positively cherish it.

The Abor cultivation commences generally from the banks of rivers, and along the banks of streams there is strong palisading to keep the village cattle from trespassing. The importance of having at all times the means of crossing the rivers to their cultiva-



A Dhoba Abor.

They are well supplied with water. There are several elevated springs and the discharges from these are collected and carried to different parts of the villages in aqueducts or pipes of bamboos. Notwithstanding these privileges water is seldom used for ablutionary purposes. The



A Dhoba Abor. The helmet of this chief is decorated with boar's tusks, so as to give an effective protection to the head; for no ordinary blow would cut through them. The ornament hanging just over the clavicle is the palate and the upper jaw of some feline, studded with cowrie shells. The large necklaces are formed of beads of a vitrified substance exactly resembling turquoise. He has a 'lama' sword, a weapon of Tibetan manufacture.

tions, has led to the construction over these of suspension bridges of cane. The canes forming the main support are thrown across beams supported partly on triangles of strong timbers and partly on growing trees. These trees have stays to counteract their flexibility, and these and all the suspending

canes are made fast to the stumps of other large trees, or to piers of loose stones. The roadway is also made of cane interlaced, supported by elliptical girders of the same material passing round the main suspenders. This bridge is carefully repaired every year and in about four years every part of it is renewed.

The Abors are a much taller race than the Mishmis, their neighbours, but clumsy-looking and sluggish; they have strongly marked Mongolian features and are of rather a uniform olive complexion. They have

tied round the loins, and hangs down behind in loose strips about fifteen inches long like a white bushy tail. It serves also as a pillow by night. When fully dressed the Abor is an imposing figure. Colored coats without sleeves, of their own manufacture, or of the manufacture of their neighbours,



A Bor Abor girl. The illustration gives a capital representation of their strongly marked Mongolian features; and their coarse, good-tempered faces, their mode of cropping the hair, costume, and ornaments. This lady is also proud of her good fortune to possess a goitre.

very deep voices and speak with a peculiar sonorous cadence, never hurriedly.

The dress of the men consists principally of a loin cloth made of the bark of the Udal tree. It answers the double purpose of a carpet to sit upon and of a covering. It is



A Bor Abor woman, dressed in her two cloths, one round her loins and another folded round the bosom.

the Chulikata Mishmis, are commonly worn. Some wear long Tibetan cloaks. On state occasions they wear helmets of a very striking appearance. The foundation is a strong skull-cap of cane; it is adorned with pieces of bear skin, yak tails dyed red, boar's tusks, and above all the huge beak of a kind of bird. For arms they have bows and arrows with or without poison, very long spears, daggers, and long straight-

cutting swords. It is on the latter weapon they chiefly rely in warfare and they are fond of exhibiting their skill in using it.

The hair of both males and females is close cropped; this is done by lifting it on the blade of a knife and chopping it with a stick all round. The practice of tattooing is resorted to by both sexes. The men all wear a cross on the forehead between the eyebrows. The women have a small cross in the hollow of the upper lip immediately under the nose, and on both sides of it above and below the mouth are stripes generally seven in number.

The dress of the females as ordinarily seen, consists of two cloths, blue and red in broad stripes. One round the loins forms a petticoat just reaching to the knees; it is retained in its position by a girdle of cane-work; the other is folded round the bosom, but this is often dispensed with, and the exposure of the person above the waist is evidently considered no indelicacy. Their necks are profusely decorated with strings of beads reaching to the waist, and the lobes of the ears are enormously distended for decorative purposes. Round the ankles, so as to set off to the best advantage the fine swell of the bare leg, broad bands of very finely plaited cane-work are tightly laced, and some of the belles, most particular about their personal appearance, wear these anklets of a light blue tinge. All females with pretensions to youth wear suspended in front from a string round the loins a row of from three to a dozen shell-shaped embossed plates of bell-metal from about six to three inches in diameter, the largest in the middle, the others gradually diminishing in size as they approach the hips. These plates rattle and chink as they move. Very young girls, except for warmth, wear nothing but these appendages, but the smallest of the sex is never seen without them, and even adult females are often seen with no other covering. During the great Bihu festival they divest themselves of everything else and behave in a very indecorous and sensual manner, at the dances. The women of the Miri clan in lieu of the brass plates wear a small petticoat made of filaments of cane woven together. It is about a foot in breadth, and fastened so tight round the loins that it restrains the free use of the

thighs, and causes the women to move with a short mincing gait. The Miri women also are often seen with nothing on but this singular garment. They wear their hair long.

In feature and complexion the Abor women are a coarse type of the Chinese. Many of them are disfigured with goitre, and their antipathy to the use of water and their very unbecoming coiffure take greatly away from their personal appearance.



Abor Chief. This is a good specimen of the Dihong Abor, dressed in sleeve-less coat, cane helmet, smoking a pipe, and blessed with a goitre.

They are hard worked, but the whole burden of field labour is not thrown upon them. Wives are treated by their husbands with a singular consideration. Polygamy is not practised; they speak with contempt of those who have had a plurality of wives. The women also make faithful and obedient wives. They are trained never to complain or give an angry answer and cheerfully do they appear to bear the hard burden imposed upon them. It is mainly because with these rude people the inclinations of

the persons most interested in the marriage are consulted.

Marriages are sometimes settled by the parents, but generally the young people arrange these affairs for themselves, and a feast is the only ceremony required to ratify and declare the happy event. But it is customary for a lover to show his inclinations while courting by presenting his sweetheart and her parents with such delicacies as field mice and squirrels. To barter their child's happiness for money is regarded by the Padam as an indelible disgrace. Miris and Dophlas practise polygamy and when one dies his son or heir becomes the husband of all the women, excepting his mother. The Miris settle their marriages in a quite different fashion. At one season of the year the adult unmarried males and females of a village spend several days and nights together in one large building, and if couples manage thus to suit each other, they pair off and marry. The Abors view with abhorrence the idea of their girls marrying out of their own clan and when a daughter

of Padam so demeans herself, the sun and moon refuse to shine, and there is such a strife in the elements that all labor is suspended, till by sacrifice and ablution the stain is washed away. But the Miris, Dophlas and Akas marry their daughters out of their own clans and even to races out of their stock.

The Abors carry on a sort of trade with the Tibetans and the Bhutanese, and get Tibetan cloaks, utensils, and tobacco pipes in exchange for their own field produce.

The Abors bury their dead as if they were sending them on a long journey, fully clothed and equipped with arms, supplied with food, utensils and ornaments. The rugged rocky soil on which their villages are built, does not allow the digging of a large grave and this has probably originated a unique custom of sepulchre, by which very small graves are required; the dead are trussed up so that the chin rests on the knees, and are placed in the small chamber prepared for them in a sitting posture.

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

THE HINDU-MAHOMEDAN PROBLEM

THE India of to-day has a superabundance of difficult problems to solve, but, in the opinion of many competent observers, the quarrel between the Hindus and the Mahomedans constitute the most hazardous of them all and the one toward whose solution the least progress seems to have been made. The issues are not merely concerning the separate electorates of the Mahomedan community in the provincial councils, or the appointment of a Mahomedan in the Viceroy's executive council or in the India and Privy councils—important and difficult as these points are, yet these can be fairly and squarely adjusted and that is only when impartiality is strictly observed—but a matter far more critical than these, is, whether the Mahomedans will perpetuate the hoodlum or the Hindus will stick to their conservatism, thereby making the gulf of difference between the Hindus and the Mahomedans

wider and wider. And that gulf is bound to be widening for ever and more rapidly, as there are other elements, the importance of which cannot be ignored, neither in conformity nor in sympathy nor in apathy but rather in more or less antipathy against the two dominant classes.

It can hardly be questioned that no people or group of peoples, ancient or modern, with the probable exception of the Italians, ever dared to achieve nationality under conditions of such storm and stress as have we. The work will be done, not in months or years, but in decades, one might almost say in centuries.

Now I propose to explain some very general views upon the effects and interaction of the ideas of race and religion upon the political grouping of the population in various countries of Eastern Europe and of Western Asia, with the object of showing how they unite and divide mankind over a

great portion of the earth; and then coming back home (India), I will show how again they unite and divide ideas, not only on the political but also on the social groupings of the population. And last of all, the remedies, after the diseases have been diagnosed, are to be prescribed.

If we look back upon the ancient world, as it was known to Greece and to Rome, and as it can be dimly surveyed through the records of classic antiquity, we find that before the Christian era the populations were divided and sub-divided into races or tribes, with names signifying a common origin or descent. The designation of their country was usually derived from the name of some dominant race, as Gallia from the Gauls or Judea from the Jews; indeed I might say, as France from the Franks or England from the Angles. Religious denominations of any great numerical strength were, I venture to suggest, unknown, at any rate in ancient Europe. The polytheism of these ages was too local and miscellaneous to weld together any considerable groups on the basis of a common worship or belief; for although three great religions then existed, Buddhism, Hinduism, and the faith of Zoroaster (still represented by the Parsees,) these were confined to Central and Eastern Asia, and, moreover, the last two of these religions made no vigorous open attempts to spread and gain proselytes, still less did they use force to convert great multitudes. But after the Christian era a change came over the face of the Western world. The Roman empire—that greatest monument of human power, as Dean Church has called it—began the fusion of races into one vast political society; it settled the law and language of Southern Europe. The establishment of the Roman empire is a cardinal epoch of the world's political history.

Then followed two events of immense political importance that changed the whole aspect and condition of the religious world,—the rise and spread of two powerful missionary and militant religions. First came Christianity to overspread the lands which the Roman empire had levelled politically. Islam followed in the seventh century, and the conflict between these two rival faiths, each claiming universal spiritual dominion, altered not only the spiritual but also the

temporal order of things in Europe and Western Asia. In Asia the victorious creed of Mahomedans imposed upon immense multitudes a religious denomination; they became Mussulmans. In Western Europe the dominion of the Roman empire had by this time fallen to pieces; it was torn asunder by barbarian invaders; but upon the ruins of that empire was built up the great Catholic Church of Rome, which gathered together all races of the West under the common denomination of Christianity.

Beneath the canopies of these two great religions the primitive grouping of the people survived; throughout Europe there were no settled kingdoms or nations but a jumble of races and tribes contending for land and power. Now we know that in Western Europe this strife and confusion of the Middle Ages at last ended in the formation, on a large scale, of separate nationalities, and perhaps we may take, roughly, the end of the fifteenth century as the period when the great territorial kingdoms were definitely marked out, and when the rulers were rounding off their possessions under designations that may be called national. In these countries the sub-divisions according to race have now lost almost all political significance; but in the sixteenth century another great disturbing element reappeared. The great wars of religion again made a fresh division of people into two camps, of Roman Catholics and Protestants. This ferment has gradually subsided and at the present time all minor groups of the population in Western Europe have been absorbed under large national designations; and the nations are separated by the paramount distinction of languages. In Western Europe you do not now define a man by his original race or by his religion, you ask whose natural-born subject he is, in whose territory he lives, and you class him accordingly as French, English, Spanish or Italian.

Now it has been, I think, one result of this consolidation of the West into States and Nationalities with religion mostly corresponding to the region, that the persistence in other parts of the world of the earlier ideas of race and religion, the primordial grouping of mankind, has been far too commonly overlooked and undervalued. My object here is to lay stress on the importance of realising and understanding them.

And I may begin by throwing out the suggestion that this oversight, this neglect of ideas and facts, that still have great vitality, may be connected with the influence, in France and England, of a certain school of political philosophy that arose in the 18th century, in France. The Encyclopedistes, as they were called, because their leaders wrote the celebrated French Encyclopaedia, treated in theory all nations of separate races, religions, as so many barriers against the spread of a common civilization, which was to unite all peoples on general principles of reason, scientific knowledge, and emancipation from local or national prejudices; and at the end of the eighteenth century came the French Revolution, when these philosophical notions took a very seriously practical shape; for the French Republican armies invaded the kingdoms of Western Europe with the war-cry of Universal fraternity and equality. Revolutionary France ignored both race and religion. It proclaimed, De Tocqueville says, above and instead of all peculiar nationalities, an intellectual citizenship that was intended to include the people of every country to which it extended, superseding all distinctions of language, religion, tradition, and national character; and much of the success of Revolutionary France was attributed to religious toleration, and that toleration *i.e.*, the affirmation of two or three great truths, brought about the struggle, still going on, between Liberalism and Orthodoxy. One of the fearless apostles of religious toleration in the sixteenth century was Sibastien Castellion, who also looked upon religion with the mind of a practical statesman. At the time when the civil and religious wars were raging in France, he, in 1562, said:—

"Keep up the two forms of Religion—the Roman Catholic and the Protestant; let both be free, so that every body may choose, without constraint, the one he prefers."

This was the view Henry IV took of the matter in 1598, when he promulgated the Edict of Nantes, and this is the view liberal France has been striving to maintain ever since, even down to the present year of grace. But a fact I have overlooked and that is that under Napoleon this fierce impulse of democratic levelling was transformed into imperialism; he aimed at restoring an

empire in the West. But this aroused equally fierce resistance, and when Napoleon had been beaten down, the national feeling emerged stronger than ever. And those doctrines of the French Encyclopedistes were inherited by the English school of Utilitarians, led by Bentham and the two Mills; and John Stuart Mill in particular, declared that one of the chief obstacles to human improvement was the tendency to regard difference of race and religion as indelible. In fact, all this school, which had considerable influence some fifty years ago, treated religious and social distinction as inconvenient barriers against rational progress, or as fictions invented by indolent thinkers to save themselves the trouble of investigating the true causes that modify human character.

Indeed, in the settled nationalities of the West these distinctions of race and religion have a tendency to become unimportant for political purposes, although a glance at Ireland will remind us that they have by no means disappeared.

The plan I shall attempt to follow in making a brief survey of my subject is to begin with a glance at the political condition of Central Europe, and to travel rapidly Eastward. In the West, as I have said, there have been unified and established states with national governments acted upon by the influences of large national territorial designations and religious toleration. But as soon as we pass to Central Europe we find the Austro-Hungarian empire distracted and threatened by internal feuds, arising out of the contention for ascendancy of two races,—Germans and Slavonians, besides various other reasons. The Slavonic populations in the North-West of the Empire are parted asunder from those in the South-East by the Hungarians, who came in from the east, and are of a different stock and followers of a different faith, and who have succeeded in establishing the federated Kingdom of Hungary. I will not trouble the readers with statistical or geographical details. My purpose is to mention that the subjects of Austria apart from Hungary, are classed in eight separate sections, differentiated by separate languages, and that Poles, Bohemians, Germans, and Italians, are all and each claiming a kind of home rule within the empire, and show an increasing

tendency to group themselves by distinctions of race. In Bohemia, the population is nearly equally divided between Germans and Slavs, who speak different languages, have separate schools, and contend violently for political preponderance. In Moravia and Silesia, where the Slav element is stronger, the conflict goes on. In Galicia the contest is between Poles and Ruthenians between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches. In Hungary proper the Magyars have political predominance, but the portion of German descent and language is more numerous than the Magyars: in Transylvania, further eastward, the Magyars are politically overriding the Slav races: in Croatia a similar struggle is going on. Thus the peaceful consolidation, aimed at by the patriotic statesmen of the empire into a large national (representative) state is interrupted by resistance under the watchword of separate nationalities. Religious differences between Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, and the Greek Church in the Eastern provinces, accentuate the incoherence. Each separate group takes for its symbol, the standard round which people rally, a language—German, Polish, Zecheque, Ruthenian, and so on. They are all being energetically maintained and jealously preserved in speech and writing, in the schools and the assemblies. Moreover, three different Churches, at least, are rallying their adherents and driving in the wedge of religious dissension. All these groups go back to the early traditions and history of the races, they sharpen up old grievances, and oppose each other vigorously. They are, in fact, endeavouring to construct an earlier formation of civil society and to reverse the order of political amalgamation of small states into large ones which has been operating for centuries in Western Europe. In Western Europe the principle of nationalities has been a method not of disintegration, but of concentration. It has led within the last sixty years to the establishment of two States of first class magnitude, Germany and Italy. But in Austro-Hungary, on the contrary, the movement is not toward centralisation—it is centrifugal and separatist. Thus it helps the Hapsburg family in Austro-Hungary to carry out the policy of *divide et impera* and prevents a national unification.

Our first step over the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian empire, proceeding south-east beyond the Danube and the Carpathian provinces, brings us into the various principalities and provinces that were once under the dominion of the Turkish Empire, though almost all of them are now independent of it. All these are usually known as the Balkan Peninsula. Here also the complexities of race and religion are abundantly manifest: it is because all this country was under the direct government of the Turkish Empire, up to about seventy years ago, whose policy was not to consolidate, or to obliterate differences produced by race and religion but to maintain them in order to rule more securely. Odysseus, in his "Turkey in Europe" explains that the Turks, who have always been inferior in number to the aggregate of their Christian subjects, could hardly have kept their dominion if at any time the Christians had united against them. As the Christians were not converted, religious unification, which in Asia was the basis of Mahomedan Power, was here impossible; so the Turks also put into practice the lesson of *divide et impera*. The result has been that the confusion born of a rivalry of race and religion is far more intricate than even in the Austro-Hungarian empire. And the very existence of this peninsula, whose independence is a mere gift of the Congress of Berlin, is always on the verge of being eclipsed either by Austro-Hungary because of her hankering after Salonika, or by Russia because of her hankering, like her usual long-dreamed of ice-free port of Port-Arthur, after Constantinople. But alas! it has become a battle-field of two great militant creeds, Christianity and Islam, collecting the population into religious camps; while inside these two main religious divisions there are manifold subdivisions of race. Men of the same race are in different groups of religion; nor are the race-groups always of the same creed, for one section may have become fanatical Mahomedans, while the rest have adhered to Christianity. The worst thing is that whatever be a man's race or language, if he professes Islam, he is called a Mahomedan; if he is of the orthodox Greek Church at Constantinople, he is Greek; or else he is Catholic, Armenian, or Jew, according to his creed, not according to his

birth-place or his blood. So the ideas of common fellow-feeling, of rallying under the same symbol, have been foreign to them. But how and why has the recent bloodless Turkish Revolution been successful? A natural question indeed. This is not the place to answer it. Even the rejuvenated state system of Turkey is still on its trial, and no politicians of weight would yet venture to foretell the outcome. Besides the staying powers of the new community and the nature of the outside influences, it must be recalled that the so-called Ottoman Empire is not a homogeneous unit, but a conglomeration of units, such as the Greeks, the Bulgars of Macedonia and others, gravitating towards different bodies. And that is why the patriotic Turks have been striving hard for the blending of Hellene and Turk to make a *tertium quid*, called an "Ottoman."

When a separate State has been organised, as in Bulgaria, or when a league for shaking off the Turkish Yoke is being organised, as in Macedonia, the plan of the leaders is to induce the people to drop minor distinctions of origin and to unite for the purposes of political combination, under some larger national name, to call themselves Hellenes in Greece, Bulgarians in Bulgaria, and Macedonians in the Turkish Province of Macedonia. Moreover, when a new State has been thus formed, like Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, on the principle of race, the patriotic party begins to discover that many Greeks or Bulgarians are outside the territory, and they set up a claim to enlarge their boundaries in order to bring these peoples inside. So that the questions of Races and Churches are used to keep up continual intrigues, dissensions, and a lively agitation throughout the centuries.

We have thus seen that in South-Eastern Europe there is an intricate intermixture of the distinctions of race and religion, with a tendency of race to win the mastery. This is because the people of these countries were conquered by Islam, but only partially converted, and the discord among the Christian subjects have always (though not lately) been encouraged. But in Western Asia the faith of Islam not only conquered but converted much more completely; so here, therefore, Religion has generally mastered Race, for the laws that regulate the whole

personal condition and property of the people are determined by their religion, with a certain variety of local customs.

We are pushing our survey eastward. The kingdom known to us by the name of Persia, is styled by its inhabitants Iran, though I doubt whether a Persian subject belonging to a particular tribe or sect would call himself Irani. The next independent kingdom, beyond Persia, is Afghanistan; and here we have an example of a designation originally implying race, gradually merging into one that is territorial and political. Afghanistan originally meant, I believe, the great central mass of mountains occupied by a tribe called Afghans; it is now becoming a name that includes the whole territory ruled by the Afghan Amir at Kabul. The causes that are producing this change in the signification of the word are, first, that the Amir of Kabul has subdued, more or less, all the tribes inhabiting the country, and secondly, that the presence of the Lion and the Bear on the two sides has necessitated an accurate demarcation. The kingdom is thus acquiring a territorial designation, though composed of a number of chiefships and provinces and though the population is all parcelled out into various races and tribes. It is, therefore, the distinction of race or tribe, not of religion, that governs the whole interior population.

Eastward again beyond Afghanistan we enter a vast country, *i.e.*, our own dear home! Out of the four great faiths of the world, three are there—Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism: also there is a multiplicity of races and tribes: our peculiar institution of caste. And there is nothing exactly like the word "Hindu" in the world: not exclusively a religious denomination, and it denotes a country and a race, too. But in a country where there is another race with a different faith, that kind of denomination can not be welcome to us under any circumstances. Next in importance to us as a religious community, come the Mahomedans, who number over 60 millions. The two faiths, Hinduism and Islam—polytheism and monotheism—are in strong opposition to each other. Yet they are (happily) not quite clean cut apart, for some Hindu tribes that have been converted to Islam retain in part their primitive customs.

of worship and caste. And in Burmah, as in Ceylon, the population is almost wholly Buddhist.

Let us see whether there are any general, though not exact resemblances between the great religions of India and the great divisions of Western Christianity. The Hindu system being, more or less, in similarity with Roman Catholicism, is not so very unlike that Italian Christianity upon which Conyers Middleton fastened; there is the same inordinate ceremonialism, and the same unquestioning acceptance of the principle of vicarious mediation; and so on. Nor can it be denied that Mahomedanism has an air of puritan Christianity: the almost entire absence of a priesthood; the simple forms of worship; the deference to the letter of the sacred volume; and so on. Moreover, Mahomedanism shares with the more popularly governed protestant sects a liability to periodical revivals of religion. And before we draw the inference, let us pause a while and find out the clue to the cessation of sectarian intolerance, jealousies and feuds among the different branches of Christianity in the United States, with their as wide dissimilarity as there is supposed to be between Hinduism and Mahomedanism. The first Christian publication society was undenominational and it still exists, but it is weakened by the fact that now every denomination has its own publication society. This is a tendency toward sectarian organisation in Christian work. But, with this tendency, there has been another to make the work itself more Christian and less sectarian. Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, do their work by denominational agencies; but the work is undenominational. No longer do Arminians and Calvinists bombard each other from their respective pulpits. A sectarian sermon is rare, even in a Roman Catholic or a High Church Episcopal pulpit, and a sermon levelled against another sect is still more rare.

Nor is it because either school has converted the other. The Episcopalian is still a Churchman, the Congregationalist an Independent; the Arminian still believes in free-will, and the Calvinist in Divine sovereignty. But the interest in these questions has come to occupy a subor-

dinate place. How? When the Civil War broke out the one question, how to preserve the nation, took precedence of all other questions; it was impossible to interest fathers and mothers in curious philosophical hypotheses concerning the adjustment of Divine decrees to human freedom. What has consequently taken place is an increase of the spirit of toleration, i.e., the realization of some truth in living which the good of all pre-eminently consists and without which that common welfare cannot be secured. Before the majesty of this truth all narrow individual or sectarian interests shrank into insignificance. Here then in the history of the United States there came a crisis jeopardising the very existence of the nation as a collective and organic whole. The people were sufficiently educated and intelligent to recognise it as a crisis. But this mere intellectual recognition would have been of little avail if the education, direct and indirect, received by the people in and outside their schools and colleges, had not so trained their hearts and consciences and so elevated their souls as to enable them to stake their all for the good of the nation.

Whether a crisis in the national life of India has come or is likely soon to come, or whether we have a national life at all or are likely to have it within a measurable distance of time, are questions which we need not discuss here. What we are concerned with is to see that our direct education at school and college, and our indirect life's education outside school and college, have directly and indirectly a nationalising and nation-making tendency. Much more must we see that they do not have an opposite tendency. For this purpose our schools and colleges and universities should be non-sectarian and inclusive, instead of being sectarian and exclusive. For this purpose, too, our congresses and conferences, sabhas, associations and leagues, should be, wherever not quite impossible, inclusive and catholic. For this purpose, again, our village unions, municipalities, district and local boards, and legislative councils, should be free from separatism. But these last are beyond our control. Whatever, however, is within our control, should be of a catholic character.

Therefore, I cannot contemplate without

deep misgivings the formation of separate bodies like the Moslem League and the Hindu Sabha. The establishment of sectarian universities also cannot but impair the efficiency of the nation-making forces.

The establishment of a Mahomedan University*, instead of going far toward lessening antagonism between Hindus and Musalmans will strengthen the intensity of hatred existing towards the Hindus, because the advance of education through sectarianism must necessarily impair the efficiency of educational endeavours in bringing about the desired object of the birth of a nation. Let the Mahomedans, if they need a University, be united with the Hindus, who need the same; and let both sections establish one, as efficient and potent for the national well-being, as the schools of ancient Athens, among whose later disciples we discover Marcus Aurelius, Cicero the Orator, and Gregory of Capadocia. What may be claimed for her may also be claimed, though perhaps in a less degree, for the schools of Alexandria, of Paris, of Padua, of Bologna, of Heidelberg, of Oxford, of Cambridge, of Edinburgh, of Harvard, Yale, and others: the influence of each of these, as they were always liberal and have been the seats of various great movements, has been greatly marked on the making of their respective nations.

One word about the education that ought to be imparted, if intended to promote fellow-feeling and calculated to bridge over the gulf of differences, but that word cannot but be very concise, as the treatment is limited to the ordinary space limit of a magazine article. The writer offers his apology to the readers because of his being unable to give the logical definition of education, which is so exhaustless in the variety and richness of its meaning, that through the centuries and at this hour in a thousand institutions of learning, thoughtful men have been striving to discover the terms of its definition. And this inquiry must continue: and it must continue so long as it will not discover what it is possible to achieve in order to co-ordinate and harmonize the races of mankind. It

will not do to assume that we have sounded its depths and scaled its heights, and that it has no new unsuspected potentialities to be brought up from its deeps, and no fresh vistas and visions to be discovered from its summits.* Not until we know man more completely, man in the mystery of his higher nature, in the capacities of his thought and the resources of his feelings; not until we know him in his variety of race and blood, can we hope to fashion such a conception of education as will be commensurate with its grandeur and with the sublimity of the mission it is destined to accomplish. Education to be effective in compassing the end we have been cherishing, must be intellectual, spiritual (though undenominational), scientific, technical, practical, liberal and tolerant. It must train the man out of his localisms and provincialisms, out of his race and creed prejudices.

Let us now look at this problem from another view-point. In human races, as in animals some offer many varieties, others but few. The fewer varieties, a race presents—or the less they diverge from a mean type—the more homogenous it is. Such, for example, is the modern English race, in which the ancient Briton, the Saxon, and the Norman have been blended to form a wholly new and quite distinct type. If on the contrary, the groups have been juxtaposed without having been sufficiently mixed, the nation continues heterogenous. It is easy to comprehend that the more homogenous a race is, the stronger will it be, and the more able to march rapidly in the path of progress. When, on the contrary, the thoughts, traditions, creeds, and interests of the component parts of a people remain separated, dissension will be frequent, and progress always slow and greatly hindered.

If the peoples of India cannot form such a wholly new type of race as the English and cannot thus become homogenous, they can undoubtedly become one people, if they want that the country should be national, that the nation be one and that all individuals should speak the national language whatever it may be and thus reduce the heterogeneous elements. A people or a state is a more or less considerable number of men united by the same

* Evidently at the time of writing this article the writer had not heard of the proposed Hindu University.
—Ed., M. R.

political or geographical necessities, and subjected to the same institutions and laws. These men may belong to the same race, but they may equally belong to different races. The Roumanians, the Slavs and the Servians certainly do not form a race, and yet they are united in a struggle against the Magyars (in Austro-Hungary). The Poles in Prussia and the Danes of Schleswig, however Teutotic the latter may be by race, are engaged in a struggle against the Germans. The principle of nationality has urged them on, and this principle has often little to do with race. Yet our Mahomedan countrymen are the victims of illusion about the efficacy of such a theory.

It is said that if the races inhabiting a country are too dissimilar, no fusion is possible. They may, under necessity, live side by side. All great empires uniting dissimilar peoples are created by force and are condemned to perish by violence. Those only can endure which are formed slowly by the gradual mixture of races differing but little, continually crossing with one another, living on the same soil, subject to the action of the same climate, and having the same institutions and creeds. These different races may thus, after a few decades or centuries, form a new homogeneous race. * Besides the one given in the foot-note, another instance of such fusion is found in the little republic known as Andorra situated in the Pyrenees. So the fusion of Mahomedans with Hindus—those Mahomedans who are converts, being not too dissimilar—though difficult, is not an impossibility.

While the mixture of races which have reached very unequal stages of evolution is always very disastrous, the result is otherwise when these races, although still possessing different qualities, have arrived already at the same stage of development. Their qualities can then very usefully complement one another. The republic of the U. S. A. has been formed by precisely such a mixture of races, already elevated in civilisation and having qualities complementary to one another. Who can assert that the

Mahomedans have no civilisation at all? Who can venture to say that their civilisation is not as developed as ours?

Thus I see that the Hindu-Mahomedan problem is soluble by either Amalgamation or Assimilation. The term amalgamation may be used for that mixture of blood which unites races in a common stock: while assimilation is that union of their minds and wills which enables them to think and act together. Amalgamation is a process of centuries but assimilation is a comparatively briefer process of individual training. Amalgamation is a blending of races but assimilation is a blending of civilisations. Amalgamation seems to be beyond the organised efforts of any government whatsoever (and especially under the present circumstances), but assimilation can be promoted by social institutions and laws. Amalgamation cannot therefore (under the present circumstances) attract our practical interest (except as its presence or absence sets limits to our efforts toward assimilation). The only exception to either of these processes is that little bundle of republics known as Switzerland, which is a federation of the French, Germans, and Italians, who retain their languages and have developed what, out of such a conflict of races, has elsewhere never developed, a high grade of democratic government.

The foregoing solutions, viz., (1) Use of a national designation instead of a racial, tribal or sectarian, (2) Religious and social tolerance, (3) Education, (4) Amalgamation and (5) Assimilation, may not appeal to the fanatical minds which are imbued with ideas of (1) The extermination of the weaker elements, (2) The absorption of the weaker by the stronger, (3) The conquest of the conquerors by the conquered, (4) A continuance of separate and independent racial types, and (5) Expulsion, sometimes of the backward, sometimes of the advanced race, as not unusual means of solution.

The great questions which confront Young India are essentially religious questions, and this was equally true of the United States, which has hence been the freest and most liberty-loving country; and it would be easy to show that this is also true of the problems of Spain, and in a certain degree, of France,

* Though the mechanism of this fusion of the different elements of a race is rarely observed, still it is witnessed among a mountaineer population, of diverse race and creed, in the interior of Galicia—*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, 1888.

Germany, and even in a less degree, of England's national life. England and Spain were in the 16th century rivals and peers. They have since, by successful acts of national decision, moved along two divergent paths of national development. One has unconsciously been working out in its character the principle, "One is your master which is in heaven and all ye are brethren": it has moved along the pathway of a democratic development. The other has, perhaps, equally unconsciously, developed in its people only one virtue, that of obedience, and in its ruler only one obligation, that of maintaining his authority; it has moved along the pathway of an aristocratic development, in Church and State, between which the conflict is constant.

Thus we see in brief, that our country, when dealing with the problems of a heterogeneous population, made up of many a race, color, tribe, tongue, and religious belief; of our caste-system more rigid than religious differences, nowhere greater than with the possible exception of the great social differences of the United States; and various others,—all these elements entering into and constituting one great problem of the formation of a United Nation—must feel together, act together and march together and must maintain itself as a nation, against every claim of severance and secession, as made either by individuals or by sects. The nation is not a mere aggregate of individuals, as a mere aggregate of parts can dissolve or fall to pieces at the pleasure of the parts, without hurting anything, but an organic whole, an organic life, such as it is intended to be made by God himself, because a hurt in one part is a hurt all over. It was the Greeks who constituted Greece; it is the Americans who constitute America. So many people thrown together on one side of a country no more make a nation than so many blocks of stone thrown together in a pile make a temple, so many threads in a tangle a fabric. It is necessary that it should be something more than a mere aggregate of individuals engaged in promoting their own self-interest, and combined in a kind of insurance society to protect one another from the aggression of criminals; so that it may fulfill its national destiny. If so, while it need not and ought

not to give support to particular religious institutions, it ought to recognise the necessity of institutional religion. If our people undertake to teach the children of our country, at all, they ought to teach them with special care those religious principles and imbue them with that religious spirit which are essential to national life. And if the nation is ever to count for anything among the nations, it must be moved by the passion of patriotism, by reverence, by fidelity, by honor, by the sense of duty towards God and posterity in case of its call to meet the emergency. In short, if the nation intends to be healthy, it must deepen and invigorate all phases of its life. And a people, without churches, temples, mosques, monuments and museums, and national songs, would be a people without power to meet any great crisis or achieve any great deed. Fletcher of Saltoun's saying, "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation," expresses a profound truth, because a nation's songs create as well as express the emotions which impel to high thinking and noble doing, while the laws are for the most part simply restraints upon acts done by it. Only a people who might sing "India" would fight to a successful issue the future Indian problem.

That motto, "*pluribus unum*" (one out of many) which in the past has guided those who worked out the previous formations of nationalities, must now again be the motto of those who would work out our problem. And shall I call the solution of the Hindu-Mahomedan problem a vision, in a country of which Max Muller has said, that if he were asked, "under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India"? Or

Is it a dream?

Nay, but the lack of it the dream,

And failing it, life's love and wealth a dream,

And all the world a dream.

March, 25th, 1911.

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U. S. A.

PROBLEMS OF THE DAY IN THE PERIODICALS OF THE MONTH

(*English and American Magazines, April
and May.*)

THE PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE FEDERAL IDEA.

THE problem of Irish Home Rule added to the requirements of Britain's Colonial policy, both political and fiscal or economic, have evoked considerable discussion recently of the old question of Imperial Federation. That some sort of a federation will have to be worked out for the preservation and consolidation of the existing British Empire seems absolutely certain. The work may start in the home-land with a remodelling of the constitution of the United Kingdom to make room for the Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive responsible to that Parliament, which Mr. Asquith has definitely promised to secure for Ireland as soon as the Veto Bill is passed, and the present Liberal Government, freed from the control of a Conservative House of Lords, are in a position to attend to the enactment of Liberal measures. Irish Home Rule will be found to lead to similar local Parliaments and local executives subject to their control, in Scotland and Wales, and finally even in England itself. This break-up of the political unity of the United Kingdom will be necessary for working out any kind of true federal idea in the constitution and government of the British Isles. The trend of public events here is definitely pointing to this re-construction. But there are other forces also at work, outside the United Kingdom, in the self-governing Dominions of the Empire, which are calling loudly for a similar reconstruction. The existing relations between Great Britain and her Colonies are in a most confused state, based upon exceedingly slender foundations. The real basis of these relations is sentiment. England's hold

on her Colonies is, as Burke pointed out long, long ago,—“in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection.” This was true at the time of Burke; it is partly true even today. But many things have happened since to vitally alter the old basis. The sentiment is, no doubt, there. But this sentiment is not sufficiently strong to exclude competition and rivalry between the Mother Country and her distant but growing Colonies. These Colonies have grown to their full stature. They are, to all intents and purposes, independent states. The only sign and symbol of their allegiance and subordination, if subordination it can at all be truly called, is the right of the British Sovereign, on the advice of his ministers, to appoint the nominal head of the the different Colonial Administrations. This slender bond that binds the Colonies to the Mother Country might snap at any moment. And it is, therefore, necessary to strengthen the bonds of racial affinities and natural affections by forging others of a more practical and substantial character. All discussions regarding the question of Imperial Federation are moved by this motive.

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THE CONCEPTION ESSENTIALLY EMPIRICAL AND INORGANIC.

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that almost all current conceptions of Imperial Federation are essentially inorganic and empirical. We desire to bind the Colonies closer to the Mother Country simply because it would be a source of strength to her and to the empire of which she is the mistress. No one can say that a separate and independent political existence would, in any way, hinder the growth and development of any of the self-governing colonies. Already they enjoy absolute fiscal freedom. Their

legislatures and executives are in no way subject to the control of the British Parliament or the British Cabinet. The only thing that they cannot do now is the declaration of war with any foreign power. The Colonies so long had not the power even to claim this right, for they had no army and absolutely no navy. But since the last Boer war they are trying to have both, and when they have these, there will really be nothing to prevent them from claiming absolute sovereignty over their own territories and entering into treaties with other sovereign states, independently of, and even without any regard for, British susceptibilities or British interests. The Colonies have not yet completed their own schemes of self-defence, they have just started along this new line of evolution. Now, therefore, is the time to work up some more substantial basis of union between them and the Mother Country. The problem of Imperial Federation has, thus, come quite within the range of practical politics. But in all the schemes and discussions so far propounded, of this problem, there is no sign of proof of their authors having any but the vaguest and crudest conception of the federal idea. Indeed, so far, the federal idea has been essentially a mere political idea, the object being mutual help and protection. This is what lay at the back of the American union when it was first worked out. Since then other countries including the British Colonies, have adopted it, in their political constitution. The general conception of it being, freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole. As in the American union, so also in the Dominions of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia, the different states forming these political units, are practically autonomous and independent, their absolute independence being curbed just to the extent that was necessary for the common life and purposes of the whole which they combined to form themselves into. This combination was prompted by purely selfish considerations. It was an absolutely voluntary combination; having some political or economic need behind it, but without any organic necessity whatever. Consequently the whole federal idea as grasped by European politics is, as I have said, essentially inorganic and empirical.

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THE TRUE BASIS OF FEDERATION.

The true basis of federation is very different. The true imperial idea is also very different from what passes for imperialism in this country. The value of the empire-idea consists in the fact that it offers a much wider formula of human association than the kingdom-idea or the nation-idea. The federal idea gives, really, the right scheme of working out this larger formula of human associations. And the fundamental basis of both is organic and not mechanical. The unity of national or racial life is an organic unity. The relations here are organic,—they are relations of interdependence between parts and parts, and parts to the whole of which they are parts, without which neither the whole nor the parts can attain their end and perfection. The relations between different parts of an Empire or an Imperial Federation must be of this character, if they are truly organic relations. But are they so, in the British Empire? Are they really so even in the American Federation,—consciously so, in any case? It cannot, of course, be denied that through the growth of a common culture and civilisation, which is peculiarly American,—an organic relationship is slowly building up between the different states of the American Union. A common geographical habitat, common historic traditions, common economic and political life, these are all the factors of this growing organic unity. Of these, however, the common geographical habitat, giving birth to a common patriotism and pride of nationality, is the essential factor. Without it, the organic character of the American union would be utterly destroyed. The same essential conditions of organic life and relations exist in the Dominions of Canada, and the Commonwealth of Australia. They are gradually and rapidly forming in South Africa. But they are absent as between Canada and Australia, or South Africa, and the United Kingdom. There is no territorial unity here,—the fundamental basis, really, of all organic political or politico-economic relations. There is, no doubt, to some extent, a common race-stock, a common language, and a common historic past. But these are common as well to Great Britain and the United States. The bases of an organic

unity, therefore, exist in no larger measure between Great Britain and her Colonies and Dominions, than they exist as between the former and the American States.

But there is a higher, basis of organic union than geographical unity or even unity of racial characteristics or national history and culture. That is the basis of Humanity:—the universal and collective Being, as Mazzini called it, of which all the races and nations are mere parts and limbs. A true and noble federation may well be wrought out upon this basis, between distant peoples, owning even divergent cultures and civilisations, and representing different types of this Humanity. Humanity here is the whole, the races and nations are the parts. It is an organic whole. The relations between this whole and its numerous parts as well as those between these different parts, one with the others,—are all organic relations. Cut off from these relations, both the whole and the parts equally suffer. If the Imperial Federationists in England could seize this ideal, they could easily work out a scheme of federation that would open a new era of human progress and solidarity. But the idea is very feeble so far, if it exists at all. Consequently all discussions of the problem of so-called Imperial Federation are shallow and mean, absolutely unethical and empirical.

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THE TORY IDEAL OF FEDERATION.

We have an example of this in the May number of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, where the question of Imperial Federation is discussed by Mr. Marriat, whose article headed—"Why Halt Ye?" occupies the place of honour in the magazine. Mr. Marriat has absolutely no idea that the federal ideal is essentially an organic conception. He sees that the situation demands some sort of a closer union between the Mother country and the colonies. He does not care to consider why an absolute separation from Great Britain should hinder the normal growth of the British colonies. He gives no answer to this question: he has no appreciation of it either. The relation between the colonies and the Mother country is not as yet an organic relation. The colonies form no organic part of the Mother country, nor are both the Mother country and the

colonies parts of some greater whole, of which they are equally parts and limbs and in and through the larger life of which both must realise their own smaller life and subordinate organic end and destiny. From Mr. Marriat's view-point this can hardly be denied.

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THE GROWTH OF THE COLONIES.

And this is seen from the history of the growth of these colonies, or more correctly speaking, they have, to quote Mr. Marriat, "individually attained the term of their constitutional evolution from *regne militaire* to Crown Colony administration; from the latter to representative institutions without a responsible executive; from this again to full 'responsibility'; from 'responsibility' to Federation." And in the whole course of this evolution there is the marked absence of that closer and complicated unity to the whole,—in this case, the Empire,—which is of the very soul and essence of the concept organism. The evolution of the Colonies has followed so far almost entirely what may well be called the line of wider and wider differentiation, without, as happens in all organic evolution, a correspondingly increased and more close and complex integration also. And, thus, as Mr. Marriat points out without realising the full meaning and significance of his admission, these Colonies have "all alike now reached the final goal."

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WANTED A NEW ADVANCE.

But is this to be the goal of Colonial evolution? The Federal idea has reached its full development,—at least so far as such development can be conceived by the ordinary European political thinker,—in the union of the different States originally isolated and autonomous of the Dominions of Canada, or the Commonwealth of Australia or of the South African Union. And the question is, Is it to stop there, leaving the relations with the Mother Country in the somewhat loose and chaotic state in which they stand today? At one time, as Mr. Marriat points out, there were "two opposite currents of opinion prevailing on this subject." One believed that an ultimate solution would be found

in "the consolidation of the Queen's Dominions under a single supreme Government, possessing authority and ability to govern and to direct the whole or a single nation;" while the other believed that the destiny of Great Britain was to be the "mother of free nations;" and having given them birth and protected and reared them up properly in their infancy and childhood, to leave them absolute masters of their own lives and affairs when they reached the full stature of adulthood.—*The Edinburgh Review* (1891).

Imperial Federation was the ideal of the former school, while "friendly alliance between Great Britain and those great English communities beyond the seas now (1891) called dependencies, but soon to be independent states" was the ideal of the latter. Since the last twenty years these two views, slightly modified through progress of events, have been alternately pushed forward in the shaping of Great Britain's Colonial Policy. And now, it seems, that the Federal ideal is on the ascendancy, and it is the advocates of this ideal who are clamouring for a new advance in this line.

THE WHOLE CONCEPTION INORGANIC AND EMPIRICAL.

But while apparently pleading for a closer unity between the Mother Country and her overseas dominions, this new federal idea is all the same absolutely inorganic and empirical. The basis of this closer union is nothing higher than self-defence, both in a military and economic sense. At the back of it there is also another idea, which is even more mean and unethical, and that is the idea of common share and participation in the exploitation of those parts of the Empire which are not self-governing, and which do not belong racially to the Anglo-Saxon or the common European stock. This idea was very openly discussed sometime ago in the columns of the *Times*, and the writer advanced the theory that the British Empire did not only at present consist of two different parts, one the self-governing dominions and the other the dependencies, but it must always be so composed, for the self-governing partners are as essential for the life of the Empire as the dependencies,

the Empire needs both equally, to fill and fulfil itself. The logic of it is clear. In this view, the dependencies form the real bond of union between the Mother and her children. It is here, in the political, economic, no less than in the moral and spiritual life and conditions of the dependencies, that the real work of the sons of the Empire lies. This is their common work—to develop the economic resources of these dependencies, to bring their teeming populations abreast of modern civilisation, to uplift their humanity,—this is the glorious work for which the Empire exists. And in this work of civilisation, and humanisation, the sons of the Empire must seek for the true ethical basis of their union and brotherhood and in it they must find ample field for mutual help and co-operation. This is the real ideal that lies at the back of most, if not all these pleas for working out a federation of the empire.

But while the same idea lies at the back of the mind of the present writer also, he pays practically no heed to it. He approaches the problem even from a much lower standpoint: it is the stand-point of open and admitted national selfishness. He puts the case for federation upon the actual exigencies of the situation. Some of the Colonies are already crying out for a share in the actual work of direction and initiation of imperial policy. New Zealand has already put down on the agenda of the coming Imperial Conference, a proposal for the institution of a Council of the Empire. Sir James Ward, Premier of New Zealand, speaking at Sydney on 11th March last suggested, "without committing himself, 'the creation of an Imperial House of Representatives returned upon a basis of population, and an Imperial Senate, to which each portion of the Empire would elect equal number of members,'—and the duty of such a Federal Legislature or Parliament would be strictly confined to the discussion and determination of such matters as affect the different parts of the Empire in common, and to the adjustment and determination of the contributions that each dominion shall make for purposes of Imperial defence." Mr. Marriat goes into details, and presents a scheme for the realisation of this idea. But that is not

very important. The question is still very far from nearing the position when such discussions would have any practical value. It is significant, however, that in all this somewhat lengthy paper, the writer, though discussing a great Imperial policy and programme, has not a word really to say of India. Yet the article is worth reading, and especially by those of our countrymen who may not have as yet a clear notion of what the psychology and ethics of the relations, between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, actually are.

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INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The monthly contribution in the *National Review* for May, on the affair's of "Greater Britain and India" contains, however, a somewhat forceful protest against the way in which India is treated by the authorities here, while considering large Imperial problems. *The National* is, essentially, a jingo paper, but there is an element of sanity even in its wild jingoism; at least some of its remarks on this subject are well worth reading. I quote it here at some length. The writer justly complains that "in a conference which is designed to deal with Imperial issues, the greatest unit in the Empire has at present no recognised place." After briefly stating how India was treated at previous conferences, he says:—

The difficulties likely to beset any attempt to give India equal status at a conference solely intended for Self-governing Dominions are great and obvious. Nevertheless the time must come when they will have to be faced and solved. It may not have arrived yet, but assuredly it is not very far off; and meanwhile it is desirable that the present position should at least be examined and discussed. Even to-day, the Imperial Conferences should not and cannot afford to debate great Imperial issues, in which India is vitally concerned, while cherishing the fiction that India does not exist. The existence of India is a great manifest fact which has to be reckoned with. India is the key-stone of the fabric of Empire. Any attempt to discuss naval or military questions without regard to India becomes almost ludicrous. Any proposal to settle the question of preferential trade without taking into account Great Britain's best oversea customer is bound to end in difficulty.

In the meantime, even if it does not formally admit India to its debates, the conference would be wise and prudent if it referred in future to Indian questions in a somewhat different spirit and ceased to dismiss Indian affairs with an air of contemptuous indifference. Though India did not figure in the published debates of the Defence Conference (1909), she found a place—the kind of place with which she is unhappily too

familiar—in the proposals which were afterwards formulated as the result of that gathering. Apparently, at some undisclosed date, India will be expected to furnish a naval unit similar in size and strength to those which it is intended to establish in the China and Australian seas. The East India squadron, towards the maintenance of which she pays about £100,000 annually, is to be enlarged. India is not consulted in the matter. She is simply to be told, so far as one can gather, that in due course she will have to pay.

After quoting from the *Times of India* an extract, protesting against this proposed addition to India's naval and military burdens, the writer goes on to say:—

When responsible and moderate Anglo-Indian newspapers write in this strain, a slight glimpse is afforded of the deep feeling aroused in India by the constant attempts to settle Indian affairs and Indian expenditure without reference to the Government of India or to such Indian public opinion as exists. To the creation of that feeling, the holding of frequent "Imperial" gatherings which completely disregard the position and wishes of India has contributed in no small measure. It is exacerbated by the growing practice of framing Indian Budgets in Whitehall rather than in Simla. It is intensified by such disclosures as that made the other day, when the India Office, at the bidding of the English tobacco magnates, peremptorily lowered the new tobacco duties in order to promote the sale of British products at the expense of the Indian revenue. It is deepened by such incidents as the prospective partial ruin of several of the smaller Native States, as the result of the compulsory stoppage of the opium trade with China, dictated from London without any heed to the welfare of the unfortunate cultivators of poppies. The time is at hand when India will assuredly demand to be treated with more consideration, and to be granted a more effective voice in her own business. If the present methods of handling Indian affairs are continued, if the placid assumption that India can be ignored endures, the Empire is unquestionably destined to receive a rude awakening.

Rather strong language this: but the writer's good intentions are beyond doubt. And the "India" for which he wants this recognition and this voice, is after all, the Bureaucratic India,—those who like Sir John Rees, know and can speak with authority about the "Real India". But still there is force and cogency in his plea. Will it find heed from those who rule the Empire? Wait and See!

BRITAIN AND HER OFFSPRING.

This is the title of an exceedingly interesting article in the May *Nineteenth Century*, which throws considerable light upon the attitude of the British Colonials, towards the institutions of "the Motherland," and incidentally points to the Federal Ideal as the goal towards which Great Britain

must move, if she is to keep pace with her own offspring across the seas. It is not a political article, nor is its central theme, the problem of the British Empire, as it is discussed, in the same Review by Mr. Marriat, noticed above. But the writer is Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the multimillionaire; and though this article has for obvious reasons been relegated by the editor to the less important back-pages of his magazine, the author's personality will secure for it more readers on both sides of the Atlantic, than Mr. Marriat's plea for a federal constitution for the British Empire. Mr. Carnegie takes as his text a recent statement of the *Times* which "appropriately typifying the dear old lady—the Motherland, God bless her!"—endeavouring to prove that "the Republican idea was in our day giving place to the monarchical," instanced Canada "as seeing no reason why she should change her institutions for those of her southern neighbour, the Republic". Quite true, says Mr. Carnegie, and "for the irresistible reason that Canada has already her neighbour's institutions and rejoices in them; no change is required." And the writer proves his statement by comparing Canadian with British institutions. Take first the institution of Monarchy. Canada owns a king no doubt, but the real power in the State is centred in the Prime Minister, who enjoys all the rights of the American President. Canada's Prime Minister is appointed both formally and really by the chosen representatives of her own citizens, and is responsible to them alone. "She makes treaties with other nations direct. Hereditary legislators are unknown, no peers reside in British Colonies as citizens. All British Colonies pay Members of Parliament, and require them to sit during the day and transact the business of State as their occupation while fresh and sober-minded, not as a social entertainment after dining. They pay no official election expenses. In all these matters they have American and not British institutions. None of the Colonies know anything of that gross injustice, plural voting, which denies the equality of the citizen; neither of its fellow iniquity, unequal electoral districts. All Britain's children shun the example of the Motherland and adopt the Republic's electoral laws, one man's vote

the equal of any other, the districts being equalised after each census".

The next matter in regard to which the Colonies are more akin to the Republic than to the Mother country, is in the domain of religion, and "here again", Mr. Carnegie points out, "we find prevailing everywhere the precious element of religious equality; all religious sects fostered, none unduly favoured by the nation," while "we find the old mother stolidly adhering to unfair discrimination in this, the most sensitive of all departments;" and he adds—

That no other English-speaking nation retains the odious system of preference of one sect by the State, marks another wide divergence between the Mother and her more progressive children in other lands, and one in which the American example stands pre-eminent.

There are other matters also where this example has been followed by the British Colonies. The public schools in all British Colonies are upon the American and not upon the British model. Then in civil law also they have not followed the British example of primogeniture and entail, but the American idea of equal rights to parental property of all the children. As regards the uplifting of the masses the Colonies are not following the lead of the Motherland, but rather giving lead to her. As Mr. Carnegie says:—

It is obvious that just as the masses grow in intelligence (and the school system ensures this) they will demand in all lands and obtain a fairer distribution of the comforts, rights, and privileges of their day; especially is this true of men of our own race in the old home, who have before them the rights already enjoyed by their fellows in the other lands of their race. What the people of Canada, Australia, and America have today, the Britons will soon demand and obtain. . . . We in the new lands labour under no delusion in this matter; while the condition of the masses is infinitely better under the Colonial system than under the British, there is to be no rest in the march of progress with us towards greater uniformity of material conditions. Political rights in the Republic and the Colonies all already enjoy; one man's privilege every man's right. This is perfect and cannot be improved upon; it is final, because any change would produce inequality, the foe of democracy. No citizen of the Republic, Dominion, or Commonwealth is denied equality under the law, his vote weighs as much as the millionaire's. His religion enjoys equality with all others. As child of his parents he shares equally under the law with his brothers and sisters. His rank is equal with others. Equality of citizenship is the foundation of a demo-

cratic State, and until that is reached in the old home rest is impossible.

And if this lamentable state of affairs "is permitted to continue in the home land, differentiating the Colonies more and more from the old Motherland,"--then what chance is there of a real, living, intimate, ethical and spiritual relation growing be-

tween her and them, a relation that alone could lead a federal union between these, to any solid moral and spiritual fruition? But the mere politician a-constitution-making has no consciousness of either the actualities of the present condition, or of the true ideal of federation.

N. H. D.

PLAGUE IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

THE measure of official sympathy which translated itself into providing various ways and means for the alleviation of the sufferings of the poor and which had in years past been the outstanding feature of the measures adopted by the Government for the prevention of plague in these Provinces, seems now to be on the decline. A careful study of the Government resolutions on the subject since the year 1907 onwards irresistibly leads one to this unhappy conclusion. Of the four chief measures adopted by the Government for the prevention of plague, namely, (1) disinfection of dwelling houses, (2) rat destruction, (3) evacuation of dwelling houses in an infected inhabited area and (4) inoculation, numbers one and two may be left out of question here as,

"It had been demonstrated that the rat flea was unquestionably the chief, if not the only carrier of the disease and that the disinfection of houses would only operate to check the disease if the disinfectant used was an insecticide. Disinfection is not now systematically enforced as it is found that no disinfectant will operate as an insecticide and the killing of rats being of any avail only if a larger number of rats must be destroyed in a year than the human population of the area in which rat killing is carried on."

Which standard is perhaps difficult to reach. Therefore,

"The Lieutenant Governor has been obliged to order that the carrying out of this measure is only a justifiable charge on provincial funds when there is a reason to believe that the standard indicated by the Plague Commission as a minimum will be reached."

It is abundantly clear from the above that the Government is no longer keen about these two measures, nor are they carried on any longer with that vigour and thoroughness which marked their beginning. Of the remaining two, evacuation has

unquestionably proved itself to be a more welcome measure and has indeed been instrumental in arresting the spread of the disease. The admission by the Government of the United Provinces of the efficacy of this measure is noteworthy and we take the liberty of quoting it here in extenso.

"It is of some consolation to be able to record that there has been a decided improvement in recent years in the feeling shown by the people in plague-infected areas as regards the utility of the evacuation of dwelling houses in an infected inhabited area. In many districts, especially in those in which plague has for some years been an annual visitor, it is reported that the people readily and of their own accord resort to evacuation on the first appearance of plague in their villages. There can be no doubt that the mortality of the year, distressingly heavy though it has been, would have been considerably greater but for the adoption of this precaution."

Having taken upon itself the responsibility of showing the people the least objectionable but at the same time the most efficacious way of arresting the spread of and enjoying immunity from this fearful disease, it was expected of Government that it would continue to give ungrudgingly that help to the giving of which, because of the initiative taken in the matter by Government, it had pledged itself in the following words of advice:

"Evacuation of inhabited sites is a process the advantage of which is well understood by the people and they are in most cases quite ready to adopt it, but it is important to impress upon them in the clearest manner that the advantage of the measure may be lost if they return to their houses at all even for a few minutes as long as infection lasts."

"The principal requirements for assisting in the matter of evacuation are temporary shelter for the people to resort to with separate accommodation (as far as possible) for those who are suffering from plague and adequate arrangement to guard against the theft

and damage to such property as may be left behind. The arrangement will be different in large towns from those in smaller towns and rural areas. In case of the larger towns arrangement should be made at once to set apart open spaces within the boundaries of the towns and also sites in the outskirts, on which to erect huts or to collect materials for issue on sale or gratis according to the necessities of the applicant."

It is painful to try to reconcile the undoubted sincerity of the above announcement with the transparent lukewarmness of a recent pronouncement of the Government of the United Provinces made by the Hon'ble Mr. Wright in answer to a question asked by the Hon'ble Sayid Ali-Nabi on the 13th March, 1911, as to the steps Government took or contemplated to take for the prevention of plague. Said Mr. Wright:

"The utility of this (evacuation) as a protection against plague has been demonstrated by experience and in most places the people are well acquainted with its advantages."

* * * In the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor the state would not be justified in accepting the responsibility for the erection of temporary dwellings, save under *exceptional circumstances*. The cost of erecting temporary dwellings for the inhabitants of every infected village would be prohibitive. In special circumstances where materials can not be obtained at a cost within the means of the people, His Honour has sanctioned and is ready to sanction, such grants. In towns and cities Municipal Boards are of course free to make any grants for the people that they may deem necessary." (The italics are ours).

We confess we are unable to divine the exact significance of the phrase "*Special circumstances*." It is only the middle and the poorer class of people who avail themselves of the help offered by the Government and who would and could not be able to help themselves were the State help to be withheld. The people who can afford to do without government help, and there are many who belong to this class, would not accept it, even if it were offered, for after all life in huts is not without its hardships, danger and trials. But it is otherwise with the helpless. For poverty and for the life which leads a hand to mouth existence, it is always a rainy day. The assumption therefore that people would be able to make and pay for all the arrangements incidental to the erection of a health camp such as used to be opened by the Government, is an erroneous assumption based on an indifferent and incorrect reading of the condition of the people. Moreover, different officers will interpret in

different ways the phrase *special circumstances*. In refusing to accept the responsibility for the arrangements for, evacuation and transferring it to the shoulders of the people themselves, the Government has, though we think quite unwittingly, allowed itself to be encompassed by that darkness of despair and demoralisation which is the companion of all popular afflictions and which has blinded the poor sufferers, to whom, if there was any torch of light for help, consolation and guidance, it was the Government one. And what is the reason for this transference of prohibitive expenditure? May we ask if the expenditure on plague preventive measures has been so heavy in the past as to make the continuance of such of them as have not only been acceptable to the people but have demonstrated their sovereign efficacy by repeated experience, a financial impossibility? To quote Mr. Wright once more:

"The expenditure on measures for the relief of plague since 1907 has amounted to Rs. 9,78,296."

And the mortality from plague from June, 1907 to the 1st of April, 1911 has amounted to the appalling figure of 754824. And if we begin our unhappy death-roll since 1901, since which year plague has been visiting these Provinces in an epidemic form, the figures amount to 15,53,620 deaths. It is impossible to realise from blank figures the extent of this heart-rending mortality. To give one a concrete idea of the terribleness of this disease in the United Provinces we may say by way of illustration, that cities almost twice as large as Bombay or Calcutta or seven times as large as Lucknow or Benares have been swept away by the ravages of plague. The expenditure on and the mortality from plague in these provinces since the year 1907 up to now, as we said above amount respectively to Rs. 978296 and 754824 deaths. Having regard to the fact that such a large number of people fell victims to plague, surely the amount spent on relief measures does not represent any fabulous sum. And when we deduct from this amount a large sum of money which must have been spent on such experimental measures as proved ineffectual by subsequent experience and had consequently to be abandoned, the actual figures on the relief would be considerably less. Had the Government made use of a couple of lakhs in

erecting dwelling houses of corrugated iron as was so generously suggested in the Government of India's Letter No. 1275—1284, dated the 17th August, 1907 and had this provision been further supplemented by an additional grant of a lakh of rupees for some years, the recurring expenditure on the erection of grass huts which can not stand the ravages of time and have to be erected afresh each year, would not have paralysed the government.

In the matter of evacuation much could have been done by private help, but the richer classes of people of the United Provinces have nothing to do with their poorer brethren. If our monied men could have been induced to run health camps even on commercial lines and let accommodation on payment of a reasonable charge or monthly rent, people would have been only too glad to avail themselves of the help so offered. But our richer brethren will, as they always do, respond enthusiastically to an official call, they would carry out the official mandate in spite of themselves, they would go any length to win the good graces of the authorities; At Homes, evening parties, farewell addresses are to them objects as sacred as charitable societies to subscribe to, but they are insensible to their obligations to humanity. And it is no business of government officials to throw out a mild suggestion to monied men as to their duty to the poor and the distressed.

We find that a lot of undeserved reproach is being levelled at the head of the masses for their blind conservatism and their tardiness, indifference and even hostility to adopt enthusiastically such sanitary measures as are from the medical point of view indispensable for removing the causes which help and facilitate the spread of plague. People inveigh against the masses for their scepticism regarding and want of implicit faith in inoculation. We think all this reproach, though it might be just, is not the outcome of mature deliberation. In the indifference of the people to embrace whole-heartedly inoculation, history is simply repeating itself. It took a long time before vaccination came to be recognized and accepted by the ignorant. We do not say that the

attitude of the masses is either reasonable or commendable. But before condemning them wholesale, we might in justice to them have traced the fertile source to which their indifference is due. One must have faith in a certain mode of treatment before one can and should submit oneself cheerfully to it. It is the want of education, the absence of light and the blind ignorance which results therefrom which is responsible for all this mischief. You must strike at the root of the evil. It is no good, it is not statesmanship, to complain that people do not make use of improved machinery in the field of agriculture, that they are inimical to social reform, that they are not amenable to sound advice in matters of health and happiness and that they do not march abreast of the sanitary requirements of the day, so long as education, which is the true eye-opener to all things, is a stranger to the masses.

We have not yet had the last word of the medical world as to the causes and the cure of plague. So long, therefore, as some sure and certain cure is not discovered, so long as the prejudices of the masses against inoculation, which must inevitably give way as the system gathers strength and popularity in the course of time, owing to its preventive effects, continue to exist,—so long the Government help far from being withheld should be multiplied. When the verdict of experience is equally in favour of evacuation and inoculation, why insist prematurely upon the acceptance of the latter and why put spokes into the wheel of the former by stopping special grants for plague preventive measures? In the matter of relief it is of vital importance to secure the confidence of the sufferers, else one's words of counsel find no sympathetic quarter in the hearts of those to whom they are directed. No less important is it that the help, if it is to come at all, must come in good time, the more so in the matter of evacuation which should precede and not follow the outbreak of plague. The Government must remember that in epidemics as well as in all other popular afflictions help delayed is help denied.

"A MIDDLE-CLASS HINDUSTANI."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Universal Worship and Equality, by Srimat Sachchidananda Swami, translated into English. Published at the expense of the Panchkot Raj of Manbhoom by Babu Bolaye Chand Mullick, 60, Bhawani Charan Dutta's Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 40. For Free distribution.

The book is written in a liberal spirit and is edifying. Those who are interested in the matter may apply to the publisher with a half-anna postage stamp for a copy of the book.

The Thesaurus of Knowledge, Divine and Temporal or the Vedas and their Angas and Upangas. Volume I by Babu Behari Lal Shastri, B.A., M.R.A.S., Fubulpore, C. P. Pp. xiv + vii + 507 + iv.

According to the author the Vedas "constitute the storehouse of all knowledge divine and temporal and are the only expositor of the hopes and fears, the desires and wants and the feelings and aspirations which man had in the very beginning of the world in his career through life. They alone fully exhibit and explain all the problems of life . . . The Vaidica-religion is the original religion of the world, the oldest religion, the fountain-head of all religions (the religion from which other religions have sprung)". "They are *Apaurusheya* or not composed by any human author" "The Vedas and the Universe are co-existent."

"All which is inconsistent with the Vedas or at variance with the scripture is to be rejected." The four Samhitas only are to be called Shruti. The Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads should not be called Shruti; "their place among the Aryan sacred scriptures is in Smriti" and so they are less authoritative than the Samhitas. According to the author, the sages of the Upanishads were dualists and they did not teach the unity of Brahma and the individual souls. He says, the sentences—"Aham Brahma Asmi," "Tattvam asi," "Ayam Atma Brahma"—have been "mutilated, misrepresented, and misinterpreted,, by the Vedantists: and have been wrongly explained from the monistic standpoint.

"The Mahabharata took place about 4900 years ago and the great Shankaracharyya preached nearly 2200 years ago; the Darshans existed at least 4900 years ago (?) are all well established facts." "There is no trace of animal sacrifice in the four Vedas," etc.

These are some of the conclusions arrived at by the author.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

"*Buddha-Sakya-Muni. A Historical Personage who lived towards B. C. 390-320. The Divine Socialist. His life and preachings. His salutary influence on the civilization of the whole world.*" by Sophia Egoroff. Pp. 22 + xii + 178 + 56. Price one Rupee. 50 cents. (Ceylon.)

The authoress is a Russian lady who calls herself an 'Artist Historian' and 'Buddhist Missionary'.

According to her "the Code of Manu should be brought up to 400 years B.C.", whereas the epoch of Buddha should be brought down to 390-320 B.C.

She has drawn her materials chiefly from 'Lalita Vistara' and has all but ignored the canonical writings of the early Buddhists. It seems to us to be rather strange that an author should presume to write, in the 20th century, a biography of Buddha without being conversant with the Pali literature.

She has, moreover, projected her own personality to such an extent as to make the book almost repulsive. The book contains not only what Buddha did but also what she has done for Buddhism and for the world. She has not forgot to advertise that she "sent her lectures to the academies of science of various countries and received their thanks"; that she sent them also 'to the various societies and popular Universities of different countries' as well as to the Monarchs of Europe and to the Emperor of Japan; that "her picture of the great renunciation of ~~Sakya~~ *muni* is the result of inspiration and of artistic knowledge"; that she will be glad "if it remains in India, purchased by various subscribers to the Museum of Colombo or Calcutta, by Buddhists, Hindus and generally by admirers of Buddha" and that "if it will be purchased to Calcutta Museum it will take place near the picture of Russian artist Weras Chaguin who devoted the first part of his life to paint on India."

The book, though written in 1910, is antiquated and has been, in anticipation, superseded by works of earlier dates. The book should have been revised and corrected by an educated Englishman before it was sent to the press.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

The Gasetter of the Feudatory States of Orissa.

We felt greatly disappointed when we found that the historical account of the Feudatory States attached to the district of Sambalpur was excluded from the District Gasetteer of Sambalpur; for the history of these states is inseparably connected with the history of the district of Sambalpur. Even though according to the classification of the territories made by the Government of Bengal, a separate Gasetteer for all the Feudatory States of Orissa and Sambalpur was required to be written, it was highly desirable to append a general historical sketch of the Feudatory States of the Sambalpur tract in the District Gasetteer of Sambalpur to make the whole history a connected story.

Volume XXI of the Bengal District Gasetteers relates to all the Feudatory States of Orissa and Mr. Cobden-Ramsay, the Political Agent of those States, is the author of the volume. It is a pity that Mr. Cobden-Ramsay has not executed his work with that thoroughness and accuracy with which Mr. O'Malley has edited the other volumes of the Gaset-

teers. If the historical portion of this Gazetteer of the Feudatory states of Orissa were meagre for want of proper materials, no one could accuse the author. But when we see that the author has neglected to utilise the materials that existed for him, and has not taken the trouble to take the legendary accounts into consideration, we are constrained to remark that the work has been compiled in hot haste when the hands of the author were full with administrative work.

If Mr. Cobden-Ramsay would have cared to refer to the historical sections of the District Gazetteers of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore, he would not have committed such a great blunder regarding the time of the so-called Kesari Rajas of Orissa. We notice that the old and effete authority has been relied upon and the date 474 A. D. has been assigned to Yayati of Orissa. What led the author to ignore the careful research of Dr. Fleet is not easy to understand.

It is curious that the author has referred to some newly discovered inscriptions, but in the statement of facts he has altogether disregarded them. This shows that he heard only of those inscriptions, but could not get time to study them. It is true that all the states the author has dealt with in one volume have no connected history, and it is difficult to establish any interrelation amongst the large number of petty principalities. It is also true as has been remarked by Mr. Cobden-Ramsay that these states were "more or less independent of one another." But if the Epigraphic literature had been looked up, the author could have found that the history he wanted to narrate was not so hopelessly confused as he supposed it to be. By merely studying some accounts of the Gupta Rajas of Trikalanga and Eastern Kosal, he could see how his vision could be enlarged and how some connection amongst the states might be distinctly noticed during the tenth century of the Christian era.

The initial difficulty on the part of the author was that he began to write the historical sketch without previously being acquainted with the literature on the subject. He began at a wrong end and as such was bound to fail. He should have first of all got a clear notion regarding the geographical situation of Utkala, Odra and Trikalanga by referring to the luminous notes of Mr. F. E. Pargiter and Colonel Gerini. It could then strike the author how in so many states, once differing from one another both ethnologically and politically, one Orissa dialect could prevail. Wholly disconnected and independent of one another, as most of the states have been shown to be by Mr. Cobden-Ramsay, they could not adopt one and the same principal dialect for the Aryan and the Aryanised inhabitants, if some other relation to bind them together did not exist. By fumbling at some ill-assorted facts the author has created many insoluble riddles.

If he cared to study the Oriya language with its provincial peculiarities in different tracts, the author could detect the influence of different local tribes as well as the civilized influence of the different lines of kings who came to rule the country by coming from the different parts of the neighbouring tracts. This would have given a proper clue to follow up researches.

It is widely known even amongst the common people how in olden times many states were governed by the representatives of different caste-guilds. In the light of it, the meaning of the word Athmallik

could be easily ascertained and an important fact of history could be stated. The word "mallik" is a contraction of the Pali word "mahallik" which meant an old man. The system of government by old or wise councillors prevailed in all the states when the Aryan Rajas held a nominal sway over them.

It has been a bold and rash statement that the Hindu Chiefs who received *Tika* from the aboriginal tribes, who were once the lords of the localities, were originally nothing but the tribal chiefs of those aboriginal people. The right of nomination and election which rested with the people in general has been altogether ignored, and a fanciful interpretation has been sought to be given regarding the origin of the families of the Chiefs. To base such a serious conclusion on such insufficient material is simply dangerous. Any one who has read even a common text-book on sociology, would not have committed such a blunder. No one should venture to make such reckless remarks without understanding properly how ceremonial institutions grow in societies.

Though the author is the Political Agent of the Feudatory States and must as such know that the Feudatory Chiefs of Sambalpur have a status higher than that of the Orissa Chiefs, yet it does not appear in this work of importance that any such difference in status exists. The Gazetteer of the Orissa Feudatory States begins with the lines:—

"The Feudatory States of Orissa consist of a group of 24 dependent territories attached to the Division of Orissa and comprise the following States:—"

Then in the enumeration of the states in alphabetical order the names of the States of Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi occur along with the names of the states of Orissa Proper. Whatever be the special significance of the words "dependent territories," the five States of the Sambalpur tract should not have been grouped with the states of Orissa Garhjat Mahals.

The portion devoted to the history of the people and their social manners and customs is as worthless as the historical sketch of the states. The only portion in this Gazetteer which has been well executed is the descriptive portion giving the physical aspects of the states.

We earnestly request the Government of Bengal in the interest of history that this newly brought out volume of Bengal Gazetteers may be given to a competent hand for revision and correction.

It appears from the Press imprint that only 548 copies of this book have been published. Very likely all the volumes have not yet been bound. If now portions of this volume be rewritten and new pages be substituted for some old pages, the cost on the part of the Government will not be very great.

BESSYEM.

"*The Hindu Musical Scale and the twenty-two Shrutees*", by Krishnaji Ballal Deval (retired Deputy-Collector).

We welcome this little treatise as a valuable contribution to the literature of Hindu music. It is particularly gratifying to find that Mr. Deval's results corroborate to a great extent those obtained by the late Mr. Sarada Prasad Ghose, who published an edition of the "*Sangita ratnakara*" about twenty-five years ago.

This eminent investigator seems to have escaped Mr. Deval's notice. So far as we know, he was the

first to prove that the theory of the Shrutis is based on sound mathematical principles. In January, 1902, he published a list very similar to Mr. Deval's table D, in the "Sangit Prakashika" the organ of the "Bharat Sangit Samaj" of Calcutta.

Mr. Ghose began his investigations in the early eighties, and used to contribute to the old "Calcutta Review." Whether he wrote anything about the shrutis then, I am not in a position to say. But his results were obtained long before their publication in the "Sangit Prakashika."

It would be interesting to compare Mr. Deval's results with those of Mr. Ghose; we give them side by side;—

MR. DEVAL'S SHRUTIS	MR. GHOSE'S SHRUTIS	THEIR VALUES
1. Shadja	1. Shuddha Shadja	1
2. Atikomal rishabh }	2. Atikomal rishabh	25
3. Komal rishabh }	3. Komal rishabh	16
4. Madhya rishabh }	4. Shuddha rishabh	10
5. Tivra rishabh }	5. Chatusshrutik or Swabhavik rishabh }	9
6. Atikomal gandhar }	6. Shuddh gandhar	32
7. Komal gandhar }	7. Sadharan gandhar	6
8. Tivra gandhar }	8. Tivratara gandhar or Antar gandhar }	5
9. Tara tivra gandhar }	9. Tivratama gandhar or mridu madhyam }	81
10. Atikomal madhyam }	10. Shuddha madhyam	16
11. Komal madhyam }	11. Tivra madhyam	27
12. Tivra madhyam	12. Tivratara madhyam	40
13. Tarativra madhyam }	13. Tivratama madhyam or mridu Pancham }	36
14. Pancham	14. Shuddha Pancham	3
15. Atikomal Dhaivat	15. Atikomal Dhaivat	25
16. Komal Dhaivat	16. Komal Dhaivat	16
17. Madhya Dhaivat	17. Shuddha Dhaivat	10
18. Tivra Dhaivat	18. Chatusshrutik Dhaivat	27
19. Atikomal nishad	19. Shuddha nishad	16
20. Komal nishad }	20. Sadharan nishad	9
21. Tivra nishad	21. Tivratara nishad or Kakali nishad	15
22. Tivratara nishad	22. Tivratama nishad or mridu Shadja }	8

In spite of some differences there is remarkable agreement between Mr. Deval's and Mr. Ghose's results, and there can be no doubt about the correctness of the principles involved in their determination. That the old Hindu theorists had a good working knowledge of the mathematics of the musical scale, Mr. Deval has amply proved by quotations from their writings. They understood concord and discord, and were acquainted with the harmonies to the extent of making use of them in finding out the relations between the notes.

But (after all) the fact remains that Mr. Deval's and Mr. Ghose's results are not in every case the same. The values differ in some cases, and the nomenclature differs greatly. Indeed, the two sets of results seem to represent two different schools of Indian music. Mr. Deval draws attention to the existence of different schools, and also other shrutis than those given in his list. He mentions four such shrutis, and then says,—

"Twentytwo shruties are generally accepted by almost all the systems of Indian music. There are several systems in vogue, e. g., the Gaburhari ***, the Kandhari, *** the Dagari and the Nohari *** and several systems in the Karnatic. All these systems accept the shrutis, though their several advocates differ as to the combination of these several notes ***."

This is rather disquieting, for it amounts to saying that the Indian musicians disagree as to which notes are the twenty-two shrutis. Yet this seems to be really the case. Mr. Deval's and Mr. Ghose's values differ, most probably because the old books consulted by them differ. The modern schools of music all differ. If all of them be right, we have a perfect Babel of shrutis, and our cherished notions about the twenty-two shrutis has no foundation in fact.

Under these circumstances one is driven to the conclusion that the shrutis are really indefinite, and perhaps have always been so. They are all very fine and very mathematical, and we are naturally very proud of them, but there is an ugly fly in the ointment,—they are indefinite. This is a very awkward fact, to say the least.

We should be sorry to have it supposed that we undervalue Mr. Deval's and Mr. Ghose's work. This is far from being the case. On the contrary we feel deeply grateful to them. The more we have of honest and intelligent research like this, the better it will be for our music. Mr. Deval has demonstrated the soundness of our musical principles, and established them by quotations from the old books. For all this he deserves our best thanks. If, in the light of research, the shrutis turn out to be somewhat indefinite, surely it is not the investigator's fault. It is a distinct gain, in as much as it serves to clear up the situation.

U. Roy.

BENGALI.

'Kavi Ravindranath Rishitva' [The Poet Ravindranath as a Rishi, a seer] by Babu Indu Prokash Banerjee, Professor, Bengal National College, Calcutta. Published by Babu Aghorenath Datta, Lotus Library, 50 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, Pp. 22. Price two annas.

The son of a Maharshi—a great Rishi—need not necessarily be a Rishi. But by a strange coincidence, the son also is being recognised as a Rishi like the father. In the Rig-Veda, the word 'Kavi'

means an inspired poet—a seer—a Rishi. Can we not, under the circumstances, call our Ravindranath a seer, a Rishi? Has he not composed,—is he not still composing inspired hymns like the Vedic Rishis? Our author has rightly called him a Rishi.

The pamphlet will repay perusal.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

'*Nava Jager Sadhana*' by Bhagavatrtna Kulada Prasad Mullick, B.A. Published by Babu Aghore Nath Datta, Lotus Library, 50 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 114. Price Eight Annas.

The reader will find in this book the life and works of Babu Sasipada Banerjee, the founder of the "Devalaya." His life is full of useful activities and is worthy of being imitated by the younger generation.

Mahapurusha-Prasanga (Discourse about great men) by Babu Dharendra Nath Chowdhury, M.A. Professor of History and Philosophy and Principal, Hindu College, Delhi. Pp. 80. Price six annas.

Samskar and Samrakshan (Reformation and conservation) by the same author. Pp. 256. Price twelve annas, paper bound; one Rupee, cloth bound.

The '*Mahapurusha-prasanga*' contains five essays—two on 'Rajarshi Ram Mohan,' two on 'Maharshi Devendranath' and the last one on "Brahmananda Kesab Chandra." All the essays are thoughtful and interesting. In the last essay the author tries to prove that Kesab Chandra was a 'Vaidantic Hindu.' In one sense it is true but it is not the whole truth. If he said that he was a Vedantist, he did so without knowing what Vedantism was.

There are several essays in the '*Samskar and Samrakshan*.' Most of these deal with social problems, the names of some of the essays being—The Individual and Society; the Method of Social Reformation; Nationality and Universality in Reformation; The Brahma Samaj and the Caste System; The Poet Nabin Chandra as a Reformer; The Rights of Women—Indian Women; Joint Family System; The Revenge of Nature in the Caste System; The Elevation of the Lower Classes, etc.

The thoughts of Babu Dharendra Nath Choudhury are clear, definite and logical and his humour seems to be inexhaustible. As a critic and controversialist he has few equals. Most of his essays have been well done and the best of all seems to be that on the "Revenge of Nature" (*Fatibhede Prakritir Pratisodh*). In his essay on "The Brahma Samaj and the Vedanta" the author says that, though at one time the Brahmos discarded Vedantism, the Brahma Samaj has now returned to it. According to him, there were three aspects of the movement—thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The first was the work of Rammohun Roy, the second that of Maharshi Devendra Nath and the third that of Kesab Chandra. Here the author treads on debatable ground and many Brahmos will question the validity of his conclusions. But even here synthesis is possible. What Principal Choudhury calls Vedantism is a 'qualified monism.' His Brahma is not "the night where all cows are black"; nor is it "the Lion's den from which no one returns."

We have read both the books with interest and profit.

The get up of the books is excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Nirbashan Kahini (The story of my deportation): by Manoranjan Guha Thakurta. Price 0-8-0.

This neatly printed little book is composed of extracts from the diary of one of the Bengal deportees. It is intensely interesting from start to finish. Though the writer is of opinion that his deportation was entirely unjustified, he has on the whole nothing but praise for the way in which he was treated during the period of his detention in Insein Jail. His only serious complaint is that his personal servant was taken away from him after his arrival in Burmah. The writer's natural piety is evident in every page and there are both pathetic and humorous touches which at once place us on a footing of perfect intimacy with him. A perusal of the book makes it quite clear that the Government of India had no intention of releasing the deportees at the time they were actually released, and the conclusion is irresistible that they owed their good fortune to pressure from above.

Nadia-Kahini (History of Nadia) by Kumud-nath Mullick. Published by the Sahitya Sabha, 106/1 Grey Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-12-0. Cloth-bound, with a coloured map and illustrations. Pp. 400.

It is indeed a good sign that the history of the country is being now written district by district. When historical research was all but unknown, those who wanted to pose as historians would aim at nothing, short of the history of India; some condescended so far as to write provincial histories, but none cared to concern himself with such limited areas as districts. But with the wealth of material made available by the researches principally of European scholars, we are now having histories of districts and even of sub-districts. Thus we have the history of Murshidabad, of Vikrampur, of Faridpur, and the volume under review is the latest addition to the list, which we earnestly hope will become heavier with every year.

The book before us is not exactly a history, properly so called, but a narrative in which fact is blended with traditions of doubtful authenticity. We are however glad that the author has not disdained to utilise the rich store-house of traditions which have accumulated round the time-honoured name of Navadwip—the Navadwip of Ballal Sen and Laksman Sen, of Chaitanya and his school of reformers, of Raghunandan and the learned pundits whose fame spread far and wide, of Maharaja Krishna Chandra, the Mæcenat of Bengal, and Bharat Chandra, of Dinabandhu Mitra of "Nil-Darpan" fame and last, though not the least, of Mr. D. L. Roy and numerous other writers and men of distinction. The essence of the civilisation of a particular era is crystallised in its traditions, and they are not therefore to be neglected in a country like ours where historical records are so rare. The book has been written in graceful and idiomatic Bengali, but printing mistakes abound. The absence of an index is a serious defect. The influence of the Sahitya Sabha is traceable in the uncalled for outbursts of loyalty in places where they were least to be expected, e.g., where the decimation of the district by repeated outbreaks of cholera, malaria and famine is graphically described. To the same cause may be attributed the portraits of royalty which have been introduced in the volume.

The book has certainly enriched one department of Bengali literature, and is sure to be welcomed by every lover of our national history.

P.

Magastheniser Bharat-bibaran: by Rajani Kanta Guha, M.A. Published by Ramananda Chatterjee, 210-3-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 240. Cloth bound, Re. 1-8; paper cover, Re. 1-2. 1318 B. S.

This is one of the few Bengali publications which add to the interprovincial reputation of the Bengali language. If we had a large number of books of this type in our vernacular, non-Bengali Indians would find it profitable to learn Bengali. In 1846 Prof. Schwanbeck of Germany published the *Megasthenis Indica*, which was translated into English by Mr. McCrindle in 1882 and published in Calcutta under the name of—*The Fragments of Megasthenes*. The book under review is a translation of the original Greek edition of Prof. Schwanbeck, and the scholarly and erudite introduction in Latin, which occupies nearly one-fourth of the book, has also been rendered into Bengali. The translator, Babu Rajani Kanta Guha, has also consulted the English version of McCrindle, and incorporated some of his valuable notes in the volume under review. Thus the combined labour and research of the German Professor, his English translator and the present author have succeeded in making this Bengali book perhaps the most complete and up-to-date edition of Megasthenes's *Ta Indica* that is to be found in any language in the world. There are two very valuable appendices and an elaborate subject-index. The first appendix contains a short account of the various persons whose names occur in the body of the book, and the second gives the geographical position and the modern equivalents of the various towns, rivers, islands, mountains, and tribes described in the book. Megasthenes, as is well known, was the ambassador of Seleucus in the court of king Chandragupta of Pataliputra. His account recalls a picture of an India two thousand years ago which was free, just, honest, peaceful and yet brave, where learning and the arts flourished and philosophers received an honour above that of kings, where theft, lying and slavery were unknown; where the weak were not oppressed, nor aggression against foreigners allowed. But for all this and more we refer the reader to the book itself, and close this brief review with a word of praise for the beautiful get-up, durable and handsome binding, and neat printing of the book. Considering the excellence of the get-up as also of the contents, the price seems to us to be cheap. The book is sure to force itself into public recognition and occupy an honoured place in Bengali literature.

B. G.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. Vol. V, Part III. (No. 19). The Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana with the commentary of Baladeva, translated by Babu Srisa Chandra Vasu and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Hasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. 213—292. Price single copy Re. 1/8. Annual Subscription:—Inland Rs. 12. Foreign £ 1.

In this part the 1st pada and 12 Sutras of the

2nd Pada of the Second Adhaya have been given. It contains:—

1. The Sanskrit Text of the Sutras.
 2. The meaning of all the words of the Sutras.
 3. The English Translation of the Sutras.
 4. The English rendering of the commentary of Baladeva.
 5. The Sanskrit Texts of the passages quoted by the commentator with their English translation.
- This part also has been ably edited and translated. The get up of the book is excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Vol VI Part IV, (No. 20). The Vaisesika Sutras of Kanada with the commentary of Sankara Misra, translated by Babu Nanda Lal Sinha and published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. iii+XXXIV+271—339+XI+VI. Price single copy Re. 1/8. Annual Subscription—Inland Rs 12 :—Foreign £ 1.

This part completes the Vaisesika Sutras of Kanada. It contains

1. The Sanskrit Text of the Sutras.
 2. The meaning of all the words of the Sutras.
 3. The English translation of the sutras.
 4. The English translation of the commentary of Sankara Misra.
 5. Extracts from the gloss of Jayanarayana.
 6. An analytical table of contents.
 7. An Index of Aphorisms.
 8. Different readings and Interpretations, as given by Professor Chandra Kanta Tarkalankar of Calcutta.
 9. An Introduction by the translator.
- The Introduction (34 pages) is a very valuable part of the book. It deals with the following points:—
1. Kanada's age and parentage.
 2. The Vaisesika: why it is so called.
 3. The philosophy of Kanada, its standpoint, scope, province and method.
 4. Kanada's Logic and Epistemology.
 5. Predicables enumerated by Kanada.
 6. The teachings of Kanada with regard to the Predicables.
 7. The Vaisesika theory of creation and dissolution of the cosmic system.
 8. Kanada's theory of the cosmic evolution, of the soul.

We have nothing but praise for this edition of the Vaisesika Darsana and it will prove highly useful to the students of Hindu Philosophy. The get-up of the book is excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT AND BENGALI.

Sahaje Sanskrita Siksha—Sanskrit made easy - Part I by Babu Banamali Vedantatirtha, M.A., Professor of Philosophy and Logic in the Cotton College, Gauhati, late Lecturer on Vedanta in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta; and author of "A manual of Sanskrit" and other works. Published by Messrs. Bhatlacharya & Sons, 65, College Street, Calcutta Pp. 126. Price nine annas only.

The pedagogical principles on which the book is based are sound—the sentence being regarded as the unit of language. The book is an improvement upon those generally used in our schools. It is intended for

the Students of the 4th and 5th Classes of H. E. Schools.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.—

SANSKRIT.

A complete Alphabetical Index of all the words in the Rigveda, (pp. 484).

A complete Alphabetical Index of all the words in the Yajurveda, (pp. 115).

A complete Alphabetical Index of all the words in the Samaveda, (pp. 113).

A complete Alphabetical Index of all the words in the Atharvaveda, (pp. 269).

Prepared and published by Swami Vishweshvaranand and Swami Nityanand and printed at the Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay.

The Editors say in the preface to the first volume:—

"It is our ambition to assist the Hindu community in studying the Vedas, for we are convinced that their regeneration will begin with a critical, intelligent and systematic study of their sacred scriptures. Besides, the vedas are at present zealously studied by antiquarians and philologists. To facilitate the work of research of these European and Indian scholars we have undertaken to publish, under the distinguished patronage of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib, Sir Sayaji Rao Sena-Khas Khel, Shamser Bahadur, C.C.S.I., Gaekwar of Baroda, a Vedic Dictionary on the following lines:—

(a) To arrange all the words used in the Vedas in an alphabetical order and to give their etymological and grammatical construction.

(b) To give the meanings attached to these words grammatically, in easy Sanskrit and explain them with quotations wherever possible.

(c) To give the meanings of these words as found in Vedic literature and in books of a similar character.

(d) To give the meaning assigned to Vedic words by European, Indian and other scholars.

(e) To notice the interpretations given by the different sects.

(f) To state meanings according to the terminology applicable to the Vedas and to compare the various interpretations, basing our arguments on catholic and liberal principles and on Upanishads and Brahmins.

(g) Wherever necessary, to point out the religious, moral and physical applications and aspects of words.

This is not an easy task, but the call to duty forces us to take it up. With the help of a competent and adequate staff of pundits, copyists, etc., we hope to finish it in about 8 years.

The first portion of the dictionary in the form of the Index of all the words of the Vedas is now put before the public. This index will greatly aid the Vedic students. As a book of constant reference it will at once give them a clue to all the places where a particular word occurs."

If such a dictionary can be completed, it will have removed a longfelt want. The task is a gigantic one and we wish the editors every success.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

GUJARATI.

Pak Shashtra, written by the late Mrs. Keshav Ba and published by Subandhu Vinayak Medh of Baroda. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 232, price Rs. 1-0-0 (1910.)

The recipes given in this book for the cooking of various toothsome dishes are simple and said to be the direct result of and tested by personal experience. The late Mrs. Keshav Ba belonged on her father's side to the gifted family of R. B. Bholanath Sarabhai, and as such it is in the fitness of things that a collection of such recipes should come from her. She has adapted various Parsi, English and Mahomedan dishes to our own, having eliminated their objectionable features, and as such it is an advance on some other previous publications in the same line. A very interesting sketch of her life forms the introduction to the book.

Swami Ramtirtha, Part 1, Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay Paper bound, pp. 110. Price Rs. 0-2-6. (1911).

We have already noticed before now the useful work being done by this Society. Swami Akhandanand, who is the life and soul of this enterprise, has brought out yet another publication in the shape of a sketch of the life of Swami Ramtirtha, whom he knew personally. A life of this patriotic son of India was badly wanted, and this sketch, although it does not meet the need fully, still goes a long way towards it. There are three other short useful essays attached to this sketch.

K. M. J.

NOTES

The Bengal Government on the Press.

In the Bengal Administration Report for 1909-1910, we find the following passage:—

"In almost all the Indian-owned newspapers, whether English or vernacular published in Bengal, the main interest centred in politics or in information out of which a political moral could be drawn. With

certain exceptions, the general tone of the press, though moderated by legislation and prosecutions for sedition, remained hostile and suspicious." Summary, p. xxv.

This amounts to saying that the cause of the somewhat "moderated" tone of the Indian-owned Bengal press is fear, not

increased attachment to the Government. The Report does not say what efforts, if any, were made to secure the attachment of the conductors of the press and their clients, the people of Bengal. Perhaps such efforts were thought either not necessary or not possible; or it may be that they were considered undesirable in as much as they might be thought to be the outcome of weakness:—for is it not true that orientals can understand only an appeal to the feeling of fear?

Dutch Invalidity Bill.

The Dutch Government has introduced a Bill to ensure against invalidity for workers earning under a hundred sterling a year. Premiums range from four pence to ten pence a week, workers and employers each paying half. Septuagenarians will receive pensions. The desirability of giving state help to honest workers in their old age is thus being gradually recognised in all civilised countries; and this help they are to receive not as a charitable dole wounding and lessening their self-respect, but as a matter of right.

Is India moving daily farther and farther away from semi-starvation and mendicancy?

Taxation and Responsibility.

In a recent despatch received from the Secretary of State for India it has been decided that the Local Governments are as now to remain without the power to impose additional taxation. In a summary of the despatch published in the dailies, we read that "the Royal Commission was against the grant of taxing powers to the Local Governments and based their findings on the general ground that they lacked responsibility to tax-payers and representatives, which acted as a check on increased taxation in other countries, Sir S. Edgerly and Mr. Hitches dissenting on the point."

We do not certainly want that our Local Governments should have the power to impose taxes, so long as there is not an effective majority of members elected on a non class basis in the Provincial Legislative Councils, to curb the tendency to levy fresh taxes, as well as to control and guide the expenditure of the money raised by taxation. But the general ground on which

the Royal Commission based their finding seems to us rather curious. For it is a fact that the Government of India lacks responsibility to tax-payers and representatives to as great an extent as the Local Governments, and yet it has the power of taxation!

Colour and the heinousness of crime.

The following telegram is taken from the dailies:—

CAPE OUTRAGES.

FRESH CASES.

Cape Town, May 23rd.

Attention is again concentrating on the so-called "Black Peril" problem. Several cases of attempted criminal assault on white women by blacks have excited public opinion intensely and have led to demonstrations and attempts at lynching.

An extraordinary affair is reported from Buluwayo. A prominent resident named Lewis deliberately and in cold blood shot dead a native newsboy whom he accused of impropriety towards his children. Lewis surrendered himself and has been charged with murder. He has been released on a bail of £3,000. The public supports Lewis.

Similar things have happened in the history of many countries when strong and weak, "civilised" and savage, races have been thrown together. The stronger party, with a fairer complexion, have held the false view that a crime becomes more heinous if the offender belongs to the weaker party and has a darker complexion. This unrighteous opinion leads to cruel oppression of the weaker people and a blunting of the moral sense of the fair-complexioned stronger party. Such being the case, it is sad to reflect that though man has progressed in many directions, "civilised" people should still cling to the barbarous ideas and methods of olden days.

Madras Conferences.

The Provincial Political Conference held at Madras last month supported Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The Social Conference held at the same time and place declared itself in favour of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill, after a heated discussion. These are welcome news, showing that everywhere in India there are people who can take a right and practical view of things.

Among the leaders of the popular party in India there is no difference of opinion as to the need of universal elementary

education. Besides minor details, the one important point on which there is difference of opinion is whether we should agree to pay a special tax to meet (33 per cent. of) the extra cost of making primary education free and compulsory. As we have said in a previous number, in the abstract in the special circumstances of India, we are justified in insisting that Government should pay the whole of the additional expenses. But the practical questions that have to be asked are, can we *effectively* insist? Is there any hope of the Government ever agreeing to meet the whole cost?

Those who have raised the cry of "Religion in danger" in connection with Mr. Basu's Bill, are bound to tell us why in social matters the tyranny of the majority is not an evil, if the tyranny of the strong is bad in politics.

Bengal Elementary Education League.

The formation of the Bengal Elementary Education League with Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra as its President, Lieutenant-Colonel U. N. Mukerji, I. M. S. (retired), as its Secretary and Kumar Arun Chandra Sinha of Paikpara as its Treasurer, ought to show the attitude of Bengal to Mr. Gokhale's Bill. Babu Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Gooroodas Banerji, Dr. Rash Behary Ghose and other prominent leaders of Bengal support the objects of the League.

It has been suggested in certain quarters that the thorough-going supporters of Mr. Gokhale's Bill should propose to pay an enhanced income-tax themselves, in order to prove their sincerity. While we condemn this method of giving a personal turn to the controversy we are glad to state that many Bengalis are already spending on elementary education much more than any income-tax assessor is ever likely to demand from them. We think an education cess levied on incomes derived from all sources including land, above a certain minimum, will not be opposed by the supporters of the Elementary Education Bill.

We have mentioned the income from land deliberately. More than eighty per cent. of our people have agriculture as their only or chief means of living. So universal elementary education practically means education for the agricultural classes. Our landholders, whether called *Zemindars* or

Taluqdars, derive all their wealth from these agricultural classes. It is, therefore, only becoming that these rich people should contribute largely to the funds necessary for the education of the classes whose hard labour enables them to live in luxury. There are *Zemindars* who fully recognise this responsibility. It would be a good thing if, taxation or no taxation, all land-holders could recognise this responsibility and open free elementary schools for their tenants in every village in their estates.

The Transvaal Indians.

We learn from Reuter that the Transvaal Asiatic trouble has been provisionally settled.

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative, stated that the settlement contemplated the introduction at the next session of legislation repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907 and restoring legal equality as regards immigration. As a set off to the suspension of passive resistance the Government recognises the right of passive resisters, numbering ten, to enter the Transvaal by virtue of their education, and reinstates the passive resisters who formerly had rights of residence. Government is also releasing the imprisoned passive resisters immediately and pardoning Mrs. Sodha.

Mr. Louis Botha, interviewed by Reuter's representative, gave details of the Agreement settling the Asiatic trouble and said he was greatly gratified thereby. He was sure Indians would do their part to help the Government to make things as pleasant as possible for them. He fully assured them that the Government entertained no hostility towards them, always remembering that they had determined not to admit any more, except as provided in the Agreement. He hoped Indians both in Africa and India would realise the great difficulty Mr. Smuts had in obtaining the concessions he had already made.

Of course the Transvaal Government "entertained no hostility towards" the Indians, only it wanted to get them out of the country as they would not agree to register themselves like criminals or serfs; and even now would not admit more than ten (educated) Indians every year: though any white man, be he illiterate, or a loafer, or a scoundrel, can freely enter India and reside here. But we must be thankful for the smallest mercies from these colonists.

Ganesh Vyankatesh Joshi.

In the Hon. Rao Bahadur Ganesh Vyankatesh Joshi India loses one of the worthiest of her sons. He was, as the *Mahratta* says, a living store of information on various subjects, and his proficiency

as a teacher may be gauged from the fact recorded by many of his students that he made so dry a subject as Geography as interesting as lessons in the most emotional and appealing poetry. He was a rigid and strict disciplinarian, yet withal he won for himself the love as well as the respect of the pupils that came under him. We learn from the same source that from the early years of his life facts and figures had a charm for Mr. Joshi, and in later years he came to possess the fully developed statistical instinct. *The Mahratta* goes on to say :—

He carefully studied the several public and administrative questions as they cropped up, in all their aspects. He had made a special study of the Land Revenue questions and those who have read the long letters on revenue questions that appeared in the *Times of India*, studded with facts and figures and initialled 'G. V. J.' will have marked the remarkable grip with which he manipulated and mastered the subject. If he was a specialist on the Land Revenue question, he was no less an adept in the various other departments of administration. His chief feature was the great delight that he felt in statistics. In his "New Spirit in India" Mr. Nevinson wrote of Mr. Joshi that "from his mouth statistics flowed like water from a fountain." He thus describes his study-room :—"On book-shelves round the walls, and heaped upon the floor and tables were hundreds of volumes and pamphlets crammed with figures. It seemed as if the owner had collected every book and essay ever written upon the economics of India, and year by year had filtered them into his mind. He had the instinct for averages which I take to be the economist's instinct. He thought of women and children in terms of addition; he saw men as columns walking. He watched the rising and falling curves of revenue, expenditure and population as others watch the curves of beauty. Any line of figures was welcome to his spirit, and though he had made his living by teaching little Indians to read "Robinson Crusoe," his chief study seemed to be in the scripture called the 'Statistical Abstract relating to British India.' Upon this careful piece of literature he meditated day and night; or if his mind required a change he relaxed it on theology." Statistics were to Mr. Joshi, as pleasing as a poem. He felt, says Mr. Nevinson, a splendour and aesthetic satisfaction in meditating on the large figures possessing epic grandeur, like those of the population of India. The passage in the Statistical Abstract headed "Finance" he enjoyed with "the most delicate appreciation of style." Endowed with such a love for statistics, a retentive memory and austere habits of study, Mr. Joshi could handle almost every problem of administration in India with the ease and intelligence of a trained master.

From his early days as a school-master Mr. Joshi was known amongst his friends and associates as a close student of politics. For a long period he was the right hand man of the late Mr. Justice Ranade. It was he who used to supply the statistical figures which illuminated some of the writings and speeches

of Mr. Ranade. Mr. Joshi also contributed a number of articles to the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which in its time was deservedly famous. Mr. Joshi had no little hand in preparing the Minutes of evidence submitted by some of the Indian witnesses to the Welby Commission of 1897. Whenever any public question was in the forefront, be it a question of economics or politics, of administration or deliberation, Mr. Joshi's statistics were almost invariably in evidence in the conclaves behind the curtain of the leaders discussing it.

It is known to Mr. Joshi's friends that the late Messrs. Digby and R. C. Dutt were indebted to him to a considerable extent for the statistics contained in their works dealing with Indian economics and economical history.

In politics, he was what the bureaucrat would call an extremist, though he strongly resented the application of that term indiscriminately to Nationalists of all shades of opinion. He presided over the Nationalist Conference at Dhulia. The following extract from his presidential address will give some idea of his political views :—

"It is a fight—a constitutional fight—for a free constitution such as has been conceded to the self-governing colonies of the British Empire and which has so largely helped to build their greatness, their strength and their prosperity. The autocratic system of Government is essentially wrong and faulty and tends to keep us low in the scale of other nations, stunting our growth and impeding our national development. At all events it is a system which can never initiate, much less facilitate the transition of a nation to a higher plane of life, civilisation, and material well-being, which is the only moral justification of the British rule in India. We ask that the system of autocratic rule be replaced by a popular system that is existing in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. All experience testifies and all history teaches, as John Stuart Mill points out, in his Representative Government, that the government of one people by another has no meaning and no reality. And we are convinced that it is only under some scheme of Swaraj or responsible government that we can hope to make progress and rise to the full moral height of which we are capable. Under no other system, however skilfully planned, can we hope to rise in the scale of nations and in the fitness of things recover the proud position that once was ours in the forefront of the world's advance."

He did very important work as an elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and the Government recognised his worth.

He was a man of simple habits and tastes, —a remarkable example of plain living and high thinking.

He contributed an article on "The Industrial Problem in India" to the first number

of this review. It was characterised by his usual wealth of information and suggestion.

Salem on Mr. Basu's Marriage Bill.

The citizens of Salem in the Madras Presidency have supported Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill in a public meeting held in their Town Hall. The supporting resolution is sufficiently remarkable to justify quotation in full.

Resolved that, whereas by the Law as administered in the Courts of this country, and by reason of the custom at present prevailing in most parts of India, there is considerable doubt with regard to the validity of marriages among Hindus between persons belonging to different castes or sects, and even those between persons of different sub-sects or between persons belonging to different provinces, and in certain castes, the same doubt might arise about marriages of girls after puberty, and whereas many learned Hindus believe that such marriages are in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion, and whereas for the progress of the nation, it is desirable to encourage such marriages, and whereas the removal of all legal obstacles to a free choice in marriages will tend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare, and whereas it is just to relieve pioneers in the reform of Hindu marriage customs from all legal difficulties or doubts, and, further, there is no reason to restrict the enabling provisions of Act III of 1872 to only those persons who declare that they do not profess the recognised religions of the country, and it is desirable to provide a simple form of marriage for the benefit of such persons as desire the same who yet do not give up their Hindu faith, and whereas such liberal principles with regard to enabling legislation have always been recognised by the Indian Legislature, it is highly expedient that the Bill to amend Act III of 1872 proposed by the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu should be passed into law.

Dharmpur Consumptives Home.

The King Edward Consumptives Home at Dharmpur, which was formally opened last month by Lord Hardinge, ought to prove the first of many such beneficent homes established in suitable hill stations all over India. The Maharaja of Patiala, who originally with great generosity granted the Home the site which it now occupies, promised at its opening the princely donation of Rs. 100,000 in aid of the institution. If we are not mistaken, he promised a donation of an equal amount on a previous occasion.

What the Transvaal Indians will now do.

Reuter informs us that Mr. Polak says that, now that a compromise on the position

of Indians in South Africa has been arrived at, they will seek the removal of grievances affecting the resident community, such as ownership of fixed property, disabilities of the gold law and the location question. We do not know whether all this will lead to a fresh passive resistance struggle. Whatever the future may have in store, we cannot but admire the splendid self-sacrificing leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and the heroism and perfect discipline of his comrades. *The Empire* pays a fitting tribute to their worth, which runs as follows :—

Mr. Gandhi and his co-adjutors have achieved in South Africa a triumph comparable at the very least to those of Lords Roberts and Kitchener. They have beaten the Boers to their knees. Only, whereas the generals had all the resources of the British Empire at their back, the Indian leaders have had little or no resources beyond their own stout hearts, and a passionate belief in the justice of their cause. It has taken them five or six times as long to bring the Boers to their senses, as it took the British military men, but they have done it in the long run. The terms of peace agreed upon by General Botha and Mr. Gandhi the other day constitute an absolute surrender by the Transvaal Government of the chief point in dispute. What was that point? That the Indians who, with their descendants, were already resident in the Transvaal should not be forcibly expelled, or subjected to such ignominious treatment as would drive them into exile rather than remain in the colony. It must be remembered that the Indians who have been agitating for all these years are only Indians in name. They are essentially South Africans in their outlook, having all been born or domiciled there. They do not resent the law which practically excludes further immigration of Asiatics. They are probably as much in favour of it as any other residents in South Africa. What they passionately resent is the attempt to uproot and fling out those who settled in South Africa many years, and who by education, respect of law and every other criterion of citizenship are as eligible as any other section of the community. This attempt has now been finally abandoned and we venture to think that the Boer leaders have received the most useful lesson that has been taught them since the war. They have discovered the impossibility of coercing a community however small, unless you are prepared to exterminate it. They have tried every other means—insult, imprisonment, expulsion—in vain. They have had to of themselves beaten by the sheer might of passive resistance, in which women have played almost as noteworthy a part as the men.

All honour also to Mr. Polak and others who, not Indians themselves, made common cause with them and worked strenuously for them. Among stay-at-home Indians many distinguished themselves by the pecuniary help they gave to the passive resisters. It will not be an invidious distinction if

NOTES



RATAN J. TATA.

among them we mention the name of the most prominent of them of all, Mr. Ratan J. Tata, who gave Rs. 50,000 for the relief of our suffering sisters and brethren in the Transvaal.

Buddha Day.

There is no unanimity as to who was the greatest religious teacher the world has seen. But so far as India is concerned there is no question that the greatest *world-force* that she has given birth to has been Buddha. No other son of India has ever wielded a wider spiritual sway over mankind, no other has been so great a civiliser. If, therefore, it is the duty of Indians to celebrate the anniversary of any one of our great men, it is undoubtedly that of Buddha. But the dates of his birth, enlightenment, and attainment of Nirvana, are not known with absolute certainty; at any rate, opinion is divided on the subject. The exact dates, however, do not greatly matter. If we could agree to celebrate his anniversary on any particular day, that would serve our purpose.

This is the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's attainment of Enlightenment. The Anagarika Dharmapala and the Maha Bodhi Society are of opinion that the exact date of the anniversary was the 10th of May last. So on that day and the day after there were celebrations of the great event by the Buddhists of Calcutta, others also joining them. On the 12th, in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj chapel, Calcutta, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra



Bronze Statue of Buddha at Kamakura.

and Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhusan spoke on the life and teachings of Buddha. Perhaps there were celebrations in other places, too; though nowhere in India did the occasion evoke that enthusiasm and receive that wide recognition of its greatness which it ought to have done. It is sad to reflect that though we often worship jackals, nay, even the merest vermin, we do not do homage to this Lion among men. When shall we have true appreciation of real greatness?



Buddha.
 Bodhisattva Samanta Bhadra, Representing the principle of particularity or love.
 Bodhisattva Manjushri, Representing the principle of universality or wisdom.
 Ananda. Mahakashyapa.
 A TYPICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE MAHAYANA FAITH.

Buddhism is now practically non-existent in India, but every school-boy knows what it was and did in the land of its birth and abroad in the days of its pristine glory.

Of the two pictures given here, one is the reproduction of a Chinese painting of the Mahayana School copied in black and white in the English translation of Asvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana, from the Chinese version, by Teitara Suzuki. The other is reproduced from a photograph of the famous colossal bronze statue of Buddha at Kamakura, Japan. The measurements of this wonderful statue are as follows:—

	Ft.	In.
Height	49	7'00
Circumference	97	2'20
Length of face	8	5'15
Width from ear to ear	17	9'20
Round white boss on forehead	1	3'47
Length of eye	3	11'60

Length of eyebrow	4	1'08
" " ear	6	6'54
" " nose	3	9'22
" " mouth	3	2'08
Height of bump of wisdom	0	9'52
Diameter of bump of wisdom	2	4'56
Curls (of which there are 830):		
Height	0	9'52
Diameter	0	11'90
Length from knee to knee	35	8'40
Circumference of thumb (say)	3	0'00

The eyes are pure gold and the silver boss weighs 30 pounds avoirdupois. The image is formed of sheets of bronze cast separately, brazed together and finished off on the outside with the chisel.

"Ramachandra and the Golden Deer."

It is related in the Ramayan that when Sita, Ram and Lakshman were living in exile in a forest, in the garb of ascetics, the *Rakshasi* Surpanakha, sister of Ravan, asked Ram to marry her. Seeing that Sita, the wife of Ram, stood in the way, she attempted to kill and devour her; whereupon the nose and ears of the *Rakshasi* were cut off. Thus disfigured, she appeared before her brother Ravan and complained to him of the cruel treatment she had received at the hands of the brothers Ram and Lakshman. Highly enraged, Ravan vowed to punish Ram by carrying off his wife Sita. So one of Ravan's followers assumed the shape of a golden deer and appeared before the royal exiles. Sita wanted to have this deer as a pet. Ram went out to secure it any how, leaving Lakshman to guard Sita, and was led farther and farther away from their forest abode by the sportive wiles of the animal. When at length it was brought to bay and received the fatal blow, it, like the deceitful *Rakshas* that it was, uttered the piercing cry, "Brother Lakshman, I am in peril of my life; come to my rescue." Hearing this cry, Sita insisted upon Lakshman going to Ram's rescue. No sooner had Lakshman, most unwillingly, left Sita alone in the cottage, than Ravan appeared before her in the guise of a mendicant and, by a trick, carried her off.

This is the story of "Ramachandra and

